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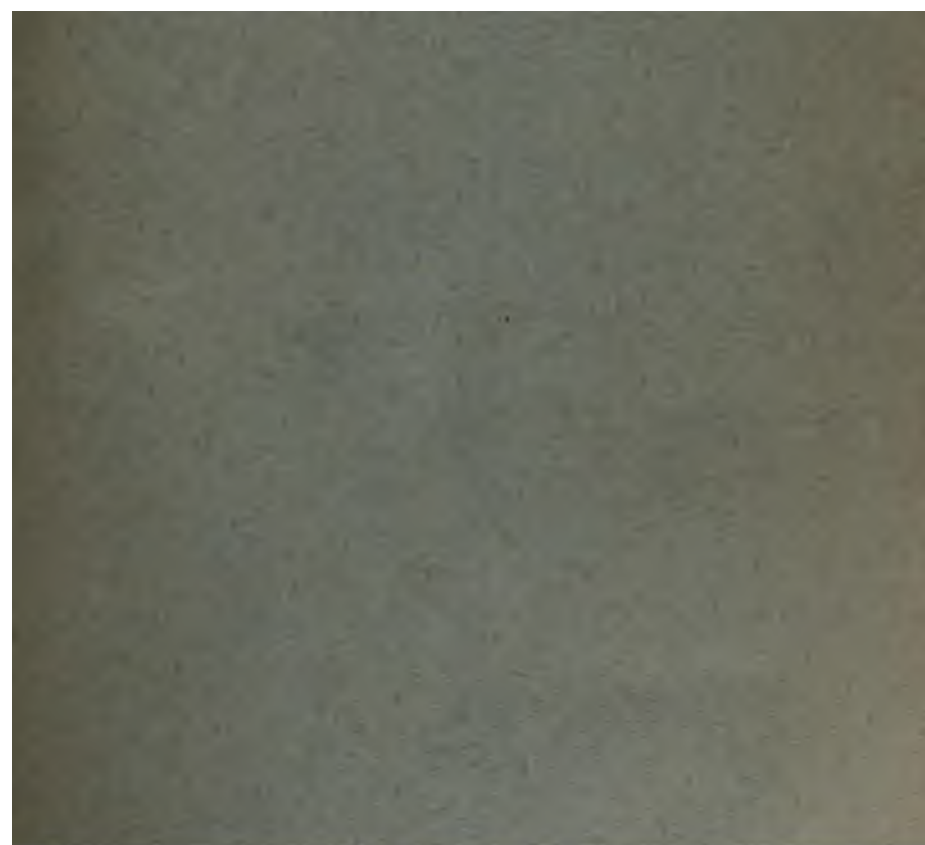
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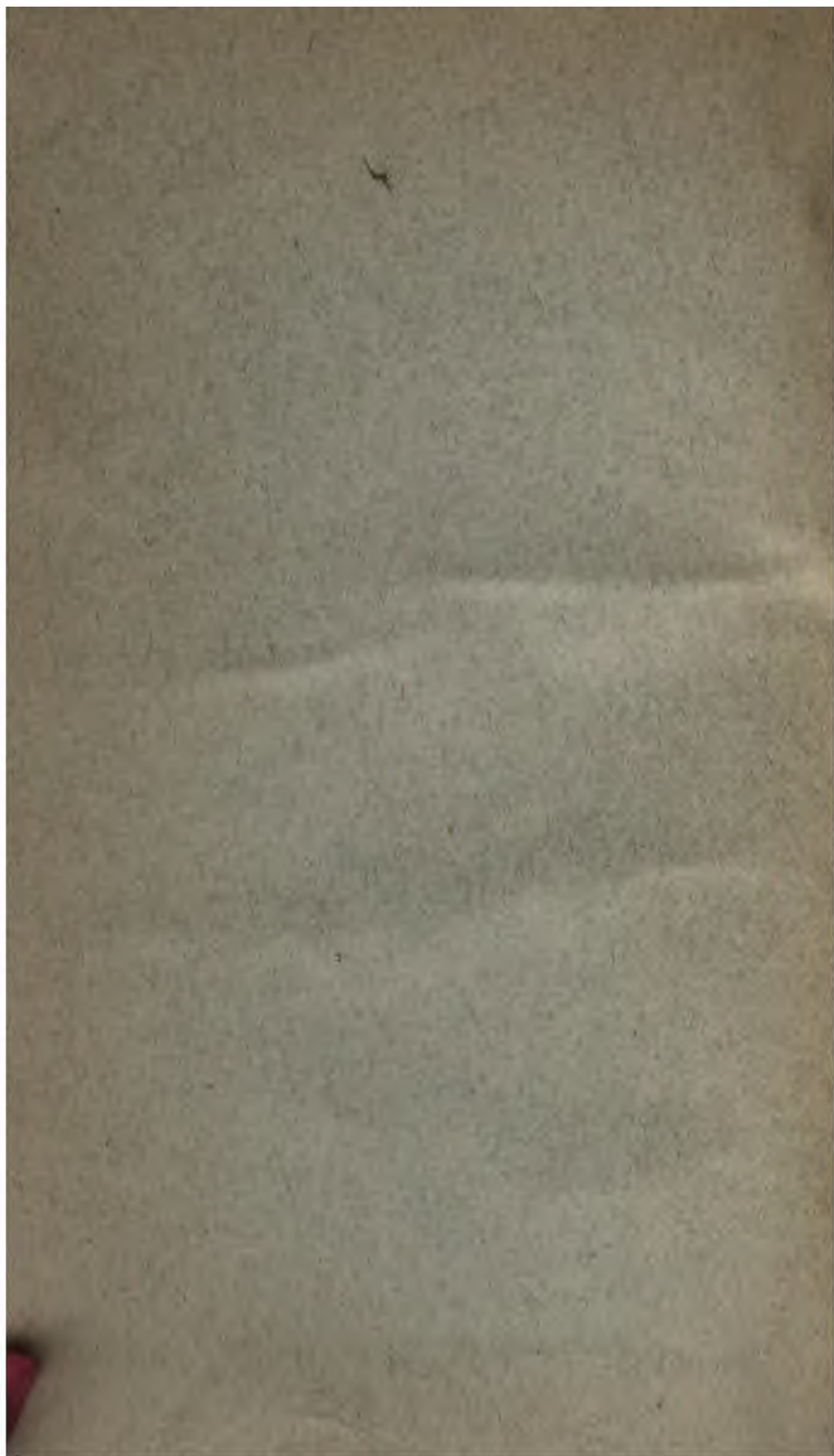
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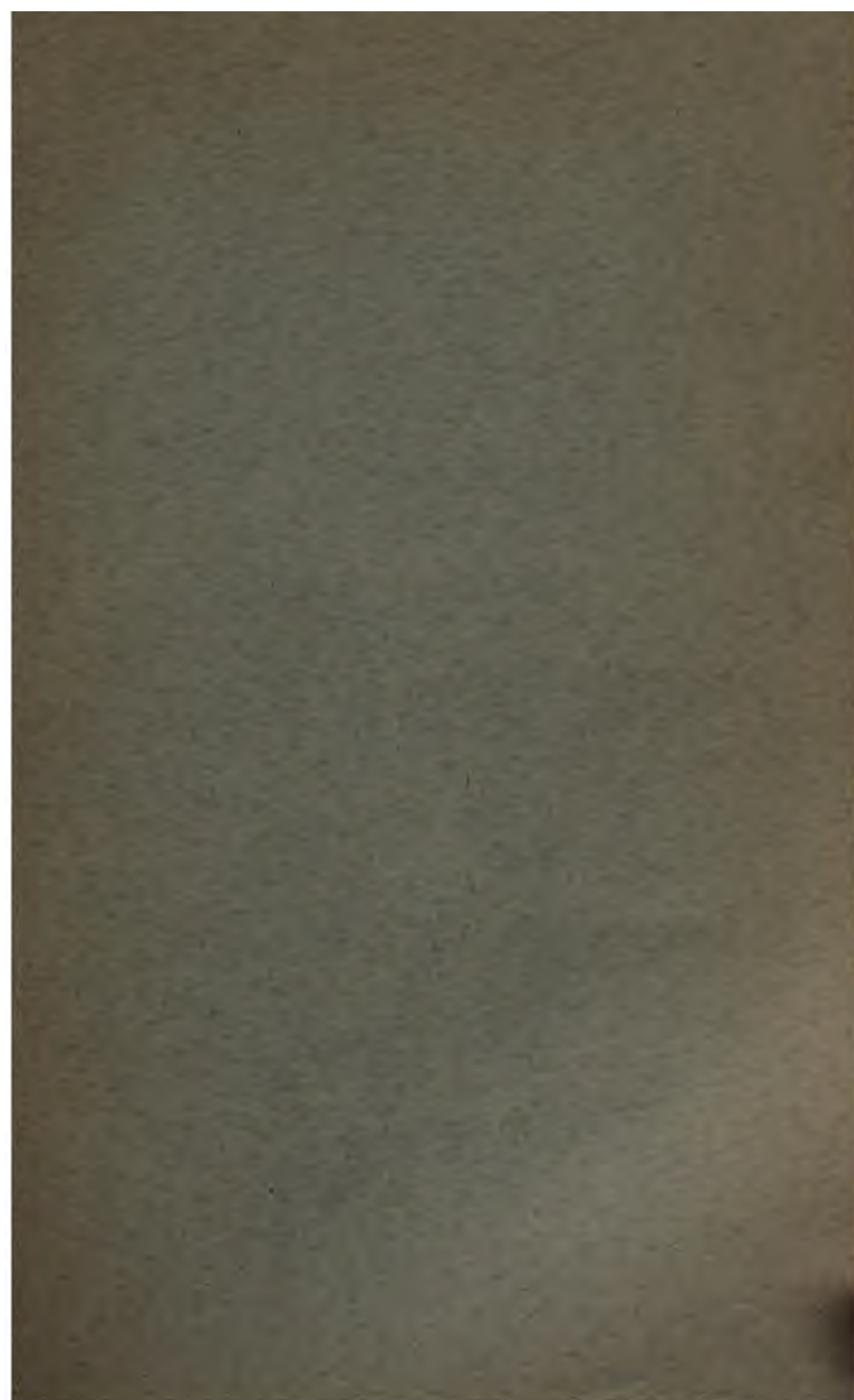
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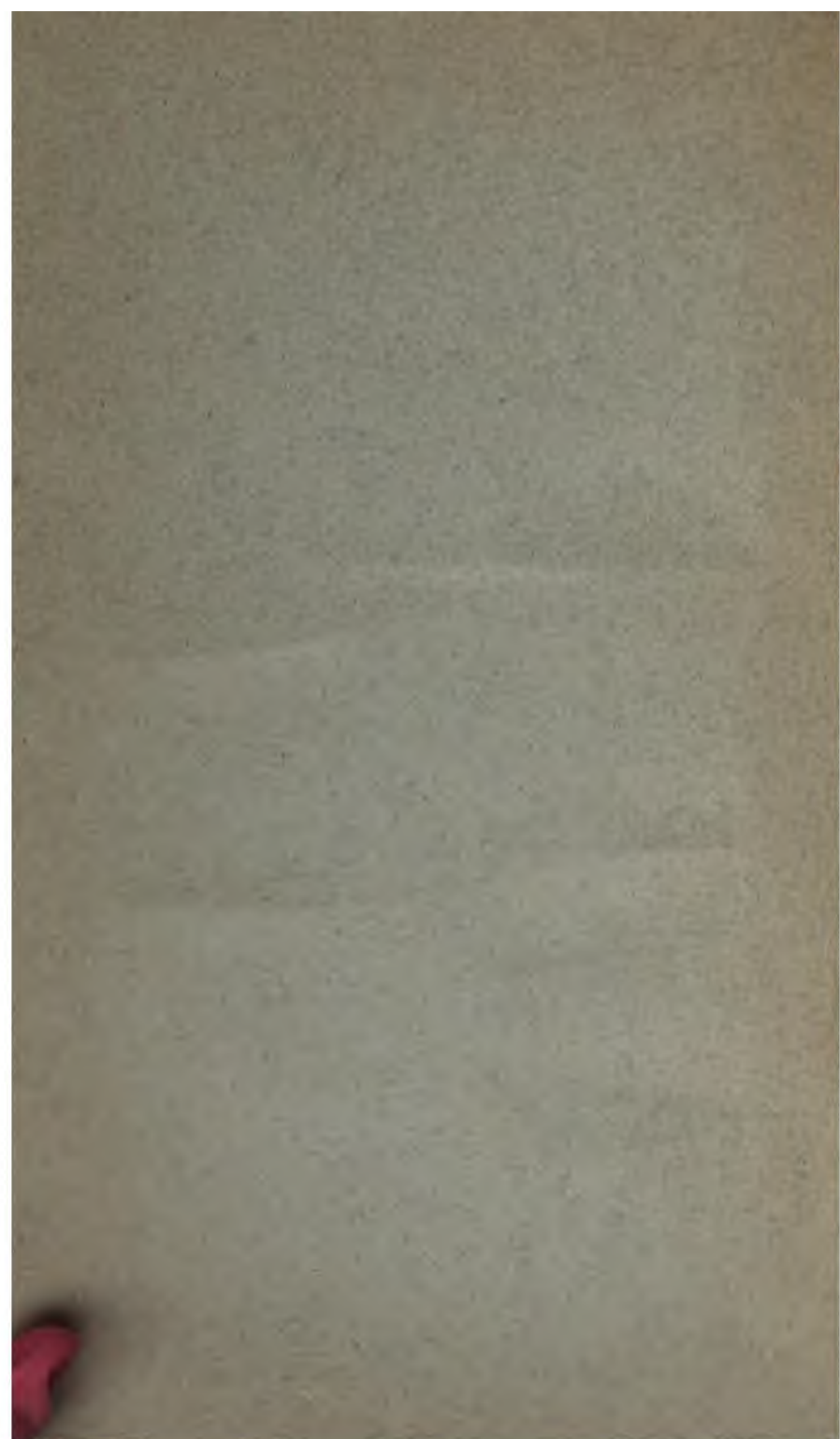
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- ART. I.—1. LEYSER (P.). *Historia Poetarum Med. Ævi.*
Hal. Mag. 8°. 1721.
2. AMPÈRE (F.). *Hist. littéraire de France avant le 12^{me} Siècle.*
8°. Paris. 1839.
3. DU MERIL (ED.). *Poésies inédites du Moyen Age.* Paris. 8°. 1854.
4. DU MERIL (ED.). *Poésies populaires du Moyen Age.* Paris. 8°. 1847.
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6. WRIGHT (J.). *Biographia Britannica Literaria.* Lond. 8°. 1846.
7. MIGNE. *Cursus Patrologiæ Lat. &c.*

PART II.

[Continued from *Christian Remembrancer*, vol. lii. p. 392].

THE eleventh century opens under different auspices; if it is still an age of coarseness and violence, an age in which the fair proportions of feudality are still being moulded and the noble grace of chivalry has not yet shone out in its full splendour, it is nevertheless an age with a purpose, and with an intellectual centre. To this day does the tourist who journeys from Rouen to the ancient town of Brionne, see, at the bottom of a long hill, about a mile from the latter, a lovely valley stretching out on his right hand, at the extremity of which rise the walls of a stately mansion, and one grey and lofty tower. Following the course of a swift clear stream flowing down through a winding lane, he will find himself, after a pleasant stroll, in the presence of what was once the illustrious monastery of Bec, the home of Anselm and Lanfranc, the intellectual centre of the eleventh century. But a change has come over that pleasant scene. The sloping hills, the sparkling stream, the woods waving in the summer wind, are still there, but the cloisters that rang to the feet of the solitaries have passed away, the scriptorium and the

transcriber have gone together; part has been rebuilt, part has perished by the work of time, and but a small portion of the original monastery now exists. And yet, in few other remains can be seen so clearly that gracious instinct which prompted the monastics to seek a resting-place among the loveliest of the works of God. No town has grown up around the venerable walls: no cottages even nestle under its shadow. It stands alone in the delightful valley among its murmuring leaves, as it stood in the days of Anselm: it still looks high over its green pastures and its undulating hills, to where, here and there among the woods, rises the grey tower of the village church.

It was on this spot, so calm and of a beauty so soft and tender, that in the year 1034 men laid the foundations of the great monastery of Bec. The fame of it grew up and flourished apace, and soon after the Italian Lanfranc was admitted within its walls, it rose to be the first establishment of its kind throughout the west of Europe. But into the long record of its renown it is not ours to enter. We follow but a single thread. We feel our way from age to age along only one slender line, and it is with Bec only so far as men wrote Latin verses within its walls, that we are here concerned. Who, then, in this age, was the foremost of its poets?

Anselm. The very name is in some sort an explanation of the age; it brings before us more clearly than any other its twofold nature, its inner and its outer life, its moral condition and its political features. In one sense, indeed, Anselm was the bold imperious churchman he has been so frequently described, but in another and far truer sense, he might be described as a man singularly gentle and mild, conciliating even little children by the suavity of his temper and his manners, and who, when his duty to the Church compelled him to vindicate her authority, was still loth to assert his own. Yet there was nothing in his nature of that humility which is akin to pride. He was perfectly sincere, when, as prior of Bec, he uttered a wish that he could throw aside the burden of government, and again become one of the brethren, and equally so in his unwillingness to exchange his priory for the English archiepiscopate. Had he been allowed to exercise a choice, there is little doubt he would have preferred a contemplative to an active life; but he was one of those men, who, though longing for retirement and tranquillity, are yet successful in the management of affairs. Above all things, he was a moralist. With the exception of a few controversial works, nearly all his writings were undertaken to solve certain difficulties, or to clear up certain doubts that had been propounded to him; but, besides his prose compositions, he was also the author of several metrical productions.

The longest and most important of these, written while he was yet at Bec, in spite of its somewhat ascetic title—'De Contemptu Mundi'—is distinguished by its unaffected piety, though its poetic merits can scarcely be insisted on. Addressed more particularly to his own monks, it is designed to shew them the happiness of their choice, by contrasting the peace and repose of the cloister with the brief pleasures and vanities of the world; and is in reality, a defence of the life to which he was himself devoted. After reminding them that the outward garment does not make the monk, he reminds them of the vows they have undertaken, solicits them to act always as under the eye of God, and passes on to consider the dangers incident to the various conditions of mankind. Kings, in their glory, are too apt to avert their eyes and forget their mortality, but their fortune is far from sure. The oak falls while the myrtle is left standing, the strong tower is shattered whilst the cottage is safe; their hearts are full of hesitation and dread, for, he adds almost in the words of Laberius, power that is feared by many, is itself in dread of not a few.¹ Thence passing on, he takes occasion to dilate on the ill effects of too great an attachment to life, on the worthlessness of splendid descent, and the idleness of bodily strength, and speaks at some length of the habit which, it seems, women had contracted of resorting openly to the monasteries for the purpose of receiving instruction. This practice he emphatically condemns: some of his lines, indeed, are remarkably ungallant; but he is induced, from speaking of women, to proceed to a consideration of the marriage state, and his view of this is fully marked by the asceticism of the time. He does not, it is true, condemn it, but observes that it is not for such as would aspire to perfection, and that those who have entered it cannot look to reap hereafter their sixty or a hundred-fold; but it must be remembered, that this not only was, but had been from remote times, the opinion of the Church. Monachism was the first virtue, to which all the others might be added, and without which they were not wholly inefficacious, but deprived of that which gave them their greatest value. The conclusion of the poem is simple and easy. After dwelling on the various vices and passions to which men are liable, he insists with great strength on the fragility and shortness of all human affairs, and ends by contrasting the peaceful humility of the cloister with the cares and temptations of the world. It is written in very indifferent elegiacs, and consists of some eight hundred lines.²

¹ 'Non paucos metuit multis metuenda potestas.'—S. Anselm.

² 'Necesse est ut multos timeat quem multi timent.'—Laberius.

³ Migne, tom. 158. The poem 'De Contemptu Mundi,' it should be observed, has been repeatedly published as the work of Anselm, though on unsatisfactory

Anselm wrote during the latter half of this century, and though a Lombard by extraction, resided either in Normandy or England; but though he may perhaps be taken as a representative of the age, it would be erroneous to speak of him as the best or purest of its poets. There was, in point of fact, very little difference between them, and that little consisted, for the most part, in their various degrees of barbarism. The best poem of the age, to speak of it from a classical point of view, was not the production of any of its recorded versifiers, but of an anonymous monk, probably of the monastery of Jumièges, who wrote a short metrical account of the foundation, destruction, and restoration of that establishment; and this little work shows a taste far more correct and cultivated than is to be found in more pretentious compositions.¹ Turn for a moment to the poems of Hermannus Contractus, or Hermann the cripple, a monk of the famous abbey of Richenau, a man who, in spite of his infirmities, was distinguished as a poet, a historian, a philosopher, a musician, a theologian, and a mathematician, and who lived during the first half of the century. They are very varied and numerous: they consist of lives of various saints embodied in songs (*cantus historiales*) for general circulation; of a book of lyrics on the eight principal vices, '*jocundulum*,' is the term applied to it by one of his friends; of a rhythm, celebrating the victory of Henry III. over the Hungarians, and of an infinity of hymns and sequences. These, with the exception of some fragments, are now lost, and the most considerable poem of Hermann is the '*Carmen de Conflictu Ovis et Lini*,' first published by M. Du Ménil in 1843:² but this belongs to a class so large and distinctive, that a few words on it are absolutely imperative. A few volumes, it may be added, would be insufficient to exhaust the subject, for its extent is enormous, and it increased with each successive generation.

From the most ancient times of Christianity, and indeed a far higher antiquity might be claimed, a large body of compositions had existed, treating both of religious and secular subjects, which were more generally diffused than those poems written in imitation of the classical models. While the great bulk of monastic poetry, more especially in the earlier centuries, had

authority. It has likewise been claimed for Bernard of Clugny, but, according to M. Wright, was written by Neckam, at the end of the twelfth or beginning of the thirteenth century. *Biogr. Brit. Lit. Anglo-Norman Period*, p. 452. Leyser, on the other hand, ascribes it directly to Anselm, p. 373.

¹ Migne, tom. 138. *Carmen de Monasterio Gemmeticensi*.

² *Poésies populaires avant le xii. siècle* par Edelstand du Meril, 8vo. Paris, 1843, and see also Muratori, *Antiq. Ital. Med. Ævi*, tom. iii. dis. 44. *Elogium Hermanni Contracti, ab ejus familiari conscriptum, anno 1054.*

been written mainly for circulation in the cloisters, there had always existed, though its beginnings are faint and small, a certain portion of it especially intended for circulation among the laity, and this portion is known as the popular poetry of the middle ages. It is impossible almost to describe its nature, for its nature was not only many-sided but universal. It concerned itself with everything. It was devotional, it was satirical,¹ it was commemorative—no subject and no event came amiss to its comprehensive activity. Religious in its earlier form, rehearsing perhaps a scriptural event, or perhaps taking the form of the hymn, it became rapidly developed, and at the beginning of the eighth century, was recognised as a separate branch of the poetic art, and possessed a particular form of versification.² Thus the two famous hymns, the 'Apparebit repentina,' and the 'Ad pereanis vitæ fontem,' attributed, though erroneously, to S. Augustine, who wrote nothing in metre save his hymn against the Donatists, may be taken as examples of its first phase, which gradually changed and grew, till in the ninth century it was indiscriminately applied to any matter of interest or curiosity. With political or military events, with the death or coronation of a sovereign, with a popular legend or a national hero, it quickly and closely became connected. One ballad laments the death of Charlemagne;³ another celebrates the battle of Fontenay⁴ (A.D. 841); a third is sung by the soldiers who are marching to liberate their prince.⁵ It is grotesque, likewise, as witness that strange fragment attributed to S. Cyprian, and mentioned by Raban Maur, in which hundreds of scriptural characters are described as invited by God to a rich banquet, and engaged in the most absurd occupations—a fragment of almost Rabelian oddity.⁶ It concerns itself with wild and fantastic imaginations, such as the 'Vision of Wettinus,' or those of Ansellus or Fulbert: it treats of saints, of heroes, of the fall of cities, and of the breaking out of wars. And, still later, it produces those admirable love-songs and drinking-songs, by which at the present day it is chiefly remembered. It forms, indeed, a striking proof of the truth of a remark that has been ventured on—namely, that the whole history of Mediæval Latin poetry is the

¹ Such, for instance, were the four hundred hexameters of Aldabaron, addressed to Robert of France. Hist. Lit. de la France, vii. 293, and a rhythmus satiricus on the times of the same monarch. Migne, 151.

² Du Meril, *Poésies populaires Latines antérieures au xiième siècle*. Introduction, p. 192.

³ Ibid. p. 245.

⁴ Ibid. p. 249.

⁵ Muratori, *Antiq. Ital.* tom. iii. dis. 40. De rhythmica veterum poesî. Louis II., made prisoner at Beneventum, A.D. 871-2.

⁶ Du Meril, *ubi sup.* p. 193.

history of its emancipation from theology.¹ Every successive century saw it enlarging its bounds, till, from being the mere amusement of the ecclesiastic and the recluse, it had grown to be almost the mirror of the age, and only succumbed to the rising languages of Europe.

To suppose, however, that the popular element was at this time of paramount importance, would be to fall into a grave mistake. The great bulk of the Latin poetry of this century was theological: the lives of saints still constitute its greatest portion. Of the fifty-four writers enumerated by Leyser, a large majority occupied themselves solely with this branch of their art, and if to these we add the writers of hymns, such as Peter Damian, or Fulbert of Chartres, or Alphanas of Salerno, it will be seen that its character was still religious and devotional. Nevertheless, and it is on this point we would particularly insist, the popular element had largely increased, and was already giving promise of the richness it was subsequently to attain.

The poem of Hermann, as may be judged from its title, possesses but little interest, being merely a wearisome dialogue between the plant and the animal, in which they assert their respective utility. Of greater importance, and indicating a branch of the art hitherto neglected, is the singular poem that bears the title of Walther, with regard to the date of which, however, great uncertainty exists.² At the first glance it appears to be an episode of one of the great cycle of poems which compose the *Nibelungen Lied*, but in reality it is an open and unblushing plagiarism. It borrows, in a word, its characters from the German poem, and supplies them with a different series of adventures. The Etzel of the *Nibelungen Lied*, as every one knows, stands for Attila: the author of Walther accordingly lays the scene at the court of that monarch. Hagen and Gunther are two of the doomed *Nibelungen*, and Hagen was formerly a hostage in the hands of Etzel:

Daher ist mir von Hagen auch Alles wohlbekannt.
Zwei edle Kinder wurden ergozen hier im Land.
Er und von Spanien Walther, die wuchsen hier zum Mann,
Heim sandt' ich wieder Hagen; Walther mit Hildegund entrann.³

¹ Du Meril, *ubi sup.* p. 193.

² 'I have no hesitation in asserting that it contains internal evidence that it could not have been written before the end of the ninth century, and is probably attributable to the tenth or beginning of the eleventh.'—Herbert. *Attila*. p. 481. On the other hand, both Leyser and M. du Meril agree that Ekkehard, a monk of S. Gall, was the author, but differ as to the period at which he lived. Leyser places him about 1040, and M. du Meril somewhat earlier. Herbert is clearly in error when he says: 'It is supposed to have been written by a monk named Walther.' p. 540.

³ *Nibelungen Lied*, xxviii. 1799.

In the Latin poem Hagans is a Burgundian hostage, who makes his escape; and Walther is likewise a hostage, who runs off with Hiltgunde. The adventures, however, are different, as will be seen from the following analysis, taken from the notes to Herbert's poem of Attila:—'Gibicho, who has an infant son, Gunther, is represented as King of the Franks near the Rhine. Hiltgunde, daughter of Heric King of Burgundy, is betrothed to Walter Prince of Aquitaine. Attila with his Huns having advanced from Hungary against France, Gibicho submits to pay tribute, and gives Hagans as a hostage. Hiltgunde and Walter subsequently become hostages likewise, and Attila returns to his own country. But on the death of Gibicho, his son Gunther refuses to pay tribute, and Hagans makes his escape to him. Walter is successful in leading the Huns against them, performs other military services, and after refusing the offer of a wife among the Huns, proposes to Hiltgunde to make their escape. Attila and his court are invited to a banquet, and become intoxicated, and the pair, taking possession of much treasure and the King's favourite horse, set out together. Arrived at the Rhine, he pays the ferryman with a fish he had previously caught, which being presented presently to King Gunther's cook is recognised by him to be a foreign one; and inquiry being made, Walter is discovered. Gunther, together with Hagen and other warriors, pursue him to deprive him of Attila's treasures, and attack him in a cavern in the Vosges, where he is reposing. They are all slain save Gunther and Hagen, who at last fall upon Walter as he is endeavouring to retreat, and after a terrible encounter they all find themselves more or less mutilated. Walter loses a hand, Gunther a foot, and Hagen an eye; and the former goes on his way with his treasures.' The whole poem, then, is clearly written in glorification of a prince of Aquitaine, and the author, well aware of the popularity of the Nibelungen Lied, or rather of the cycle of poems it consists of, together with the Scandinavian myths on the same subjects, appropriates three or four of their distinguishing features. The hero, Walther, is represented as possessing himself of Attila's hostage Hiltgunde, elsewhere described as his wife, of his famous sword Gram, and his no less famous steed Geara, who here appears under the name of Leo; in short, he is invested with most of the attributes of the mythical Etzel. And besides all this, and the want of skill with which the story is managed, the form of the poem is barbarous to the last degree; it is crammed with Germanisms, and in some passages seems to have been a mere translation. Yet these are faults that might readily have been forgiven, had it contained any fragments of the true epic gold. Nevertheless, as an example of the increase of secular poetry, it is well worthy of

notice, whatever be the date of its appearance, and that we cannot pretend to determine.¹

In Italy there was in this century a marked improvement, and especially in the latter portion of it.² At no period, indeed, even, as we have seen, during the invasions of the fifth century, had there been any dearth of metrical writers. In the eighth century there had been Paul the Deacon and Paulinus of Aquila; in the ninth, we meet with Theodolphus, Theophanius, Hilderic, Eschembert; in the tenth there was a retrogression, but in the present, owing in a high degree to the great pontiff who reigned at its commencement, the retrogression was more than arrested.³ Schools, of which Italy had never been wholly destitute, now rose in all directions, and, indeed, the names of the more celebrated Italians of the age are quite sufficient to rebut any accusation of degeneracy. To omit the names of Hildebrand and Lanfranc and Anselm, we meet with Peter Damian, Alberic, Alphanus, Bonizo, Anselm of Lucca, Bruno of Segni, Leo Marsicanus, and Gregory of Farsa,⁴ besides numerous others of inferior note. Of poets, however, none of these are equal, either in interest or importance, to the famous work of William the Apulian, written at the close of the century. Its subject—the conquest of Sicily and Apulia by the Normans, one of the most brilliant exploits in history—was admirably fitted to be the subject of a bold and heroic poem. The character of the great leader under whom it was effected contained precisely those features with which a poet would seek to invest the hero of whose exploits he sang. At once daring and wise, a prince far-seeing in design and eminently brave in battle, fertile in resources and prudent in council, the story of his marvellous conquest still possesses a romantic interest, and must have excited an interest incalculably greater in the minds of his contemporaries. All that was wanting was the sacred bard who could give life and grace and harmony to the rich drama that was unfolding itself on the Sicilian shores. The materials were ready to his hand. All the elements of a great poem lay in splendid confusion before him. He had merely to arrange, to bind in order, to select his illustrations, his similes, his incidents,

¹ It is clear, from expressions in the poem itself, that traditions on the subject had existed long anterior to it—

'Quem referunt quidam Scaramundum nomine dictum.'—688.

Mention is also made of the famous smith Wieland—

'Et nisi duratis Wielandia fabrica gyris
Obstaret, spisso penetraverit ilia ligno.'—966.

² Muratori, *Antiq. Ital.* iii. dis. 44, p. 871.

³ *Ibid.* dis. 44 p. 913.

⁴ *Ibid.* dis.

to appreciate the poetry of the situation, to have produced a poem that might have equalled while it preceded by nearly four centuries the '*Gerusalemme Liberata*.' The exploits of Robert Guiscard in Southern Italy were scarcely inferior to those of his nephew Tancred and his son Bohemond on the plains of Palestine. The battles of Civitella or Durazzo offered a theme, not indeed as inviting as the rescue of the holy city, but still, one around which a gorgeous web, in which truth was heightened into romance, might have been woven. The same Normans who stormed the walls of Jerusalem had already contended with the Moors in Sicily, and performed deeds but little, if at all, inferior to that crowning triumph. If, therefore, the poem of the Apulian is hard and dry, the fault is with him and not with the subject. The subject was all that could be desired: nothing but incapacity, dulness, or want of spirit, could fail to take advantage of a narrative peculiarly spirited and dramatic. If Camoens could produce a fine poem out of such unpromising materials as the voyage of Vasco de Gama, and the proceedings of his countrymen in the East Indies, it is not too much to expect that something will be made out of one of the most brilliant and romantic expeditions recorded in his history. But what is the work of the Apulian? A metrical chronicle, valuable no doubt, historically speaking, but no more a poem than the '*Historia Sicula*' or the '*Historiæ Northmannorum*.' No more insipid picture of a great event could easily have been given. He is, it is true, correct as to detail, but though that may make the narrative trustworthy, it is the very quality he ought as a poet to have rejected. There was no necessity for him to falsify history, but it is in the union of truth and fiction that one great charm of a poem consists. The enchantments of Ismeno were imaginary, but the forest in which he prepared them is standing at this day just where the poet described it. Aladin and Erminia were the creatures of his fancy, but the tower in which they are represented as sitting was most assuredly a tower built of mortar and stones. The paths trodden by Armida and Clorinda still wind round the sacred city.¹ It would be absurd, certainly, to expect from the eleventh century the grace and versatility that was in reality due to the full development of the feudal system and the restoration of literature in the previous age; but it is singular that a writer anxious to increase the honour of his patron's family, should not have exaggerated or drawn on his fancy. If his ambition only led him to record certain facts correctly in semi-barbarous hexameters, he might have been an excellent man; but it is idle to speak of him as a poet. He presents,

¹ Sismondi, quoting from Chateaubriand. *Literature du Midi*, i. p. 369.

however, a very curious picture of the age, and the general coldness of his style is itself worthy of observation.

A list of the writers who lived at any particular period is not very attractive to those unacquainted either with their lives or productions, but it would be fairly unpardonable to recapitulate a long series of forgotten names that only illustrate a semi-barbarous age. Of the fifty-four enumerated by Leyser—a number that may be considerably increased—the generality are so totally forgotten that nothing can render them an object of interest. It would be to no end were we to pass from the venal panegyrics of Benzo to the verses in which Guido Arelin explained his invention of the musical scale, to dwell on the lines in which the death of an abbot is lamented, or to commemorate the pious zeal that enshrined fictitious miracles in hexameters of strange construction. We prefer to turn for a moment, even at the cost of straying from the more immediate subject, to a short consideration of some matters connected with the age which eminently characterise its nature.

It is recorded by Gibbon, that in the first crusade the fourth division or *corps d'armée* of the pilgrims, composed chiefly of German peasantry, bore a goose and a goat before the vanguard, whom they regarded with superstitious veneration; and the very singular Decretals of Burchard, Bishop of Worms, who died in the year 1025, present a most interesting commentary on this singular conduct. Never were ignorance and superstition described and reprov'd with greater minuteness than in these curious pages. In Germany, at all events, in this age the old heathen traditions were not utterly dead: the relics both of Roman and Northern paganism are still to be met with in the daily life and customs of the people. Converted the last or nearly the last of the European nations, they retained later than most others traces of the practices from which they had been weaned, while the conflicting signs of Roman and Northern influence form not the least singular portion of the picture. Thus, for example, we find here the indications of the old belief in the transformation of human beings into the form of animals, especially the wolf, which is mentioned by the term popular superstition still bestows upon it,¹ and likewise of the fairies of mediæval tradition.² These were Northern, or at least German,

¹ 'Credidisti quod quidam credere solent, ut illæ quæ a vulgo paræ vocantur, ipsæ vel sint vel possint hoc facere quod creduntur; id est dum aliquis homo nascitur, et tunc valent illum designare ad hoc quid velint ut quodocunque ille homo voluerit, in lupum transformari possit, quod vulgaris stultitia weruolff vocat, aut in aliam aliquam figuram.'—Lib. xix. cap. 5.

² 'Credidisti quod quidam credere solent, quod sint agrestes feminæ, quas sylvaticas vocant, quas dicunt esse corporeas, et quando voluerint ostendant se suis amatoribus, et cum eis dicunt se oblectasse, et item quando voluerint abs-

beliefs, but the practice of appeasing the Fates by exposing food for them in case they should pass by, seems to indicate a double origin. The three sisters must have come from classical antiquity, while the custom itself was common among both the Teutonic and Scandinavian nations, and prevailed, as every one knows, among ourselves.¹ In another passage, again, we meet with a very curious instance of the early belief in witches, and in their midnight revels, and it is so singular and suggestive of the origin of so wide a class of popular fancies, that we give it *in extenso* below.² A custom likewise that prevailed in times of drought is extraordinary, but will hardly bear translation,³ while

condant se et evanescant? Si credidisti decem dies in pane et aqua poeniteas.—Lib. xix. cap. 5.

It may be remarked that out of the twenty books composing these Decretals, one, the tenth, is expressly devoted to magical and superstitious practices; but of course, great portion of it is anterior to the eleventh century. S. Augustine, Bede, Isidore, Ambrose, and the councils of the eighth and ninth centuries are the chief authorities, but Burchard often speaks himself, 'Ad hæc,' he says after quoting his authorities, 'in Collectario hoc si quid utilitatis inveneris dei donis ascribe. Si autem quid superfluitatis meæ insipientiæ deputa.'—Burchardus, Brunichoni suo. Migne, 140. Cf. Fabricius. Bib. Med. Ævi, ad nom.

¹ 'Fecisti ut quædam mulieres in quibusdam temporibus anni facere solent: ut in domo tua mensam præparares, et tuos cibos, et potum cum tribus cultellis supra mensam poneres, ut si venissent tres illæ sorores, quas antiqua posteritas et antiqua stultitia parcas nominavit, ibi reficerentur, et tulisti divinæ pietati potestatem suam, et nomen suum, et diabolo tradidisti, ita, dico, ut crederes illas quas tu dicis esse sorores, tibi posse, aut hic aut in futuro prodesse? Si fecisti,' &c.—Lib. xix.

² 'Credidisti aut particeps fuisti illius incredulitatis, quod quædam sceleratæ mulieres retro post Satanam conversæ, dæmonum illusionibus et phantasmatibus seductæ, credunt et profitentur se nocturnis horis cum Diana paganorum dea, et cum innumera multitudine mulierum equitare super quasdam bestias, et multa terrarum spatia in tempestæ noctis silentio pertransire, ejusque jussionibus velut dominæ obedire, et certis noctibus ad ejus servitium evocari!'—Ibid. And again in the same book—'Credidisti ut aliqua femina sit quæ hoc facere possit quod quædam, a diabolo deceptæ, se affirmant necessario et ex precepto facere debere, id est cum demonum turba in similitudinem mulierum transformatum, quam vulgaris stultitia holdam vocat, certis noctibus equitare debere super quasdam bestias, et in eorum se consortio annumeratam esse? Si particeps fuisti illius incredulitatis,' &c.—Ibid. De Arte Magica.

³ 'Fecisti quod quædam mulieres facere solent? Dum pluviam non habent, et ea indigent, tunc plures puellas congregant, et unam parvulam virginem quasi ducem sibi præponunt, et eam denudant, et extra villam ubi herbam jusquiamum inveniunt, quæ Teutonice belisa vocatur, sic nudatam deducunt, et eamdem herbam, eamdem virginem sic nudam minimo digito dextræ manus erueri faciunt, et radicibus erutam cum ligamine aliquo ad minimum digitum dextri pedis ligare faciunt. Et singulæ puellæ singulas virgas in manibus habentes, supradictam virginem herbam post se trahentem in flumen proximum introducunt, et cum eisdem virgis virginem flumine aspergunt, et sic suis incantationibus pluviam se habere sperant. Et post eamdem virginem sic nudam, transpositis et mutatis in modum cancri vestigiis, a flumine ad villam inter manus reducunt? Si fecisti aut consentiens fuisti viginti dies in pane et aqua debes poenitere.'—Ibid.

It will be observed that the three passages above cited bear upon female superstition, a theme on which Burchard is exceedingly diffuse. It would be easy to multiply examples, but great part of his work turns on matters to which allusion is impossible. It is sufficient to say that he has omitted to reprobate no abomi-

in another passage we come upon an exclusively Christian custom—that of singing the Creed and the Lord's Prayer while collecting medicinal herbs. This is enjoined as preferable to supposed incantations, but the habit of drawing a verse from Scripture, as from a lottery, and being guided by its nature is forbidden under penalty of a ten days' fast. Allusion is constantly made to philtres, charms, and incantations, to semi-pagan methods of observing New Year's Day, to fascinations, to scrolls covered with mystical characters, to household sprites,¹ and to usages touching the bodies of the dead. The pages of Burchard, in short, contain a full, and it must be added, unfavourable picture of the morality of the age, and fully sustain the censure that Mosheim and other ecclesiastical writers have bestowed upon it. Fraud and violence abounded in all directions. The history of the Papacy, the enormous pretensions of Hildebrand, the humiliation of the secular authority, offer the best commentary on the nature of the time. The century itself had opened ominously and darkly. The thousand years was supposed to have been consummated, the end was considered at hand, and all Europe was convulsed with the terrors of impending dissolution. But at its close it had assumed a brighter aspect. The new monastical societies were in the full vigour of their youth. Jerusalem had passed into the hands of the Christians. A splendid, though premature, civilization had arisen on the plains of Provence, which is still enshrined in the poems of Raymond and Berenger. England, fortunately for herself, had experienced the blessing of the Conquest. The age of the Cid had arrived in Spain. Everywhere round the intellectual horizon were the signs of promise and of progress: the world, to borrow the language of a great poet, was spinning down the grooves of change, and the dawn of a happier era was at hand.

Burchard, it will be remembered, lived during the earlier portion of the eleventh century, at a time when its worst features only were discernible, and it would, consequently, be incorrect to regard him as an exponent of its later condition. Anselm rather is the name to which we should turn as the representative both of its moral and intellectual life. The Eucharistic controversy excited by Berengarius, and the dispute between Anselm and Gaunilon,² on some doctrines of the former, contain ample proofs

nation that can be conceived by an ignorant and depraved woman. The Decretals may be recommended to those who believe in the dignity of human nature.

¹ 'Fecisti pueriles arcus parvulos, et puerorum saturalia, et projecisti sive in cellarium sive in horreum tuum, ut satyri vel pilosi cum eis ibi jocarentur, ut tibi aliorum bona comportarent, et inde ditior fieres? Si fecisti,' &c.—*De Arte Magica*, lib. xix. The Decretals of Burchard are in one sense one of the most abominable books that ever appeared, and it is strange that the objectionable portions are not omitted in the Collections.

² An account of this latter will be found in Maurice's *Mediæval Philosophy*, iii. p. 102.

of its dialectical skill. Dialectics, indeed, and perhaps music, judging from the number of treatises upon it, were the two arts that peculiarly flourished, though both, in common with all others, were rapidly to develop in the succeeding age.¹

A habit has been introduced by two distinguished writers, of selecting some one eminent man as the representative of his age, and of deducing an estimate of it from his life and character. This practice has many advantages, as it enables the writer to generalise largely, and at the same time to animate his narrative with biographical details; but it may perhaps be doubted whether it is historically correct. In point of fact, it is like reasoning from a particular to a universal. No one man, be he ever so great, can embrace in his own mind all the other minds of his age. No intellect can be so predominant as to overshadow the intelligence of the world. To take Alcuin as the representative of the eighth century, and Hincmar of the ninth, will no doubt be to give some interesting particulars concerning them, but will leave a great portion of the intellectual life of those centuries untouched; and just in the same manner, to take Bernard of Clairvaux, or Abelard in the present, would be to give a most imperfect idea of it. The great feature of the twelfth century is its astonishing richness and complexity. Life, that had hitherto flowed sluggishly along through a few ancient channels, burst suddenly into a hundred streams. In any other age Bernard, from his authority and character, would have assuredly had good claims to be regarded as its representative. But vast as was his influence, he forms in this but a portion of that marvellous activity that constitutes its life. There is Abelard, there is William of Champeaux, there is Peter Lombard, and Peter of Chigni, and Arnold Brescia, and each of these possessed a strong individuality. While authority clung round the feet of Bernard, philosophy emancipated herself in Abelard. Arnold would have destroyed the political fabric of the church, and converted Europe into one vast democracy. But in these men we have only the religious, the philosophical, the political elements of the time, and how vast is the residue of many-coloured and ever-varying life! The amazing influence of monastic life, the splendid fulness of feudality, a fulness whose meaning is to be seen in the cycle of Arturian

¹ The following short letter will give some indication of the price of books in this age. Circa an. 1057. 'Monachi cujusdam epistola ad Odericum Abbatem Monasterii Vindicinensis. Domino suo abbati O. frater R. orationes in Christo. Pater carissime, scire vos volumus quod codicem de quo audivistis, pretio magno a Martino, qui est modo presul, comitissa emit. Una vice libri causâ centum oves illi dedit: altera vice causâ ipsius libri unum modium frumenti, et alterum sigalis, et tertium de millio. Iterum hac eadem causa centum oves: altera vice quasdam pelles martirinas. Cumque separavit se a comite, quatuor libratas, ovium emendi causâ, ab illa accepit. Postquam requisivit denarios, ille conqueri cœpit de libro. Illa statim demisit ei quod sibi debebat.'—Mabill. *Annal. Bened.* tom. iv. p. 514.

romance, or in the noble epic of Roland,¹ the gay songs of carousing students, such as those of *De Mapes* or *De Châtillon*, the rise of those singular tales subsequently so popular, and of which early indications are to be found in Peter Alphonse, the Crusades, the *Alligenses*, the jurists,—all this and these combine in forming its diversified features. No one man can represent such an age as this.

Though the century was thus marked by its wonderful fertility, it is not till the latter portion of it that any marked improvement can be discerned in its metrical literature. At its commencement the employment of rhyming Leonine verses was almost universal. Prosody was generally neglected; for in point of fact a new system of versification had gradually arisen, which, though in some degree based upon prosody, violated it at will, and had moreover rules peculiar to itself. These rules, which are exceedingly curious, will be found in the '*Labyrinthus*' of Everard de Bethune, a work written early in the following century, of which we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. Our object at present is to give a sketch rather of the contents than the form. Many readers may be interested in learning the subjects selected by these mediæval poets who would become speedily wearied with a dissertation on Leonines, cristate and accentual sapphics. Remarking then merely that at the commencement of this century the form was corrupt to the last degree, we hasten to given some conception, faint though it be, of the vast extent and diversity of the subject-matter.

In the opening pages it was remarked, that Christian Latin poetry naturally divided itself into four heads: that it was paraphrastic, legendary, controversial, and hymnic, which last division comprehended at that time its popular aspect. Let us now see under what heads it presents itself.

1. It is still legendary, it still concerns itself with the lives of saints, more or less apocryphal, whose virtues and miracles it celebrates. 2. It is likewise still hymnic: the hymn, in fact, has received its crowning glory, for we are in the age of Bernard of Clugny and Adam of Victor. 3. It concerns itself with military matters. A war now produces its poets. A whole cycle of poems relate to the Crusades. 4. In some instances it concerns itself with romance, as we have seen in the poem of Walther: it treats of the mythical Charlemagne, or the mythical Arthur, but sparingly, because here it had to contend with the romances of the vulgar tongue. 5. It devoted itself to popular songs and satire: it was amatory, bacchanalian, patriotic; it translated the vulgar songs and satires, such as that of '*Isengrim*' or '*Reinecke Fuchs*,' into the language of the cloister. 6. Its sixth division embraced those poems which treated of none of the above subjects, and

¹ First published by M. Francisque Michel from a manuscript in the Bodleian, in 1837.

which may therefore be called miscellaneous. To this class belong such poems as those of Hildebert of Mans, or the '*Liber Lapidum*' of Marbodius, or the epitaphs of Baudri, Archbishop of Dol, in Brittany. Now, a glance at this list will show the enormous progress that has been made in the secularization of mediæval poetry, for two of the old divisions,—the paraphrastic and the controversial, have fallen into desuetude, and have been supplanted by four others, all of which are independent of theology. It is of the last division we would at present speak.

The influence of monasteries and universities composes the two great facts that especially characterise the twelfth century; and the fruit of it is seen in the improvement that took place in education, and the zeal with which manuscripts were collected and transcribed. In France especially is this change visible. Her intellectual condition was the best in Europe. There are no names that can be compared with those of Abelard and Bernard, and Peter Lombard, for Peter, though an Italian, owed his education to Paris; but all these lived in the first half of the century. While, however, in the latter portion of the century prose literature showed symptoms of decadence,¹ verse on the other hand rapidly improved. Corrupt to a degree at its commencement, it was reclaimed from the barbarous forms into which it had fallen, and at the termination of the age had produced some of the best of the mediæval poems. The '*Architrenius*' of Hauteville, the '*Antiocheis*' of Joseph of Exeter, the '*Alexandreid*' of Walter de Châtillon were all written at the close of this century, or during the commencement of the following. But at the opening of the twelfth century, as we have said, poetry was universally corrupt, and even the best writers exhibited little promise.

Among these may be mentioned the name of Hildebert, Bishop of Mans, and subsequently Archbishop of Tours, who died in the year 1134, and who has left a large number of metrical compositions. Both in their form and subject these poems are exceedingly curious, and afford a very fair indication of the taste and spirit of the age. They are written, for the most part, in hexameters, but contain specimens of nearly every mediæval variety of it, though the great bulk is written in the ordinary rhyming Leonine, which was now generally used. The nature of these poems will be at once seen from the following list. First we have an elegiac poem, unrhymed, on the celebration of the Mass, on the ceremonial to be observed, and this is followed by a book in Leonine verse, in which he treats of the reasons for the ceremonial. Next in order stands a poem entitled '*Physiologus*'—if indeed it is to be ascribed to Hildebert—which consists of short detached pieces on various animals, written in a great variety of

¹ Eichhorn, *Allg. Gesch. der Literatur*, ii. 63.

metres; and next to this, again, we have a short poem in unrhymed elegiacs on the Creation. The 'De Ordine Mundi,' is a poem written in that variety of hexameter known as the *cristati*,¹—the nature of which is seen below—a kind of 'abstract and brief chronicle' of the history of the world, and is in no sense a scriptural paraphrase, an assertion that cannot be made with regard to the poem on the First and Second Book of Kings, or to that on Ecclesiastes. The moral application of various passages of the Old and New Testament consists merely of little copies of hexameters, and the 'Book of Christian Inscriptions' is in reality a collection of epigrams, while the elegiacs on the story of Susanna present it simply with a little ornamentation. The lives of several saints, written for the most part in *cristati*, are in no way remarkable; but the very singular poems on Mahomet and on judicial astrology are well deserving of attention, as characteristic of the period.² In the former he commits the strange anachronism of making Mahomet a contemporary of Theodosius and Ambrose; and it is, moreover, laden with prodigies of all descriptions. The second is incomplete, and the end of the tale is consequently wanting, but it is in substance as follows. A soldier and his wife are residing at Rome, and the latter earnestly desiring to become a mother, consults an astrologer on the subject. The astrologer replies that she will bear her husband a son who will attain great distinctions, but who will eventually cause the death of his father. The prediction is fulfilled; the child is born, and the woman, desirous of saving it from her husband, to whom she had confessed the prophecy, sends it away, and has it reared elsewhere. The boy grows up, is a miracle of valour and intelligence, and after a career of astonishing triumphs, becomes master of the holy city, and at this point the narrative ends. Whether it was written, as hinted by the editor,³ in ridicule of judicial astrology, or whether it merely embodied a popular tale, is perhaps an open question, but many stories of a similar nature were then current. The miscellaneous poems of Hildebert, consisting of pieces of verse of various length, in all kinds of metres, and on all kinds of subjects, complete the list: epigrams, epitaphs, epistles, rhymes, rhythms, are here crowded together in indiscriminate confusion.

From the preceding list some idea will be formed of the nature of the miscellaneous poems at the commencement of the twelfth

¹ The first two lines will give an idea of it—

'Maxime sanctorum sitiunt quem vota piorum
Adventum cujus sæx temporis exigit hujus,' &c.

² The 'Historia de Mahumete' is written in what are called *cristati* with a double rhyme—

'Heu quot sunt stulti miseranda fraude sepulti
Contemptaque Dei cognitione rei!' &c.

³ See Migne, tom. 171, p. 1366.

century, though some of them, such as the lives of the saints, fall under a different division. The contemporaries of Hildebert, who employed themselves likewise on these poems, greatly resemble him both in matter and style, but he surpasses most of them in the diversity of his subjects.¹ With the exception of Marbodius, or Marbœuf, Bishop of Rennes, there is not a single metrical writer during the earlier portion of the century who can compare with him in extent and variety; and Marbodius may, perhaps, be taken as representing only such subjects as had been omitted by Hildebert. Besides lives of the saints, and every one at that time wrote such lives, his works consist of '*Carmina varia*,' chiefly in Leonine hexameters; of a poem on Ruth, and another on Dinah, neither being paraphrastic, of a metrical version of some of the ordinary rules of rhetoric and grammar; of a poem on precious stones, in which their virtues and attributes are severally described; and of some books of what he terms capitularies, which are nothing else than short poems on various moral and religious subjects.² In these, as in the works of Hildebert, are to be found examples of almost every variety of mediæval metre; but it is perhaps worthy of remark, that such metres were, at least at this age, deliberately adopted. At the very time when Hildebert was perpetrating his hideous corruptions of the classical metres he was loading his pages with quotations from Virgil and Horace.³ Sometimes indeed he tried to imitate them, but naturally without success. No one whose ear had been vitiated by the monotonous roll of the Leonine, who had manufactured his own words, and had been long accustomed to deal with his quantities as seemed good in his eyes, was likely to succeed. But it was choice, and not ignorance, that caused the continued use of mediæval versification.

It would be to no purpose to accumulate the names of the many other miscellaneous poets who flourished at this period, to mention the elegies of Laurence of Durham, the epigrams of Henry of Huntingdon, or the poems of Arnulphus, or Peter of Poitiers. It is clear that, with the exception of the popular branch, no class is likely to be more numerous than this. Miscellaneous verses are to be found scattered about in all directions, in the heart of theological disquisitions, in the midst of annals and chronicles,

¹ Among the *Carmina Miscellanea* of Hildebert, we have observed an epigram '*De Hermaphrodito*,' which is identical with the well-known one on the same subject attributed to Pulci de Costozza, and on the authenticity of which a treatise will be found at the end of the fourth volume of the '*Menagiana*.' There are several others of very similar nature among the poems of Hildebert, and it will be singular if these once famous lines were in reality written by a bishop of the twelfth century. Our own impression is, that they are older still.

² One of these '*De Fato et Genesi*,' is especially curious, as showing the belief of the time in astrology, and the influence of the natal Genius. Migne, tom. 171.

³ See especially his '*Moralis Philosophia*,' which abounds in quotations from nearly all the Latin poets. Ibid.

and in the centre of philosophical treatises. Every one who could write at all could write the verses of the period, and the chances were that he did so. The extent, accordingly, even of this single class is enormous; it is so large, indeed, that we can do little more in these limits than indicate its magnitude.

In turning to those poems that especially commemorate military exploits, a sensible difference prevails. Their number is comparatively scanty, and necessarily so; for it is one thing to throw off little copies of verses on incidental occurrences, and another to attempt a prolonged flight. The fashion, however, of celebrating warlike events in poems of considerable length, was not one that arose in this century. We have seen it in the concluding years of the last in the poems of William the Apulian; and indeed, in one form or another, matters of this nature had always found their way into song. The novelty was in the form and the extent. It was important, not in itself but in its results. The older poems of this description were the ancestors in a right line of the remarkable cycle of heroic poems that appeared at the close of this and the beginning of the subsequent century. Since the days when Abbo had told, in uncouth verse, of the Normans beleaguering the walls of Paris, a predilection for this species of composition had been growing up, and the time of its maturity was now at hand. The 'Alexandreid,' the 'Ligurinus,' the 'Antiocheis,' the 'Philippis,' all sprang from a common source, though their appearance was owing to the great improvement in taste and knowledge of Latin that is discernible at the close of the age.

The opening years of the present century present us with several specimens of these poems during their earlier development, and among the most conspicuous of these is that of Laurence, a deacon at Verona. In seven books of hexameters he has described the exploits of the Pisans in the Balearic isles, and their triumph at Pisa in the year 1215. Many of his descriptions are spirited and well-drawn, but he is on the whole more of an annalist than a poet. His work is a chronicle thrown into verse: events are narrated just as they occurred, without any attempt to heighten or adorn them. It consists of seven books of hexameters and contains about three thousand lines. In the same class must be placed the poem of Gilo of Paris on the First Crusade, in six books of Leonine hexameters—a barbarous production, abounding in exaggeration and credulity, and utterly unworthy of the subject. One Fulco, or Foulques, has likewise left a poem on this crusade.¹

If length were any indication of merit, it must be confessed that some of the poems of this age would be of a very high

¹ Both these are to be found in Duchesne. *Hist. Franc.* tom. iv.

order. Those of Alanus de Insulis¹ extend over a hundred and two quarto pages, closely printed: the four books of Ægidius on the composition of medicines contain over four thousand five hundred lines:² the 'Aurora' of Peter de Riga, a painful metrical paraphrase of the entire Scriptures, is apparently limitless.³ But all these lived at the close of the century, and, remembering the improvement which is said to have taken place, it is not unreasonable to look for some evidence of it in their writings. Ægidius however, and de Riga, may be dismissed at once. The subject on which the former wrote, involving the necessity of using the semi-barbarous terms of the pharmacopœia, precluded the probability of elegance, while the poem of Riga, though curious in many respects, is unavoidably monotonous. Far superior to both are those of Alanus. His 'Ante-Claudianus,' a phantastic title taken from the exordium and in no way indicative of the nature of the poem, possesses great merit, and his other productions are pleasing and harmonious. That he has blemishes is of course unavoidable, but he is on the whole the most correct of the poets we have yet met. But whatever his merits in this particular, he was speedily eclipsed. The rapid though temporary restoration of learning that occurred at the close of the age, can be traced step by step in the verses of the successive poets. Alanus himself made an advance, but Alanus is overshadowed by the great superiority of the 'Architrenius.' The 'Architrenius,' in point of versification alone, is perhaps excelled by the 'Enteticus' of John of Salisbury; but both are inferior to the great poems of the succeeding age, to the 'Ligurinus,' the 'Antiocheis,' and the 'Philippis.' The improvement that is manifest in so many directions is undoubtedly apparent in the redemption of the classical metres from the barbarous fashion that had defaced them, and the consequent aspect of Latin versification.

John de Hauteville, or de Alta Villa, a monk of St. Albans,

¹ In the Prolegomena to the works of Alanus, or Alain de l'Isle (Migne, tom. 210), will be found an investigation into the period in which he is said to have lived. But the two persons of this name are there identified, whereas Alanus, bishop of Auxerre, died about 1185, and Alanus de Insulis (according to this account) in 1203. The old opinion was, that he died in 1294. Cf. Fabricius, Bib. Med. Ætat.

² Ægidius, or Giles de Corbeil, said to have been a Greek by birth, was a monk of the abbey above named, and physician to Philip Augustus: see Milman, Latin Christ. vol. iv. p. 69. The medical poem referred to is to be found in Leyser, p. 499. There were many individuals of the same name, and among others a descendant who corrected and interpolated the 'Aurora' of Peter de Riga, and who was also the author of a poem called 'Carolinus.' Cf. Fabricius, Bib. Med. Ætat. ad nomen. Migne, tom. 212. A more correct distribution would perhaps have assigned Ægidius to the following century, though the matter is of little moment.

³ Peter de Riga was a canon regular in the abbey of St. Denis at Reims, and wrote during the latter portion of the century. Migne, tom. 212.

who wrote during the concluding portion of the century, was the author of the 'Archithrenius.' Its nature is in some degree explained by the title, but it scarcely conveys its general scope. In reality, it is a long poem in nine books of hexameters, partly on the miseries of human life and the moral condition of mankind, partly satirical; for he glances with a keen eye on the vices of the age, and at the same time alike descriptive and imaginary. In other words, it is a vast metrical *mélange*, into which the writer threw his meditations and fancies, without troubling himself about the coherence of his work. But its prevailing tone is one of mournful resignation. Looking out from his cloister into the world, the old monk was saddened and perplexed at the spectacle. The oppression of nobles and the hypocrisy of priests strike him with horror and alarm, and he records them with indignation. At another time, averting his gaze from the world, he busies himself with a popular legend, or a passing thought, or a passage from a favourite author. His work thus possesses a personal character which belongs to few other mediæval poems. Rarely in them does the author himself appear. A few lines at the commencement or conclusion perhaps indicate his name and the time in which he wrote. But here, on the other hand, the object from first to last is to develop the thoughts and aspirations of the individual, and a result hitherto unattained is consequently witnessed. The poem, though long since utterly forgotten, was once widely popular, and is repeatedly quoted by Camden in his 'Britannia.'¹

Belonging to the earlier portion of this century and to this country, we meet with a very curious poem on a subject hitherto but scantily touched on by the mediæval bards. The poem of Walther, as we have seen, was in reality a translation from the great cycle of legends, which subsequently assumed the form of the 'Helden Buch' and the 'Nibelungen Lied.' And just in the same manner the poem now alluded to was a translation, or at all events was derived from the great mass of Armorican legends that concerned themselves with the fortunes of Arthur and Merlin. The metrical life of the latter is commonly supposed to have been written by Geoffrey of Monmouth, who died about the middle of this century, though its authenticity seems open to doubt.²

¹ Archithrenii (Joannis) Neustrii seu Normanni, Poemata. 4to. (Paris, 1517. The following headings, taken at random, will give a fair idea of its nature. 'De Naturæ Potentia—Exclamatio in Gulam—De Miseriis Scholasticorum—De Astrologia—De adulatoribus Aulæ—De casu Luciferi—De conceptione Arthuri—Verba Archytæ de Ira—De ortu Signorum—Oratio Archithrenii ad Naturam—De studio Nocturno—De monte Ambitionis,' &c. It is far from a common work at the present day. The exact date of the poem was 1184. Wright, Biogr. Brit. Lit., Anglo-Norman period, p. 250.

² Vita Merlini attribuée à Geoffroy de Monmouth, par Francisque Michel et

It consists of 1525 lines (hexameters), which frequently rise above mediocrity, though at the same time exceedingly unequal: its contents are briefly as follows.

¹² Merlin, king of Dermetia, in alliance with his brother-in-law Rodarch (Rodarcus), king of Cumberland, are introduced, engaged in a battle with Gwendolan, king of Scotland, and in it the three brothers of Merlin are all slain. Inconsolable at their loss, he retires into the forest of Calidon, and broods over his sorrow till he becomes insane. In the meantime his sister Ganieda, who is the wife of Rodarch, despatches a minstrel in search of him, with whom he is induced to return, but, soon wearying of the court, becomes anxious to retire again to his forest. Rodarch refuses and has him bound in the hall. At this moment the queen enters, and the king observing a leaf clinging to her hair, removes it, on which Merlin, still insane, bursts into laughter. Being at last promised his freedom if he will explain his hilarity, he is kind enough to remark that the queen had just returned from an interview with her lover in an arbour that was strewn with leaves, and he was laughing at her reception. The queen, after the manner of women, is in no want of an ingenious defence: she observes that Merlin is hopelessly insane, and to prove him so desires him to say by what death one of the pages will die. The wizard answers, and the boy subsequently returning twice in different disguises, receives on each occasion a different reply.¹ After a display like this of his skill, the queen is admitted to her husband's confidence, and Merlin, notwithstanding the entreaties of his sister and his wife Gwendoloena, retires again to the woods. Perceiving however, after some time, from the aspect of the stars, that the latter is about to marry again, he determines to provide a nuptial present, for he was in no way particular, and accordingly he collects a herd of deer, which he drives to the palace. Unfortunately for himself, the intended bridegroom is sitting in the gateway, and being amused at the personal appearance of his predecessor, is so injudicious as to laugh at him. The outraged wizard, wrenching off a horn of the stag he was riding, instantly threw it at him, and to use the expressive language of the original—'*caput ejus penitus contrivit*,' and the unhappy wretch expired. He now endeavours to return to the forest, but is made prisoner and brought again to the

Thomas Wright, 8vo, Paris, 1837. Mr. Wright is of opinion that it is later than the time of Geoffrey, the bishop Robert to whom it is dedicated being Robert Grostest.

¹ He replies successively that the boy will die by falling from a rock, by drowning, and by being caught among the boughs of a tree. The prophecy is at last fulfilled: the boy is thrown from his horse off a rock into a river, but his head only is in the water, his body being arrested by a bough. This is the same conceit that the epigram alluded to on page 17, turns on.

court of Rodarch. Again, however, by explaining the meaning of mysterious fits of laughter, he is allowed to depart, but this time an observatory is constructed for him in his retreat. Here he is frequently visited by his sister, but after some years he suddenly desires her to send him the famous bard Taliessin, who had just returned from Armorica. Taliessin arrives, and the rest of the poem is occupied with the conversation of the two worthies on various wonderful and mysterious matters, among which the adventures of Arthur are not neglected.

Now in this poem, if indeed it belongs to the age, we have not indeed a new element introduced, but a striking example of its growth. There is indeed no great reason for astonishment that a Welchman or a Breton, whether of the twelfth or thirteenth century, should choose to celebrate any portion of the Arthurian legends. It was exactly the time when they attained their greatest popularity. It was the age when Chrestien de Troyes recited them in his metrical romances. It was the age when Alain de l'Isle wrote that whoever should venture in Brittany to deny that Arthur was still living would infallibly be stoned; where, he asks, is that hero unknown? where from Asia to Britain are his deeds not famous? The point to be observed is this—a branch of literature which, in its origin, was exclusively theological, is now completely secularized. Ecclesiastics no longer think it necessary to devote themselves entirely to sacred matters. A new spirit has arisen, which sees in all directions and in all subjects matter for harmonious treatment. Men, instead of regarding the classical masters with aversion, now make them their diligent study. And as to the extent and variety of the matters treated of, the reader has only to turn to the popular poetry of the age.

Among the countless divisions of this branch, those poems which held up to execration or derision the founder of Mahomedanism were widely circulated. Not content with representing him as a sorcerer, a libertine, a camel-stealer, an heresiarch, a cardinal who, disappointed of the Papacy, established a new religion, and as the Antichrist predicted of old, a mass of legends was invented to render his person odious, and his religion contemptible. Hildebert, as we have seen, inserted a portion of them in his poem against him, though without much judgment in his selection, and a monk named Walter, probably Gualtier de Marmontiers, who wrote during the century, likewise assailed him.¹ His poem, consisting of over a thousand uncouth elegiacs, though curious, deserves mention rather as showing the influence of the crusades than as possessing merit of its own,

¹ Du Meril, *Poésies populaires Latines du Moyen Age*, p. 369.

but it was nevertheless exceedingly popular. Nearly a century later a version of it was given in French by Alexander du Pont—a decisive proof of its success.

Of a different class are such poems as the 'Alda,' attributed to Guillaume de Blois, but possibly the production of Matthieu de Vendome,¹ the 'Comœdia Lydiæ,' certainly his work,² and the 'Paulinus and Polla,' though this is of later date. These are perhaps most easily described by saying that they were popular tales, originally the property of the jongleur or the trouvère, thrown into a metrical form for the entertainment of the cloister. In this age such tales had a wide circulation. The returning Crusaders brought back with them innumerable legends of Eastern origin, while at the same time, omitting entirely the romances of chivalry which were a branch by themselves, the idle industry of the monks was continually employed in the composition of such tales, or in translating them into a Latin form. They were, as may be supposed, of widely different character. Some embodied a jest, others a moral, and others again were grossly licentious. The 'Alda,' for example, just mentioned, turns on an incident not eminently delicate—on the incident on which Louvet has founded his scandalous romance, and which Byron has described as occurring in the harem. The 'Comœdia Lydiæ,' again, is an early form of the ninth story related on the seventh day of the Decameron, and is likewise introduced by Chaucer in the 'Merchant's Tale,' but is best known by Pope's version of it in January and May. Partly similar to these, which it must be remembered constitute a wide and important class, are the popular apologues and fables; and these are so numerous and of such antiquity that they constitute a distinct branch of learning. Without recurring to the names of Æsop or Phædrus, or Babrius, it is sufficient to remark that throughout the twelfth and thirteenth centuries they were received with favour by all classes, they are to be found both in Latin and in the vernacular,³ and what is of more importance, they began to be used as political weapons. At what period, for example, the German apologue of 'Reynard the Fox' was first invented, it is impossible to say; but it was during the present age that it was first used as a vehicle of attack upon monastic institutions. The 'Isengrimus,' the production of a Flemish priest, appeared during

¹ Du Meril, *Poésies inédites du Moyen Age, précédées d'une histoire de la Fable Ésoopique*, p. 421, where it is given. For his miscellaneous poems, see Wright and Halliwell. *Reliquiæ Sacre*, vol. ii. 257.

² *Ibid.* p. 350.

³ *Fables inédites des xii^e, xiii^e, et xiv^e siècles*, par A. C. M. Robert, 2 tom. 1825. See the 'Essai sur les Fabulistes qui ont précédé La Fontaine.' Fables are found in many of the writers of this age, e.g. Peter Alphonse, Alain de Lille, Neckam, Geoffroi de Vinesauf, John of Salisbury, &c. Neckam indeed composed a collection of fables, his 'Novus Æsopus,' as also did one Baldo. Du Meril, *Poésies inéd.* p. 213.

the first half of the century, and was followed by another Latin poem of similar nature entitled 'Reinardus.' And just in the same manner numberless others were circulated, more or less satirical in their tendency, but by no means to be confounded with the general mass of them that adhered to the legitimate object of the fable.

Now, throwing these two classes together, we have a most important element in mediæval poetry. Taking the 'Alda' as representing metrical tales, of whatever nature, and the 'Isengrimus' as representing the fables, whether moral or satirical, a large proportion of it is at once displayed. Of the two, the tales, at least in a literary sense, are the more significant. It was from them that Boccaccio borrowed so many of his stories, and that so many books, of which the 'Liber Facietiarum' of Poggio may be taken as the type, were subsequently compiled. But on the other hand the metrical fables, and especially those that bore a satirical impress, were of more political importance. An allegory which represented an abbot as one beast of prey, and a feudal chieftain as another, and which did not spare even dignitaries more exalted, might well be regarded as a storehouse of offensive weapons. Besides, however, these political fables, there was a vast class of poems which, without being in the least allegorical, were professedly satiric. To these nothing was sacred. Pope and potentate they alike treated without fashion or respect. There are many poems of this age which would not have been out of place in the convulsions of the sixteenth century, and of which, in point of fact, the reformers made more skilful use, and to these our own countrymen largely contributed.

We have used the term popular mediæval poetry, and attempted to point out some of its principal divisions; but it is so vast and varied in its nature, that it is scarcely susceptible of accurate classification. It concerned itself with whatever was said or done among men; with their vows, their fears, their anger, and their pleasures, with their wanderings and with their triumphs. And this is at first sight the more astonishing, when it is remembered that at this time the modern languages were rapidly growing in wealth and power. What they were even now capable of doing may be seen in the noble poem of 'Roland'—a poem which many are disposed to rank above the 'Nibelungen Lied.' But, on the other hand, the Latin language continued for more than four centuries to be the means of intercommunication among the learned; and the poems that were now written in it were popular, more especially in the monasteries or among ecclesiastics, or in the castles of the better instructed among the laity. There was, therefore, a large audience for these ephemeral productions. They were a portion of the entertainment of every one who understood the Latin tongue. The Mysteries, on the other hand, and the

Miracle-plays were for the populace. The very extent in fact of the popular Latin poems, and the multifarious subjects they embraced are a sufficient proof of their prodigious circulation. No work was yet written without hope of securing the appreciation of others.

Among the satires alluded to may be mentioned those of Gautier de Châtillon, the author of the '*Alexandreis*,' for a long time attributed to Walter Mapes. These satires, which are exceedingly virulent, are for the most part directed against the court of Rome; indeed their nature may be collected from the fact that many of them were subsequently published by Flacius Illyricus. The poets of this age had invented an imaginary personage whom they termed Goliath, in whose name many of their attacks were couched. 'A certain parasite of our time,' says Giraldus Cambresis, 'Goliath by name, infamous alike for scurrilousness and gluttony, tolerably educated indeed, but ill-governed and without due discipline, has again and again vomited forth numbers of infamous songs both in metre and rhyme against the Pope and the Roman court.'¹ But under the name of Goliath many different individuals were comprised. It was a mere mythical appellation, which, like Pasquin, belonged neither to one time nor one country. Like Martin Marprelate, it was a nickname that covered a very decided object. In these satires, then, of De Châtillon, he attacks ecclesiastical abuses with a really Protestant vigour; he does not scruple to speak of the Pope as Antichrist, and of the bishops as stained with the sin of Gehazi; and asks in what region or under what constellation there is a bishop or an abbot worthy of the cross. The depraved condition of the clergy, again, is a constant theme of lamentation and invective; and the fiercest of these are generally written in the name of Goliath. But the writers of these satires by no means confined themselves to attacks upon the Church, or rather its disorders; they scattered their ridicule with a more liberal hand. Society itself, with its complexity of customs and classes, was not safe from their merriment or indignation. Though by no means insensible of the charms of love,² Goliath is rendered furious at the idea of marriage, against which he pours out many brutal and ribald verses.³ Moreover, besides the satires that directly assailed the vices of the hierarchy and those written on general topics, such as the wickedness of the age, a vast number were composed on particular occasions, such as the death of an unpopular abbot, or some act of oppression by a bishop or a noble. These, it may be remarked, had existed from a remote time; but

¹ Wright, Latin poems commonly attributed to Walter Mapes, p. xxxviii. and Du Meril, *Poésies pop.* p. 144. Milman, *Latin Christ.* ix. p. 189.

² See the '*Confessio Goliath*' in the poems attributed to Walter Mapes.

³ *Chanson contre le mariage.* Du Meril, *Poésies populaires Lat.* p. 179.

the poems that are written in the name of Golias did not appear till the close of the twelfth century, and more strictly belong to that which followed it. As for those for which De Châtillon is answerable, he, it may be observed, was living between the years 1160-1200, and in all probability for some years after that time. His '*Alexandreis*' was clearly written before the close of the century.¹

Belonging to a different class, but equally popular, were the Latin songs and ballads. Among these, those of Abelard, of which but a few fragments now remain, were perhaps the most widely known, for both he and Heloise speak of them as circulating in many different localities.² Amatory poetry, indeed, is of all others the most generally diffused, and throughout the middle ages formed an important portion of their rhythmical literature. In it, as in the other divisions of the popular poetry, the rhyme was almost always employed, and was carried to a very great degree of refinement; indeed, more pleasing and ingenious rhymes were never written. No modern rhyming Latin, except, perhaps, that scattered through the very entertaining '*Reliques of Father Prout*,' approaches them in smoothness and harmony, and, however unclassical the practice may be, it is impossible to deny that they have a beauty peculiarly their own. Besides, however, the love-songs, Latin ballads exist on a great variety of subjects. Sometimes they take the form of a lament, as on the death of a prince or great man, and sometimes they celebrate a victory or a popular hero. The joys of drinking are a favourite topic, patriotism is not neglected, no event indeed and no subject came amiss to them. They commemorated every shade of many-coloured life.

There are yet a few poets remaining who wrote at the close of the age of whom we would speak ere we conclude our task. Of these, two were the authors of heroic poems, de Châtillon, Provost of the Canons of Tournay, whose satires have been just mentioned, being the author of the '*Alexandreid*,' and Joseph of Exeter, of a poem on the Trojan war. Of his '*Antiocheis*,' a fragment only has been preserved by Camden.

The '*Alexandreis*,' as its name imports, celebrates the conquests of the great Macedonian, and is founded on the narrative of Quintus Curtius, consisting of ten books of heroic verse, in which the manner of Lucan is successfully imitated; it was the most ambitious effort that had been yet made, and attained an amazing popularity. The author was spoken of as rivalling the most famous poets of antiquity, and for years after his death it

¹ It was dedicated to Guillelmus, Archbishop of Reims, 1176-1201. Fabricius Bib. Med. Lat. and Warton.

² In their letters.

continued to be read as a class-book in the schools of the Continent. Yet, though extravagantly extolled, it undoubtedly possesses great and peculiar merits. It would have been better, certainly, had the poet endeavoured to form himself on the Virgilian model; but, having his eye on Lucan, and probably Statius, he has succeeded in catching, with great felicity, much of their spirit and tone. Here and there, indeed, a very barbarous line is discoverable, but his similes are especially excellent, while in narration he is frequently spirited and picturesque. The arrangement of the circumstances displays considerable art, and on the whole the general aspect of the work is greatly superior to any that had hitherto appeared. Warton speaks of it as far transcending the merits of the *'Philippis,'* a poem that did not appear till thirty years later, but that is precisely the period when Latin verse began to retrograde. Whether it excelled the work of Joseph of Exeter, which appeared nearly simultaneously, is a question the reader must decide for himself.

Joseph of Exeter, whom Mr. Wright terms the best of our mediæval Anglo-Latin poets, dedicated his poem on the Trojan war to Baldwin, Archbishop of Canterbury, and it was most probably written in the year 1184. In matter it is only a paraphrase of the fabulous history that was circulated during the middle ages under the name of *'Dares Phrygius,'* but is composed with great elegance and purity, and, at the restoration of letters, was first printed under the name of *'Cornelius Nepos.'*¹ The style, according to Warton, is a mixture of Ovid, Statius, and Claudian, the classics then most popular, and exhibits a great command of poetical phraseology. It perhaps approaches more nearly than any other to the pure taste of the classical ages; but, from the few manuscripts in which it is found, it appears, from some cause, not to have attained immediate popularity.

There were four eminent Latin poets, of whom three were Englishmen, who were writing at the close of the twelfth century, and who continued to write during the opening years of the succeeding age. Their names are Geoffrey de Vinsauf, Alexander Neckam, Nigellus Wiriker, and Everard de Bethune. The first is the author of a long book of hexameters, entitled *'De Nova Poetria,'* and was dedicated by the author to Innocent III. It is a metrical treatise on the art of metrical composition, containing examples and illustrations of the rules it inculcates. It opens by giving general rules for versification, and proceeds to consider in detail the measures to be taken to bring a work to perfection. The arrangement must first be determined on, and, when that is settled, great care must be taken

¹ Wright, *Biogr. Brit. Lit.* p. 403.

as to the amplification and adornment. On this point he dilates at great length; it occupies, indeed, the greatest portion of the work. It is, however, a heavy, tiresome poem, and is only interesting as being the key to the general style of the Latin poetical writers of the thirteenth century, which was formed on its rules. They are sometimes good, but as often in bad taste, and well calculated to produce the inflated and meretricious style of writing which too often marked the writers of the succeeding age.¹ His name is now only kept alive by the ridicule Chaucer has thrown on his exaggerated lines on the death of Cœur-de-Lion.²

Alexander Neckam, the foster brother of that monarch, was born at St. Albans, in 1157, and died in 1217. He passed his boyhood in that town, receiving his education in the Abbey school, and, while still extremely young, was appointed to the direction of the school at Dunstable. This office, however, he soon resigned, for, in the year 1180, we find him spoken of as a distinguished Professor at the then famous university of Paris, where he had attached himself to the school of the Petit Pont. He continued there till the year 1186, when he returned to England and resumed his position at Dunstable, but soon after joined and ultimately became Abbot of the Augustinian monastery of Cirencester.

His most important work is a long treatise, '*De Naturis Rerum*,' which has been lately edited by Mr. Wright; but, besides this, he was the author of a long elegiac poem on the praises of Divine Wisdom, of which we find the following analysis.

The poem '*De Laudibus Divinæ Sapientiæ*' is a metrical paraphrase of the treatise '*De Naturis Rerum*,' with some considerable additions, and with the omission of most of the stories. It is divided into ten books, which are called, according to a fashion then in vogue, and adopted by Giraldus Cambrensis, Walter Mapes, and other writers, distinctions (*distinctiones*). In the first of these Neckam treats of the creation, of heaven and the angels, and of the stars, planets, and constellations, and other celestial bodies. In the second distinction he treats of the four elements, which, as in the prose treatise, are the foundation of his system of natural philosophy; and taking air as the first of these, he proceeds to treat of birds as belonging especially to that element. The third distinction treats of water, and of the various phenomena connected with it; and he here gives an account of fishes, and an enumeration and description of the

¹ Wright, *Biogr. Brit. Lat.* p. 398. The poem itself is to be found in Leyser, p. 862.

² *Canterbury Tales*. The Nonnes Preestes Tale.

principal rivers in the world, and especially those of France, Great Britain and Ireland, with the chief towns situated on their banks. The fourth book is devoted to the subject of fire, the third element, and to various natural phenomena, such as winds and storms, the weather, the relations of the elements to each other, &c. In the fifth book Neckam treats of the earth, and of its various countries, giving long and rather interesting accounts of their principal cities and towns, including an enumeration of some of the wonders of Britain, among which we may note his account of Stonehenge. The sixth book proceeds to the interior of the earth, and describes its metals and the gems and precious stones, with their natures and wonderful qualities. The seventh distinction contains a much fuller list of plants than we find in the prose treatise, and defines their various qualities and medicinal virtues. The eighth continues this subject, and treats of fruit trees, the plants which produce grain, &c. The ninth is devoted to the natural history of animals, including man. The tenth and last distinction treats of the seven arts, and of science in general, subjects which are here treated much more briefly than in the treatise '*De Naturis Rerum*.'¹

Besides this poem, however, there were others of Neckam, which appear to have been lost. He was perhaps the author of that on monastic life which has been mentioned under the name of Anselm, and in Leyser a list of some five or six compositions on miscellaneous subjects is to be found. On the whole, though his place lies more properly among the general scholars than the Latin poets, his verses are frequently marked by their ease and correctness, and to borrow the language of Mr. Wright, often rise above the mediocrity of the age. But this is perhaps rather a hard judgment. All these mediæval poets must be considered relatively to their age, and when their age certainly surpassed any that had preceded it, it is a little unfair to insist on its mediocrity. Absolutely considered, it was certainly mediocre; relatively, it exhibited, indifferent as it may have been, an advance and an improvement.

In a dictionary of patrology lately published, the following concise notice of a very curious old writer of this age is to be found.² 'Nigellus Wireker, a writer of the twelfth century, attempted satire with some success, and although an Englishman by birth, had studied at Paris. His '*Speculum Brunelli*,' or

¹ Alexander Neckam. *De Naturis Rerum, et de Laudibus Divinæ Sapientiæ*. Published under the authority of the Master of the Rolls. 8vo. Lond. 1863. Edited by T. Wright, Esq. Preface, p. lxxv.

² Dictionnaire de Patrologie, par l'Abbé A. Sevestre. Migne, Nouvelle Encyclop. Theol. tom. 23.

'Speculum Stultorum,' is an invective against the corrupt manners of the clergy of his age. He makes it apparent, from certain traits of malicious observation, that nearly all those who came to study at Paris, returned to their own country with the reputation of men of learning, but without really being so.' If the manners of the clergy were corrupt, as it seems they were, it is hardly clear how it could be malicious to observe them; while, if all the foreigners who studied at Paris returned with an undeserved reputation for erudition, the truly erudite must have been exclusively French. The crime, however, of Wireker was not his want of learning, but his impertinence in ridiculing abuses. The greater the familiarity with the writers of the Roman Catholic Church, the more clearly is it to be seen that they never pardon an author who has assailed what even they admit to be its disorders.

Nigellus Wireker was præcentor in the Church of Canterbury, and the intimate friend of William de Longchamp, the famous Bishop of Ely during the reign of Richard I. Many minor poems of Nigellus are to be found in the Cottonian Library, but the best known of his works, and so far as we are aware the only one that has been published, is the satire above mentioned. From the very curious edition of it which appeared at Cologne during the last year of the fifteenth century, and which is now before us, we will attempt a slight outline of its contents.¹

The ass, Brunellus, type of the eternal and unreasonable cupidity of the monks, is dissatisfied with the length of his tail, which he is persuaded is out of proportion with his ears, and accordingly applies to the physician Galienus to assist him. The physician replies that it is not easy to do, and that moreover his tail is sufficiently long—a truth he inculcates by a ridiculous story of two cows, who on one occasion had their tails frozen into the ground. Finally, however, finding argument in vain, he dismisses him with his blessing, and despatches him to Salerno, there to obtain the needful drugs. At Salerno, however, Brunellus fell into the clutches of a certain merchant of London, and was induced to purchase ten jars of rubbish (*plena nugis*) of him, with which he sets out on his homeward way. But at Lyons he meets with a great misfortune, for the dogs bite half of his tail off, and he is captured by a Cistercian monk, whom he is lucky enough afterwards to thrust in the Rhone. Subsequently, making his way to the neighbourhood of Paris, he is

¹ Liber qui intitulatur Brunellus in speculo stultorum. 4to. Col. 1499. It contains numerous quaint engravings representing the events of the tale. It is not, however, the first edition, as there are two anterior to it.

induced to study there, and makes the acquaintance of Arnold, an English student, with whom he enters the town. Here he remains for nearly seven years, associating chiefly with the English students; but gathering little benefit from his studies, he resolves to go either to Rome or Bologna. On his way, however, he thinks seriously of becoming a monk, and reviews consecutively the various orders, his estimate of whom is far from flattering. Neither the Carthusians, the Cistercians, or the Templars are satisfactory; the regular canons are still worse, and the secular canons immeasurably wicked. He thinks, therefore, of founding an order of his own. He will have the horses of the Templars, the dispensation of the Cluniacs to feast on Friday, the warm hoods of the Præmonstratensians, and, like the Carthusians, he will have only one mass in a month. But on his way to Rome to procure a confirmation of his order, he encounters his physician Galienus, and whilst busily persuading him to enter it, is seized by his owner, Bernhard. Delighted to regain the animal that had strayed, Bernhard slits his ears, and employs him in his business. And thus ends this quaint and curious legend. Slight and grotesque as it may now appear, it undoubtedly contains a severe satire not only on the ecclesiastics, but on the whole character of the age.¹

But one other writer of this period, or rather of the earlier portion of the thirteenth century, remains to be mentioned, and it is on account of a very singular list of poets contained in his work. Everard de Bethune, the author of two poems entitled respectively the 'Græcismus' and the 'Labyrinthus,' probably wrote the latter after the year 1212, and it purports to describe the inconveniences to which the teachers of that age were exposed. But in the third division of it he speaks of such poems as were commonly read in the schools, and it must be confessed that they are sufficiently varied. We have Cato,² Theodulfus,³ Avianus,⁴ and Alsop, and next in order to these stand Maximianus, Pamphilus,⁵ and Geta,⁶ who are followed by seven of the classical poets. To these succeed the names of Alexander,⁷

¹ The following lines of Nigellus contain a very profound moral truth, uncouth as they are:—

Contemptum proprium qui ferre potest patienter
Cætera de facili sustinuisse potest,
Omnia cum soleat victrix patientia ferre:
Victa sub hoc onere succubuisse solet.*

² That is, the moral distichs attributed to him.

³ A poem on the miracles of the Old Testament.

⁴ The fables of.

⁵ That is, 'Pamphilus De Amore,' of which there are many editions.

⁶ The 'Amphitrio' of Plautus.

⁷ The 'Alexandreid' of de Châtillon.

Dares,¹ Homer, Salimarius,² and Macer,³ the enumeration concluded by the most famous names in the list of strictly religious poets, such as Prudentius and Arator. By way, however, of illustrating the subject more fully, Everard has inserted, immediately after these names, a long metrical treatise on the principles of versification, which contains examples of the various forms and modifications applied to it, such as *cristati* or inverted *leonines*. We are, consequently, presented in this passage, not merely with a list of the poets who were then popular, but with the general form and aspect of the Latin poetry of the age. The list, of course, is far from exhaustive, and indeed other names are impliedly mentioned; but it is nevertheless sufficiently large to indicate the extent and variety of the mediæval schools.

Taking then this catalogue as a base, let us look for a moment at the divisions into which poetry had fallen at the commencement of the thirteenth century. The supplement to it can be drawn from independent sources.

In the first place, men are now conversant with the ancient models: the best of the classical poets are familiar to them. It is true, as we have attempted to show, that there never was at any time an absolute ignorance of them. Even in the darkest ages there had always been a privileged few to whom the volume of the past lay open. But this has now ceased to be the privilege of the few, for in all directions we meet with signs of their popularity, and of the respect with which they are regarded. For one man who was acquainted with them in the tenth century there were ten at the end of the twelfth, or the beginning of the thirteenth, and the fruit of the intimacy was quickly made manifest. Admiration always leads to imitation. There never was a great writer yet but a whole shoal of copyists endeavoured to catch his style, and mimic his ideas. The first thought of an artist, when he looks at a master-piece, is the possibility of equalling or excelling it. Just in the same way men's acquaintance with Virgil and Lucan led them to imitate what they so ardently admired. There had been a tendency for many years to write long poems in heroic verse—a tendency clearly shown in poems such as those of William of Apulia and Laurence of Verona, and the increased knowledge of the classical poets heightened and determined it.

Thus, while the poets of antiquity formed by themselves a dis-

¹ The poem of Joseph of Exeter, '*De Bello Trojano*,' founded on the prose version of Dares Phrygiæ, is probably meant.

² Gunther, the author of the '*Ligurinus*,' had previously written a poem, which he called '*Solymarium*,' on the war in the Holy Land.

³ The genuine work of Macer on herbs and birds is lost, but throughout the middle ages, a work was current under the title of '*Æmilii Macer de Herbarum Virtutibus*,' of which there is an old translation.

tinct portion of the metrical literature of the age, they in a great measure led to the appearance of the cycle of heroic poems, which, in their turn, constituted one great branch of mediæval Latin poetry. It was, as we have seen, of late origin. Military exploits indeed had in all ages been commemorated in song, but it was not till the twelfth century that the fashion prevailed of making the achievements of a modern prince the subject of an epos.

That description of poetry which, though not strictly devotional, may yet be designated religious, contributed in a large measure to the current and increasing literature. The poems of Prudentius, of Prosper, of Arator, had never been lost sight of, and their number was now swelled by a host of similar or inferior productions. Each century, as it passed away, left behind it a vast metrical deposit connected more or less with theological matters. The fruit of monastic or episcopal leisure, it was for the most part either paraphrastic or controversial, and as an adjunct, or rather a correlative branch, possessed the great division of ritualistic or devotional poems which constitute the hymn. But the hymn was a class apart: it had its own forms and laws of composition, and was written expressly for public worship. And not only was it the earliest metrical effusion of Christian piety, and indeed of apostolic origin, but it is the one branch of mediæval poetry which has descended to our own days, and which is still employed in the services of the Catholic Church. The religious poems, therefore, and the hymns compose two distinct though cognate divisions of the Latin poetry of this age; the latter, indeed, was now brought to the highest perfection that it has ever attained. It will be observed, however, that Everard in his enumeration has made no mention of the hymns, and, in point of fact, has omitted several of the distinct branches of the art.

Amongst those, on the other hand, which he has recorded, or rather to a portion of which he has alluded, are the more especially popular poems of the age. The names of *Æsop*, of *Avianus*, and of *Phisiologus* point in reality to that wide and curious division of mediæval literature comprehended under the name of *Bestiaries*,—short tales or apologues in which animals are introduced. These now had a great circulation, and a little later were applied to a very different purpose. Vincent, of Beauvais, writing about the middle of the thirteenth century, tells us that the monks and preachers were in the habit of moralizing the popular fables and stories, and that it was the fashion to quote *Æsop* from the pulpit. Sometimes they drew a moral from the jest or anecdote of the day; sometimes they chose the *fabliaux* and poems of the minstrels, and sometimes they abridged the plots of the romances. The more popular the fable or tale the more suited it was to their

purpose, for the more readily could they arouse the attention of the congregation. Half the freedom of language, and the quaint and almost irreverent turn of thought and expression that is so often observable in mediæval sermons, is due to this habit of familiar illustration. But these fables, or beast tales, are only a component part of the general mass of popular poetry. They are but one of its many divisions. Its nature, as we have seen, was almost universal. Satire, love-song, drinking-song, war-song, or dirge, it expressed the emotions and celebrated the customs of many men and many lands.

The metrical legends or lives of saints, and what we have ventured to call the miscellaneous poems, complete the sum of the Latin poetry which existed in Europe in the earlier portion of the thirteenth century. The former carries with it its own explanation. Any abbot who was eminent for his piety, and especially if he happened to be the founder of a monastery, was certain to find some versifier to record his life and his miracles. The latter embraces a vast variety of poems on subjects independent of each other, which scarcely rank with the popular division. Metrical treatises, for example, on philology or medicine, on herbs or on precious stones, partly compose it. A large portion, again, consists of metrical chronicles. Short poems on religious subjects, epigrams, epitaphs, copies of verses written for some particular occasion, constitute in fact its greatest bulk.

Casting our eyes back for a moment to the period of our commencement, we can now see the progress that has been made. In the time of Prudentius, and for more than five hundred years after his death, Latin verse was almost exclusively theological. It was written only by ecclesiastics, and consisted but of a few great and simple divisions. Its tone was hard and harsh, and marked by a painful uniformity. There was no warmth, no colouring, no vividness or energy of expression: its form was angular and stiff; it was utterly destitute of animation and grace. Turn to it now, as it exists in the thirteenth century, and how vast and astonishing is the change! What richness and diversity! what ease and power of expression! Its whole character and spirit have altered. It has lost that air of severity, that sombre and prolix devotion to theology: it is many-sided, versatile, plastic; it embraces all subjects; it presents itself under many aspects; it is, in a word, the mirror in which the age is reflected. There is still, doubtless, a strong theological element in it; but the theological is not, as in the fifth century, the only element prevailing. For generations it has been growing more and more secular, till at last it has thrown off the old ecclesiastical trammels, and while preserving a portion of its original character, has enlarged its sphere and diversified its matter. Whereas formerly it contained

only paraphrases of Scripture, legends of saints, hymns, and a few poems of controversial theology, it now concerns itself with the whole round of human life. There was in this age a great forward movement in the minds of men, and even Latin verse was carried up with the tide.

It was the age when Christian architecture was carried to a perfection that has never been excelled, that Gothic cathedrals rose in all parts of Transalpine Europe. It was the period when art was beginning to throw off the yoke of Byzantinism, and prepare for independence, when the era of Cimabue and Giotto was close at hand. Corrupt as were the older monastic societies, it was the time when the exigencies of the Church called aloud for defenders, and the great Mendicant Orders answered to the appeal. It was the time when, south of the Loire, in the loveliest of all lands, an infant civilization had arisen, distinguished by its rare refinement, but destined to a swift and mournful end. It was the time when chivalry had attained its full perfection in the stern school of the Crusades, and its features were caught and reflected in rich and marvellous romance. It was the age, likewise, in which the ancient models were diligently studied, and a truer sense of antiquity prevailed.

In an age, then, so brilliant and promising as this, it is surely not strange that this particular description of poetry should, like all other branches of art, show signs of improvement. The influence of the age on it indeed can be distinctly traced. The rhyming Latin poems, the songs and the satires, are the direct expression of feudal taste. Their full-sounding and accumulating rhymes, rolling up into a volume of sonorous music, are to the Virgilian hexameter what the Gothic cathedral is to the Roman temple. In the hexameter and in the temple, dignity is attained by means of simplicity: in the rhyme and in the cathedral it is attained by elaboration of ornament subordinated to unity of effect. The epics, on the other hand, if they may be termed so, are the direct result of the newly-awakened admiration for antiquity. Feeble and imperfect as they may be, they have but little in common with their own age: they are in no sense the expression of mediæval taste, except so far as it was retrospective. The hymns, again, are the full and direct expression of monastic piety. Their form is essentially Gothic. To read them even in the silence of the closet, is as if a man stood in some vast cathedral while the storm of music was raging through the aisles, and the sunset fell in crimson and gold through the blazoned windows.

This fortunate age was not fated to be of long continuance. From the latter part of the twelfth to the middle of the thirteenth century may, perhaps, be called the golden age of mediæval Latinity. After that time there was a sensible decline in all the

Transalpine countries. Philology was neglected, rhetoric was despised, verse relapsed in utter barbarism, scholastic philosophy was all in all. It was not till long after, when the days of the *renaissance* had arrived, that Latin verse was not only restored to what it had been in mediæval times, but attained a purity and a splendour of which mediæval times had no conception.

And here we must arrest our course. It has been our object rather to give a broad and general sketch of the chief features of ecclesiastical and monastic verse than a long catalogue of names and works. But so vast is the magnitude of the subject, and the number of matters with which it is connected, that it is scarcely possible to do it justice in an essay. Until, however, some work of authority appears on the subject, those who would learn aught of its nature, but must be content either to give many hours to the perusal of many volumes, or trust to attempts as imperfect as our own.

ART II.—*The collected Writings of Edward Irving.* In five volumes. Edited by his nephew, the Rev. G. CARLYLE, M.A. London: 1864-5.

MORE than four years have elapsed since we reviewed Mrs. Oliphant's 'Life of Edward Irving.' The interest which that book, by its graphic and truthful portraiture, revived in the great Presbyterian preachers, called up in the minds of many, yet living, vivid recollections of his eloquence, and aroused a desire in many more to possess his works. Though a large portion of his writings had been published in his life-time, and some of these had passed through several editions, there did not exist either an uniform edition of what Irving had published, or a complete collection of what he had written. It appeared, therefore, proper to the possessors of his literary remains, to put forth such an edition as should answer both requirements of uniformity and completeness. We are consequently indebted to the Rev. G. Carlyle, Irving's nephew, for this series of five handsome and portly octavos. How far these volumes answer expectation as to completeness or judiciousness of selection, we shall see as we go on. At any rate, no higher tribute could be paid to the power of Irving's intellect than the publication of these volumes. For Irving was no safe and sound divine whose theology any man, who cared to be thought orthodox, would openly admire. He wrote no work upon any subject of lasting interest extraneous to theology. His style of sermon composition was in every sense inimitable. No one could hope to come up to it in its excellencies, or would attempt to follow it in its peculiarities. Therefore, in publishing his discourses, the expectation that they would find a sale amongst the starveling preachers of our time, who hunger and thirst after new volumes of sermons, could have had no place as a motive. And yet, in the absence of all these which form the usual reasons for reproducing the writings of a deceased author, who was neither a novelist nor a poet, the well-known publisher, Mr. Alexander Strahan, has deemed it wise to put forth a large and elegant edition of his works. And we doubt not the public have duly appreciated the venture. That it should be made, and that it should succeed, now that Irving has been dead above thirty years, is, we repeat, a noble testimony to the force of his genius.

As the object of the present article is to trace the progress of

Irving's mind and the development of his views, we shall, as far as may be practicable, follow the chronological order of his writings, referring occasionally to his life for information that may throw light upon his mental history. And here we regret to be obliged to find fault with the editor at the very outset of his work. The first volume begins with a series of four discourses, ranged under the title 'On the Word of God.' They are not introduced by any preface of the author, or accompanied by any note of the editor; and there is nothing to tell whether they are now printed for the first time or not. Moreover, there is nothing to show what place they take in the chronological arrangement of Irving's writings. Consequently, if we did not happen to know something about them, beyond what Mr. Carlyle tells us, we should remain in perfect ignorance of the fact—a fact of great importance, as bearing upon Irving's theological and intellectual history—that these four discourses are the famous 'Orations' which, together with the 'Argument for Judgment to Come,' formed Irving's first published work. This volume, as we learn from Mrs. Oliphant ('Life of Edward Irving,' vol. I. p. 169), at once aroused public attention to the highest degree of interest and excitement. Of course it is the part rather of the biographer than of the editor to relate these facts, more especially as this edition of the work professedly follows in the wake of the 'Life.' But while we may accept this as an apology for the total absence of any note of explanation, there is no excuse left for changing the title under which Irving issued his first book, and by which it has ever been known as one of the most brilliant efforts of theological rhetoric. 'For the Oracles of God, Four Orations;' this was the title with which Irving headed his work: 'On the Word of God;' this is Mr. Carlyle's feeble and unauthorised substitute. But this is not all. Doubtless Mr. Carlyle, when he undertook the task of producing a collected edition of his uncle's writings, had to decide with much deliberation upon the limits he should assign to it so as to avoid, on the one hand, an unsaleable voluminousness, and, on the other, an incomplete exhibition of the author's views and genius. We accept with approbation the principles he lays down for himself in his preface, in these words. 'It is now proposed to make such a collection of his writings as will fairly exhibit his great powers of oratory and thought. It will be the Editor's object to include whatever is of permanent interest, to omit only what may neither throw light upon Mr. Irving's convictions, nor possess an independent value. We demur, however, to the manner in which he has carried these principles out. In the case of the 'Orations' he has shorn them of the preface and the dedication to Dr. Chalmers,

both which pieces are of great value,—the preface for containing Irving's reasons for entering upon the field of theological literature, the dedication for the affectionate and reverential feelings with which he regarded his quondam master. (We may observe, in passing, that Mrs. Oliphant makes the mistake of calling the Dedication the Preface). But Mr. Carlyle's editorial fingers have an itch for paring down: not satisfied with mutilating the title and expunging the author's introductions, he cannot even let the orations themselves appear in the dress in which Irving himself sent them forth to the world. He must needs clip off the Scriptural motto with which they were originally ornamented: John v. 39, 'Search the Scriptures.'

With regard to the omission of the preface, the editor certainly may state, as a justification for the act, that it stands related to the whole contents of the volume,—to the latter and larger portion, viz.: 'For the Judgment to Come—an Argument in nine parts,' as well as to the former portion, the 'Orations;' and that as he thought fit only to include the Orations in his edition, it would have been incongruous to have reprinted a preface which referred, not only to the small portion inserted, but also to the large portion excluded. Here, however, we only find additional cause for objection. We think the fact of Irving's sending forth to the world the two treatises, the 'Orations' and the 'Argument for Judgment to Come,' as one work bound together under one common introduction was a powerful reason which ought to have deterred his editor from severing them; and the fact of the preface applying to both should have induced Mr. Carlyle to reprint both, not to omit the preface. And we think that the following extract from the said preface will establish the correctness of our opinion. In fact, in view of this omission we consider that Mr. Carlyle ought to amend his title page, and call the book the *selected*, not *collected*, writings of Edward Irving.

'Moved by these feelings, I have set the example of two new methods of handling religious truth—*The Oration*, and *The Argument*; the one intended to be after the manner of the antient Oration, the best vehicle for addressing the minds of men which the world hath seen, far beyond the Sermon, of which the very name hath learned to inspire drowsiness and tediousness; the other after the manner of the antient Apologies, with this difference, that it is pleaded not before any judicial bar, but before the tribunal of the human mind. The former are but specimens; the latter, though most imperfect, is intended to be complete. The Orations are placed first in the volume, because the Oracles of God, which they exalt, are the foundation of the Argument, which brings to reason and common sense one of the revelations which they contain.'

But apart from these external reasons against the omission, the 'Argument for Judgment to Come' has strong internal

claims to be included in a collection of Irving's works, which professes as this does, 'to exhibit fairly his powers of thought,' and 'to throw light upon his convictions.' As Irving deemed fit to publish the 'Orations' (which Mr. Carlyle has accepted), and the 'Argument for Judgment' (which Mr. Carlyle has rejected), in one book, we shall take the liberty of treating them as such; and our readers will probably be glad to learn from us, what the editor has refused to inform them, about the scope and character of Irving's first essay in literature.

The 'Orations' are four in number,—the first treats of the 'Preparation for consulting the Oracles of God;' the second, of the 'Manner of consulting the Oracles of God;' the third and fourth dwell upon the same subject, viz.: the 'Obeying of the Oracles of God.' What we have to say concerning Irving's style of composition we reserve for the close of this article. Meanwhile we will draw attention to salient points in the writings themselves.

The first oration is taken up partly with censuring the imperfect, erroneous, and irreverent receptions given to God's written Word by the generality of men; and partly with laying down the tone, spirit, and manner in which the reading of the scriptures should be approached. Throughout the author has in view the devotional, rather than the critical treatment of the Bible. He has regard to its use as the oracles of God from which the Divine will is to be ascertained, rather than to its character as a book which, because of its language, structure, and history, demands the arduous labours of the divinity student. In the course of pointing out the half-hearted way in which the Bible is often handled by those who admit its supreme authority as the treasury of inspired truth, he falls into the following impassioned strain:

'For there is no express stirring up of faculties to meditate her high and heavenly strains—nor formal sequestration of the mind from all other concerns on purpose for her special entertainment—nor pause of solemn seeking and solemn waiting for a spiritual frame, before entering and listening to the voice of the Almighty's wisdom. Who feels the sublime dignity there is in a saying fresh descended from the porch of heaven? Who feels the awful weight there is in the least iota that hath dropped from the lips of God? Who feels the thrilling fear or trembling hope there is in words whereon the eternal destinies of himself do hang? Who feels the tide of gratitude swelling within his breast, for redemption and salvation, instead of flat despair and everlasting retribution? Or who, in perusing the Word of God, is captivated through all his faculties, transported through all his emotions, and through all his energies of action wound up? To say the best, it is done as other duties are wont to be done: and having reached the rank of a daily, formal duty, the perusal of the Word hath reached its noblest place. That is the guide and spur of all duty, the necessary aliment of Christian life; the first and the last of Christian knowledge and Christian feeling hath, to speak the best, degene-

rated in these days to stand rank and file among those duties whereof it is parent, preserver, and commander. And to speak not the best, but the fair and common truth, this book, the offspring of the divine mind, and the perfection of heavenly wisdom, is permitted to lie from day to day, perhaps from week to week, unheeded and unperused; never welcome to our happy, healthy, and energetic moods; admitted, if admitted at all, in seasons of sickness, feeble-mindedness, and disabling sorrow. That which was sent to be a spirit of ceaseless joy and hope, within the heart of man, is treated as the enemy of happiness and the murderer of enjoyment, and eyed askance, as the remembrancer of death, and the very messenger of hell!

‘Oh! if books had but tongues to speak their wrongs, then might this book well exclaim—Hear, O heavens! and give ear, O earth! I came from the love and embrace of God, and mute nature, to whom I brought no boon, did me rightful homage. To man I came, and my words were to the children of men. I disclosed to you the mysteries of hereafter, and the secrets of the throne of God. I set open to you the gates of salvation, and the way of eternal life, heretofore unknown. Nothing in heaven did I withhold from your hope and ambition; and upon your earthly lot I poured the full horn of divine providence and consolation. But ye requited me with no welcome, ye held no festivity on my arrival: ye sequester me from happiness and heroism, closeting me with sickness and infirmity: ye make not of me, nor use me for your guide to wisdom and prudence, but press me into your lists of duties, and withdraw me to a mere corner of time; and most of ye set at nought, and utterly disregard me. I came, the fullness of the knowledge of God: angels delighted in my company, and desired to dive into my secrets. But ye, mortals, place masters over me, subjecting me to the discipline and dogmatism of men, and tutoring me in your schools of learning. I came not to be silent in your dwellings, but to speak welfare to you and to your children. I came to rule, and my throne to set up in the hearts of men. Mine ancient residence was the bosom of God; no residence will I have but the soul of an immortal; and if you had entertained me, I should have possessed you of the peace which I had with God, “when I was with Him and was daily His delight, rejoicing always before Him.”’—Vol. i. pp. 2—4.

In the second oration, ‘On the Manner of consulting the Oracles of God,’ there occurs a very characteristic specimen of the bold and uncompromising way in which Irving used to denounce the affected religionism of society. The fierce onslaughts he made from time to time upon the practices of those who prided themselves upon being ‘evangelical’ more than others, and claimed to be considered ‘the religious world,’ drew upon him much suspicion, and filled with a secret dislike of his views those of his brethren in the ministry, who had already as much as their Christian charity could endure in beholding the triumphant sway of his talents. The Pietists, both lay and clerical, the admirers and the admired of religious coteries, would hardly relish the pungent truthfulness of these remarks:—

‘From this extreme of narrow and enforced attendance upon the Word of God, there are many who run into the other extreme of constant consultation, and cannot pass an evening together in conversation or enjoyment of any kind, but they call for the Bible and the exposition of its

truths by an able hand. That it becomes a family night and morning to peruse the Word—and that it becomes men to assemble themselves together to hear it expounded—is a truth; while at the same time it is no less a truth, that it is monkish custom, and a most ignorant slavery, to undervalue all intellectual, moral, or refreshing converse, for the purpose of hearing some favourite of the priesthood set forth his knowledge or his experience, though it be upon a holy subject. It is not that *he* may talk, but that *we all* may talk as becometh saints; it is not that we may hear the naked truth, but that we may exhibit our sentiments and views of all subjects, our tempers in all encounters, to be consistent with the truth. It is not merely to try our patience in hearing, but to exercise all our graces, that we come together. Let the Word be appealed to, in order to justify our opinions and resolve our doubts. Let there be an occasion worthy of it: then let it be called in. But it is to muzzle free discourse, and banish useful topics, and interrupt the mind's refreshment, and bring in upon our manly and freeborn way of life, the slavishness of a devotee, the coldness of a hermitage, and the formality of cloistered canons, thus to abolish the healthful pulses of unconstrained companionship, and the free disclosures of friendship, and the closer communion and fellowship of saints. Yet though thus we protest against the formality and deadness of such a custom, we are not prepared to condemn it, if it proceed from a pure thirst after divine teaching. If in private we have a still stronger relish for it than in company of our friends—if in silent study we love its lessons no less than from the lips of our favourite pastor—then let the custom have free course, and let the Word be studied whenever we have opportunity, and whenever we can go to it with a common consent.'—Vol. i. pp. 21, 22.

We cannot pass by the third Oration without quoting a passage from it, which exhibits the tone of Irving's mind upon a subject of considerable interest in itself, and concerning which another distinguished, but utterly dissimilar, thinker has expressed himself in equally positive, but perfectly opposite terms. Religion was invested by Irving with the ideas of devotion, fervour, mystery, grandeur, spirituality. The office which the intellect had to fulfil in the practice of religion, was a part—and only a part—of the manifold complex whole as it appeared to his large mind. Notwithstanding hereditary bias, and the bent given by his education towards the hard abstractions of the Calvinian theory, Edward Irving had a deeply-seated principle of reverence which enabled him to battle manfully against these prepossessions. In his view, spiritual discernment was a nobler faculty than intellectual perception, and devotional fervour took rank before theological acumen. He esteemed a respectful obedience to authority, as of equal, if not of superior, value to a cold acquiescence in the results of criticism. Consequently, he recognized a religious faculty in a child, and considered it to be worthy of cultivation, even though it lacked the intellectual power of maturer years. He states his views with his usual force, thus:—

'The raw opinion, that a certain maturity of judgment must be tarried for before entering into religious conference with our children, comes of

a notion which pervades the religious world, that religion rests upon the right apprehension of certain questions in theology, to which mature years are necessary; whereas it rests upon the authority of God, which a child can comprehend so soon as it can the authority of its father; upon the love of Christ which a child can comprehend so soon as it can the love of its mother; upon the assistance of the Spirit, which it can comprehend so soon as it is alive to the need of instruction or help from its parents; upon the difference between right and wrong, which it may be taught so soon as it can perform the one and avoid the other. There is a religion of childhood and a religion of manhood; the former standing mostly in authority, the latter in authority and reason conjoined; the former referring chiefly to words and actions, the latter embracing also principles and sentiments. But because you cannot instil into children the full maturity of religious truth, is no more an argument for neglecting to travel with them on religion, than it would be an argument to refuse teaching them obedience to yourself and respect of others till they could comprehend the principles on which parental obedience and friendly respect are grounded.'—Vol. I. p. 38.

The opinion here laid down does not, indeed, necessarily clash with that which Archbishop Whately reiterated in his writings concerning the superstition which lurks in children's prayers: at the same time we strongly suspect, knowing how unlike the two men were in their views and tendencies, that Whately would have condemned as a superstition what Irving would have commended as a pious practice. The Archbishop says, 'The practice of teaching or allowing very young children 'to learn by heart prayers, psalms, portions of Scripture, &c. 'which they are incapable at the time of understanding, is one 'which is very often superstitious, and almost always leads to 'superstition.' But what meaning is to be attached to the word 'understanding' here? Does the writer intend by it that intelligent co-operation of the will with the act, by which the child, knowing what is the purpose and object of its prayers, and comprehending the duty of worship, is therefore able to accompany the utterance of the words of a prayer with the idea of addressing Almighty God as the Father of mercies? Or does he mean the clear perception of each proposition; which perception involves an accurate knowledge of the signification of each word, together with a clear understanding of the relation in which the various propositions stand to each other? These questions the Archbishop answers,—the former in the negative, the latter in the affirmative—in the two paragraphs which we will take leave to quote from his 'Essays on the Errors of Romanism,' Essay i. § 6:—

'Some, however, find that their children *do not* regard such repetitions as a painful, or even an uninteresting task, but consider themselves, though they do not understand what they utter, as performing an act of devotion. Now this is precisely the case I have more particularly in view at present. The other just mentioned, of learning the words merely as an exercise of memory, is likely to lead to superstition; but this is in itself

superstitious. For what do the Romanists more, than make devotion consist in repeating a hallowed form of words, with a general intention indeed of praying, but without accompanying with the understanding the words uttered ?

Before we copy the next paragraph, we must pause to point out a slip of this clear-headed and coldly logical prelate, which it is not a little remarkable that he should have made, considering the alertness he always displays in detecting such mistakes in others. '*This* is in itself superstitious. For what do the Romanists, &c.' Let us throw this into a syllogistic form. It may be done in two ways. First. To utter words in prayer without understanding them is superstitious: the Romanists do this: *Ergo*, the Romanists are superstitious. Again, What Romanists do is superstitious: Romanists utter words in prayer without understanding their meaning: *Ergo*, to utter words in prayer without understanding their meaning is superstitious. If Dr. Whately had been a blind, unreasoning Protestant of the Exeter Hall type, whose whole creed is bound up in a single proposition, with its converse, namely—'All Romish practices are superstitious: all superstitious practices are Romish;' then we could have understood his writing after this fashion. But the fact is, the very aim and purpose of the book in which this fine reasoning occurs, is to combat and refute such narrow bigotry, and to point out that superstition is not the growth of any one form of religion more than another, but of human nature which underlies all forms; so that Protestants are just as liable to this corruption as Romanists, and, in fact, are addicted to superstitious practices the same in principle as theirs, only differing in their external form. Let us proceed to the next passage—

'But it may be replied, a child does understand *something* of what he is saying, if he does but understand that it is a prayer for some divine blessing; (an argument which may be, and is, urged by the Romanists in behalf of their Latin prayers;) while, on the other hand, the wisest man cannot be said *completely* to understand his prayers, since the nature of the Being he addresses must be mysterious to him.'

And then he goes on to remark how difficult it is, oftentimes, 'to draw a precise line in theory, which, in practice, common sense leads every one to distinguish sufficiently;' and he refers to Horace's well-known bit of sophistry:—

'Scriptor abhinc annos centum qui decidit inter
Perfectos veteresque referri debet, an inter
Viles atque novos? Excludat jurgia finis.
Est vetus atque probus centum qui perficit annos.
Quid, qui deperit minor uno mense vel anno,
Inter quos referendus erit? veteresne poetas,
An quos et præsens et postera respuat ætas?
Iste quidem veteres inter ponetur honeste
Qui vel mense brevi vel toto est junior anno.

Utor permisso caudæque pilos ut equinæ
 Paulatim vello et demo unum, demo et item unum,
 Dum cadat elusus ratione ruentis acervi
 Qui redivit in fastos et virtutem æstimat annis,
 Miraturque nihil nisi quod Libitina sacravit.

(Epis. II. i. 36—49.)

Now the fallacy of *sorites* can certainly be made of avail by those who desire to throw out the argument which aims at fixing upon a point of intelligence at which prayer ceases to be superstitious, and becomes devout; and Archbishop Whately forestalls it. But the mistake into which his hard intellectualism has led him, is the stigmatising as superstition or of superstitious tendency, whatsoever in religion is not a matter of intellectual apprehension. The arguments by which he endeavours to explicate the subject do, in fact, land him in this conclusion: that, although a man may be highly intellectual without being very devout, yet he cannot be very devout without being highly intellectual; in other words, piety depends upon mental ability. Perhaps he would not have accepted this deduction from his reasoning, but it is certainly the ultimate tendency of his reasoning both in this particular place and almost everywhere else in his writings. On the other hand, Irving very distinctly set forth that religion had broader foundations than intellectual power to rest upon; that the spiritual discernment was a faculty as active in the soul as intellectual perception in the mind; and that childhood had its power of being religious as well as manhood. Superstition is a great evil, and it would be very sad if the only sure antidote against it were a clear intellectual perception; for then but a small per-centage of mankind could possibly be safe from the disease, while the antidote itself would bring some minds into a state equally to be dreaded—the state of irreligion. For there is a positive danger lest the power of mere intellect should cast out, not only superstition, but religion likewise. Happily, however, intellectual perception is not the only, or even the best and safest antidote; and Irving had the advantage over Whately of being able to see, and to make others see, this. Through all his writings, in spite of some extravagance of thought, and the confusion which unavoidably resulted from his violent efforts to hold to the traditions of the Kirk, while he soared away into the region of a freer and fuller theology, Irving clearly recognises the distinction between nature and grace. Archbishop Whately, on the other hand, impresses one with the idea that besides nature he knew of nothing more powerful than the logical faculty.

Before leaving the comparison we have set up between these two divines, we will just quote a parallel bearing upon this same

subject—the religious education of children: ‘Can you believe,’ asks Irving, ‘that certain words lying dormant in the memory during the years of budding manhood, will operate like an Eastern talisman, or a Catholic scapular, against the encounter of evil?’ Whately writes: ‘The intrinsic sanctity of the words of the Lord’s Prayer, for instance, is the same only as that of the wood of the true cross. . . . The child who repeats the words by rote is no more benefited by them, than by carrying about him a piece of wood of the cross.’ There were, then, ideas of superstition over which Irving and Whately could shake hands.

In the beginning of the fourth oration (which continues the subject of the third) there stands a passage which strikes one as being not irrelevant to the times in which we live.

‘The eternal power and Godhead of our Creator, says S. Paul, speak through the things which are made. But the oracle of the works of God, however loud in commendation of His power and providence, is not easy to be explored by the multitude, who, little enlightened by knowledge, are much taken up with the necessary avocations of life. And those who are conversant with it, do generally, in the act of consulting, stop short in admiration of the temple itself, paying their reverence to its richness and decorations, but seldom reaching the inward sanctuary where the oracle is heard. Either nature hath changed her song, or man hath lost his faculty of interpreting it; for into his ear she now uttereth many a strain in commendation of herself, few in commendation of her God. And natural knowledge, while it is thus divorced from the knowledge of nature’s God, satisfieth not the spirit of man, which must join league with another spirit in order to taste its true delights. For what communion hath the soul with the superficial beauty of the earth, which they call taste, or with the knowledge of matter’s changes, which they call science? The human soul groans in languor till she finds a fellow spirit, or a generous cause of human welfare, to engage her affections; then beginneth her revelry of delight. Unfeigned friendship, chaste love, domestic affection, pure heavenward devotion,—who compares the intensity and delight of these unions with the stale and heartless sympathy there is between a naturalist and his museum, or a scholar and his books?’—Vol. i. p. 50.

And towards the close of the same oration occurs another passage equally pertinent on another subject.

‘This supremacy and empire of religion, zeal alone will not effect; the character of the age calls for argument and deep feeling and eloquence. You may keep a few devotees together by the hereditary reverence of ecclesiastical canons, and influence of ecclesiastical persons; but the thinking and influential minds must be overcome by showing, that not only can we meet the adversary in the field by force of argument, but that the spirit of our system is ennobling and consoling to human nature,—necessary to the right enjoyment of life and conducive to every good and honourable work. Religion is not now to be propagated by rebuking the free scope of thought, and drafting, as it were, every weak creature that will abase his power of mind before the zeal and unction of a preacher, and by schooling a host of weaklings to keep close and apart from the rest of the world. *This both begins wrong and ends wrong.* It begins wrong, by converting

only a part of the mind to the Lord, and holding the rest in superstitious bonds. It ends wrong, in not sending your man to combat in his courses with the unconverted. The reason of both errors being one and the same. Not having thoroughly furnished him to render a reason of the hope that is in him, you dare not trust him in the enemies' camp, lest they should bring him over again, or laugh at him for cleaving to a side which he cannot thoroughly defend.'—Vol. I. p. 63.

Before leaving the Orations, we may take the opportunity offered by a passage in the first oration, of remarking the stern face Irving set towards poetry in general. The severe character of the cold and unimpassioned form of Christianity in which he had been educated, overcame in this particular his natural inclination towards the poetic and imaginative; and he seemed to have frowned suspiciously upon all the employments of the Muse that were not of a distinctively religious kind. The words in which he censures the secular applications of verse are so impassioned, eloquent, and poetical themselves that our readers will agree with us in accepting them as at least a partial compensation for the somewhat narrow-minded sentiments they convey.

'Of the poets who charm the world's ear, which is he that inditeth a song unto his God? Some will tune their harp to sensual pleasures, and by the enchantment of their genius well-nigh commend their unholy themes to the imagination of saints. Others, to the high and noble sentiments of the heart, will sing of domestic joys and happy unions, casting around sorrow the radiancy of virtue, and bodying forth, in undying forms, the short-lived visions of joy! Others have enrolled themselves the high-priests of mute nature's charms, enchanting her echoes with their minstrelsy, and peopling her solitudes with the bright creatures of their fancy. But when, since the blind master of English song, hath any poured forth a lay equal to the Christian theme?'—Vol. i. p. 12.

With this may be compared another passage of like import which occurs in his last lecture on the Parable of the Sower.

'There is no worse sign of the times we live in, no clearer proof of the debasement of the soul of man, and demonstration of the ignorance of the world to come, than the many poems which are written, and the many songs which are sung, and the many journeys which are performed, in honour of certain lovely scenes and beautiful objects of nature. They will call me a Goth for saying so: but it is a Christian, and a Christian minister, who speaketh so; and one who heretofore drank at this fountain as copious draughts as any of the nature-worshippers. But how can any one who is at all interested in the primæval state of paradise which he hath lost, or at all believeth in the millennial and the eternal glory of the world of which he is an heir, take delight and shout forth joyfully in contemplating the present misery of the lower world: when he beholdeth the sandy wastes, the rugged mountains, the hoary forests, the inhospitable climates of heat and cold, the changeful accidents of thunderstorm and thunderbolts, the avalanches of snow and inundations of wasteful waters, the iron frosts, the drenching rains; in one word the natural barrenness of the earth's bosom, and the evil conditions which she underlieth since

the Fall? I speak not now of the partial deliverance which the well-bestowed sweat of man may give her from the rugged wilderness of her nature; but I speak of her proper nature, and show you how ill-attuned to truth are those rapturous strains which they utter over the elemental world.'—Vol i. p. 322.

We pass on now to the second and larger portion of Irving's first published work, the 'Argument for Judgment to Come.' The reader has already been informed of Mr. Carlyle's unaccountable omission of this piece from his collection of Irving's writings. The edition we shall refer to is the second, published in 1823. The Argument is introduced by an epistle dedicatory addressed 'To the Rev. Robert Gordon, Minister of the Gospel, Edinburgh;' in which the design of the work is declared to be, 'to recover the great subject of Judgment to Come, from poetical visionaries on the one hand, and from religious rhapsodists on the other; and to place it upon the foundation of Divine revelation, of human understanding, and the common good.' The exordium concludes with this brief sketch of the Argument: 'First, we shall set forth the constitution of Divine government upon which this judgment is to be passed. Then we shall treat of the actual judgment; and, lastly, do our endeavour to guide the people into the way of salvation from the judgment, concerning which, if they should continue reckless, we shall strike a note to thrill the drowsy chambers of the soul, and awaken it from its fatal slumbers.' (p. 107.)

The main argument of the first part turns upon the question of responsibility. In working it out illustrations are drawn from the political, social, and domestic organizations of the world, with all the diversity of treatment and luxuriance of expression for which Irving's writings are even so remarkable. He amply fulfils the intention which he himself announces at the outset. 'We shall indulge in disquisition, to clear the subject of obscurity; and in digression, to render it entertaining; and in application to touch, in passing, any interest or emotion which may be affected.' As a specimen of digression we may extract the following beautiful passage:—

'Now, in turning over the sacred books to examine into this previous question, we find them full of various information concerning the interest which God hath taken in man from the very first, and the schemes which He hath on foot to ameliorate our state, the desire He hath to contribute to our present happiness, and the views He hath for our future glory. He presents Himself as our father, who first breathed into our nostrils the breath of life, and ever since hath nourished and brought us up as children: who prepared the earth for our habitation; and for our sakes made its womb to teem with food, with beauty, and with life. For our sakes no less He garnished the heavens and created the whole host of them with the breath of His mouth, bringing the sun forth from his chamber every morning, with the joy of a bridegroom and a giant's strength,

to shed his cheerful light over the face of creation, and draw blooming life from the cold bosom of the ground. From Him also was derived the wonderful workmanship of our frames—the eye, in whose small orb of beauty is pencilled the whole of heaven and of earth, for the mind to peruse and know and possess and rejoice over, even as if the whole universe were her own—the ear, in whose vocal chambers are entertained harmonious numbers, the melody of rejoicing nature, the welcomes and salutations of friends, the whisperings of love, the voices of parents and of children, with all the sweetness that resideth in the tongue of man. His also is the gift of the beating heart, flooding all the hidden recesses of the human frame with the tide of life—His the cunning of the hand, whose workmanship turns rude and raw materials to pleasant forms and wholesome uses—His the whole vital frame of man, is a world of wonders within itself, a world of bounty, and, if rightly used, a world of finest enjoyments. His also the mysteries of the soul within—the judgment, which weighs in a balance all contending thoughts, extracting wisdom out of folly, and extricating order out of confusion; the memory, recorder of the soul, in whose books are chronicled the accidents of the changing world, and the fluctuating moods of the mind itself; fancy, the eye of the soul, which scales the heavens and circles round the verge and circuits of all possible existence; hope, the purveyor of happiness, which peoples the hidden future with brighter forms and happier accidents than ever possessed the present, offering to the soul the foretaste of every joy; affection, the nurse of joy, whose full bosom can cherish a thousand objects without being impoverished, but rather replenished, a storehouse inexhaustible towards the brotherhood and sisterhood of this earth, as the storehouse of God is inexhaustible to the universal world; finally, conscience, the arbitrator of the soul, and the touchstone of the evil and the good, whose voice within our breast is the echo of the voice of God. These, all these, whose varied action and movement constitutes the maze of thought, the mystery of life, the continuous chain of being—God hath given us to know that we hold of His hand, and during His pleasure, and out of the fullness of His care.—*Judgment to Come*, p. 119.

When he meets the objections that may be raised to a divinely instituted system of rewards and punishments, he makes this reference to Locke:—‘It has been well shown by ‘the greatest philosopher, and perhaps the most truth-loving ‘man, that England hath produced, that a law is nothing ‘unless it be supported by rewards and punishments.’ The foot-note only refers generally to the ‘*Essay on Human Understanding*,’ but doubtless the particular passage in view is Book II. chap. xxviii. § 6, *Moral Rules*. The exceeding dry style of Locke contrasts so strikingly with the exuberant style of Irving that we are tempted to exhibit the quotation:—

‘Of these moral rules, or laws, to which men generally refer, and by which they judge of the rectitude or pravity of their actions, there seems to me to be three sorts, with their three different enforcements, or rewards and punishments. For since it would be utterly in vain to suppose a rule set to the free actions of man, without annexing to it some enforcement of good and evil, to determine his will, we must, wherever we suppose a law, suppose also some reward or punishment annexed to that law. It would be in vain for one intelligent being to set a rule to the actions of another,

if he had it not in his power to reward the compliance with, and punish deviation from, his rule, by some good and evil that is not the natural product and consequence of the action itself ; for that being a natural convenience, or inconvenience, would operate of itself, without a law. This, if I mistake not, is the true nature of all law, properly so called.'

The second and third parts treat of 'the constitution under which it hath pleased God to place the world.' In the course of the treatment the contrast between the externalism of law and the internalism of the Gospel is largely discussed ; and along with Irving's redundant eloquence upon this subject, may be read the fifth and eighth of Archbishop Whately's Essays, 'On some of the difficulties in the writings of S. Paul.' The second part of 'Ecce Homo' (on Christ's legislation) occurs to one's memory as the most recent and remarkable effort to deal with this question. Perhaps it would not be possible to find three writers, more dissimilar in their manner and tone, following out converging lines of thought upon the same topic. If we may be allowed to throw out a piece of criticism in passing, and distinguish between their styles of composition, we should say that the style of Irving was like the dashing, roaring waters of some majestic river, plunging over precipices and brawling amongst rocks ; that the style of Whately was like the straight canal, noiselessly flowing onwards to its end between two precise banks ; and that the style of 'Ecce Homo' was like the pleasant, picturesque stream that glided here and darted there, always without turmoil, yet never without spirit.

In the course of his remarks Irving has occasion to refer to Jeremy Bentham, and he does so in these words :—'Human laws, judged of and executed by man, have in them properly 'no moral sanction whatever, as has been well shown by the 'shrewdest jurisconsult, yet perhaps most limited philosopher 'of the day.' The Utilitarian, doubtless, would seem to Irving very limited in his ideas ; but Irving had a manly, generous way of declaring his dissent from others on whatever points of difference there may have existed between him and them, and at the same time he would quote unreservedly such opinions of theirs as coincided with his own.

After having sketched the Christian code and pointed out its contrasts, in principles and practice, with all codes of law properly so called, he proceeds to elaborate the thought of human nature striving after an ideal perfection. We extract one of the paragraphs in which he carries on the discussion, and present it to the reader as a gem worthy to rank with the finest pieces of English prose composition. The depth and the compass of thought are no less admirable than the beauty of the construction and the chasteness of the language.

‘Next, as to their sublime and inaccessible reach of virtue. I hold this to be one of the chief points in which the adaptation of the divine laws to human nature is revealed. Yes, paradoxical as it may seem, their application to human nature is in nothing more revealed than in their celestial and ideal perfection : for it is the nature of man, especially of youth, which determineth the cast of future manhood, to place before him the highest patterns in that kind of excellence at which he aimeth. Human nature thirsteth for the highest and the best, not the most easily attained. The faculty of hope is ever conjuring into being some bright estate, far surpassing present possession—the faculty of fancy ever wingeth aloft into regions of ethereal beauty and romantic fiction, far beyond the boundaries of truth. There is a refined nature in man, which the world satisfieth not: it calls for poetry to mix up happier combinations for its use—it magnifies, it beautifies, it sublimates every form of creation, and every condition of existence. Oh, heavens ! how the soul of man is restless and unbound ! how it lusteth after greatness ! how it revolveth around the sphere of perfection, but cannot enter in ! how it compasseth round the seraph-guarded verge of Eden, but cannot enter in ! That wo-begone and self-tormented, wretched man, our poet, hath so feigned it of Cain ; but it is not a wicked murderer’s part thus upwards to soar, and sigh that he can go no higher : it is the part of every noble faculty of the soul, which God hath endowed with purity and strength above its peers. For the world is but an average product of the minds that make it up ; its laws are for all those that dwell therein, not for the gifted few ; its customs are covenants for the use of the many ; and when it pleaseth God to create a master spirit in any kind—a Bacon in philosophy, a Shakspeare in fancy, a Milton in poetry, a Newton in science, a Locke in sincerity and truth—they must either address their wondrous faculties to elevate that average which they find established, and so bless the generations that are to come ; or, like that much-to-be-pitied master of present poetry, and many other mighty spirits of this licentious day, they must rage and fret against the world ; which world will dash them off, as the prominent rocks do the feeble barque which braves them ; leaving them to after ages monuments of reckless folly. That same world will dash them off, which, if they had come with honest, kind intentions, would have taken them into its bosom even as other rocks of the ocean do throw their everlasting arms abroad, and take within their peaceful bays thousands of the tallest ships which sail upon the bosom of the deep. It is, I say, the nature of every faculty of the mind created greater than ordinary, to dress out a feast for that same faculty in other men, to lift up the limits of enjoyment in that direction, and plant them a little onward into the regions of unreclaimed thought. And so it came to pass that God, who possesseth every faculty in perfection, when He put His hand to the work, brought forth this perfect institution of moral conduct, in order to perfect as far as could be, the moral condition and consequent enjoyment of man.’—Pp. 142-4.

Here we see, notwithstanding the hard things Irving has elsewhere said against poetry, that he would not quite have gone with Plato in excluding poets from his ideal republic.

In the fourth part, concerning the good effects of the constitution of responsibility, under which God has placed mankind, upon the individual and upon political society, Irving indulges very freely in the liberty of illustration, now exposing the fallacies of those ‘who do but babble about liberty and reformation, who think that the depressed condition of a people can

'be elevated to its proper place by political means alone;' now inveighing against the debasements of sense and the corruptions of habit, into which the English have fallen from the simplicity and virtue of former times; now extolling the Reformation, and holding up its results (as they appeared to him in his day) to the grateful admiration of mankind, and pointing out how it restored 'England, Scotland, Holland, half of Germany, and the Scandinavian nations, to free use of the faculty of thought' (and if Irving were living now, he probably would add, with much eloquent lamentation, that the 'free use' had degenerated into an abuse of that faculty, to the subversion of all faith, reverence, and devotion); now expatiating upon the successful labours of Gospel missionaries. The wide range of his reading, and the ease with which he commands his information to do him service in the elaboration of his argument, are very conspicuous throughout this section.

But we cannot, within the space which necessarily limits our range, continue to treat with the same fulness even the remainder of this book on *Judgment to Come*, far less the portly volumes that are still untouched, and yet must receive some notice at our hands. In fact, Edward Irving is one of the most difficult writers we are acquainted with to tear oneself away from. Men who write very connectedly and clearly are, for the most part, limited in their range, and also precise and definite in the sections in which they dispose their argument, so that one can, without difficulty, detach a portion and deal with it by itself. Those writers, on the other hand, who are wide-spread in the scope of their ideas, are generally incoherent and confined in their style, and so have only to be picked up in the fragmentary forms in which they lie about, which is easy work for the critic. But Irving united connectedness without its limitations to diffuseness without its incoherences.

Throughout the remaining five portions of the '*Argument for Judgment to Come*,' the author advances with the same majestic stride; nor does either the richness of his language deteriorate, or the vigour of his thought grow feeble. Again and again we stand at gaze before a passage of surpassing eloquence. Perhaps the most masterly and best-sustained portion of the work is the very remarkable disquisition upon *S. Matthew xxv. 31—46*; the 'six charities upon which the distinctions of the 'righteous and the wicked are made to turn'; 'the six necessary 'consolations and supports of human life—bread, water, and 'clothing—health, human fellowship, and the freedom to travel 'over the creation of God' (p. 326). Before we close the volume we shall claim the thanks of our readers for placing before them the following extracts, in which Irving, after a manner peculiar

to himself, reflects upon the cold and unappreciative reception which the world at first gave to the poems of Wordsworth. The independent tone which that poet held towards public opinion repeatedly finds a counter-note in the writings of our divine; and what Wordsworth wrote to Southey might have come from Irving at any time during his career:—‘Let the age ‘continue to love its own darkness; I shall continue to write ‘with, I trust, the light of Heaven upon me.’

‘There is one man in these realms, who hath addressed himself to such a Godlike life, and dwelt alone amidst the grand and lovely scenes of nature, and the deep unfathomable secrecies of human thought. Would to Heaven it were allowed to others to do likewise! And he hath been rewarded with many new cogitations of nature and of nature’s God; and he hath heard in the stillness of his retreat, many new voices of his conscious spirit—all which he hath sung in harmonious numbers. But, mark the epicurean soul of this degraded age! They have frowned on him; they have spit on him; they have grossly abused him. The masters of this critical generation (like generation, like masters!) have raised the hue and cry against him; the literary and sentimental world, which is their sounding-board, hath reverberated it; and every reptile who can retail an opinion in print, hath spread it, and given his reputation a shock, from which it is slowly but surely recovering. All for what? For making nature and his own bosom his home, and daring to sing of the simple but sublime truths which were revealed to him: for daring to be free in his manner of uttering genuine feeling and depicting natural beauty, and grafting thereon devout and solemn contemplations of God. Had he sent his Cottage Wanderer forth upon an “Excursion” amongst courts and palaces, battle-fields, and scenes of faithless gallantry, his musings would have been more welcome, being far deeper and tenderer than those of “the heartless Childe;” but because the man hath valued virtue, and retiring modesty, and common household truth, over these the ephemeral decorations or excessive depravities of our condition, therefore he is hated and abused!’—*Ibid.* p. 504.

We now return to Irving’s writings as they are presented to us by Mr. Carlyle; and if we seem to have bestowed a disproportionate amount of space and attention upon the ‘Argument for Judgment to Come,’ we must hold Mr. Carlyle responsible, who has thrown upon us the task of making our readers acquainted with one of the most remarkable of his uncle’s works.

In dealing with the ponderous volumes before us it is both unnecessary and undesirable to do more than dip into them here and there for samples of the author’s manner of treating certain great subjects. With the exception of the ‘Historical View of the Church of Scotland before the Reformation,’ and the ‘Notes on the Standards of the Church of Scotland’ (vol. i. pp. 543-645), the writings of Irving were either sermons, or at any rate the substance of sermons put forth in a slightly different dress. Consequently there is an inevitable redundancy of thought, and even

of-expression, pervading the whole. In fact, notwithstanding the copiousness of his language, and the wealth of illustration with which he enriched every subject he handled, Irving had one tendency, which was strong even to a fault; namely, that of launching forth into grandiloquent generalities, which were equally apposite, or equally irrelevant, to any one of the disquisitions he undertook.

A large section of the first volume is taken up with six lengthy lectures upon 'The Parable of the Sower.' In these discourses, filling upwards of three hundred closely-printed pages, Irving has certainly exhausted the homiletic resources of the parable. Indications of his bias, which made him lean away from the received views of the orthodox Presbyterians of his day, crop out thickly. We will place a few specimens before the reader. Upon the doctrine of baptism Irving again and again expressed himself in terms consistent only with a belief in it as the sacrament of regeneration. He, moreover, fenced off the various forms of error which grow out of unsound views upon this sacrament; and he remarks wisely that, 'among the many errors which adult baptism tendeth to, it is none of the least that it should favour this notion, that men are not competent to faith from their earliest youth, but must wait for maturity of years.' Other passages might be quoted which, though easily discernible in their tone from the teaching of the Church Catholic, yet are vastly superior to much of what one hears and reads on the part of those with whom Irving, at that time at least, was supposed to symbolize. If they do not touch, they certainly have a decided inclination towards, the full truth. Referring to his interpretation of the 'Seed on the Rock' (Lect. ii.) he says: 'However much, at first sight, it may seem to war with the popular theology, at present reputed Evangelical, it will be found, upon examination, greatly to support the true orthodox doctrine of the Church; which, while it yields regeneration only to the supernatural work of the Holy Ghost, doth yet view everything which befalleth us, whether immediately from Providence, or mediately through the Church, to be a part of God's dealing and argument with us, to the end of bringing us unto Christ. Whence the Church appointeth Infant Baptism, under proper sponsorship, in order to signify that every act done by another towards these little ones, should be done in the Spirit of Christ; while at the same time she teacheth, that all the acts of God's providence, towards those within the covenant, are acts as much under the dispensation of Christ as is the giving of His Spirit. But, in these times, when we have emptied the sacrament of baptism of all its holy burden, and constituted an ideal sacrament of

'conversion, it will be necessary to clear these things somewhat more distinctly' (i. p. 152).

The last sentence is noteworthy, and it ought to be added that Irving had already, on the previous page, stigmatized the 'appetite for extreme cases of conversion' as being 'but a bastard Popery.'

Further on we meet with this passage, which reflects principally that view of holy baptism which may be called the declaratory or ratificatory; the view, namely, of which Robertson of Brighton may be considered to be the most distinguished modern propounder. Having stated that there is the grace and mercy of a Divine purpose in every man's creation, he proceeds to lay down that 'to signify this is one of the ends of the baptism of infants; which declareth that from the womb they are subjects of this Divine grace. The Trinity—that is, God, as revealed by Christ Jesus—doth claim the birth and life of the little one as their [*sic*] own, and do [*sic*] write him down in the sight of all as the offspring of their handiwork, the creature of their providence and the object of their care. And this is not the less true of all, that it is only by sacrament declared by the Church upon her children, because the Church only is regarded by Christ as believing His declarations. But though only declared of the children of the Church, there can be no doubt it is true of all, and would be of all declared, if they would but confess a faith whereto the declaration might be made. For it is manifestly preposterous, and a profanation, to declare any of the fruits of Christ's redemption to those who believe not at all in Him' (i. p. 154). There is a mixture of strong meat and rather thin milk here, as regards doctrine; which remark is good of much that Irving writes upon such subjects. We suppose that we must read the words we are now about to quote by the light of the last-cited passage, although, in themselves, they would be patient of a sounder interpretation. 'The new man-child of the Second Adam, by the regeneration of the Holy Ghost, must be born in thee, and brought up in thee by the ministry of the bread of life and water of salvation; that child whose communion is with the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, of whom also he is the offspring, as is set forth in the mystery of baptism' (i. p. 189).

Here it may not be out of place to quote a passage from the Lectures upon John the Baptist, now first published ('delivered in the year 1823, soon after Mr. Irving settled in London,' as an editorial note informs us), for the sake of its appropriateness; and it must be accepted as the only notice we can take of that interesting series of discourses:—

'This [referring to S. Luke iii. 3—14] is [the first baptismal service upon record. And if anything were needed as a commentary upon the sacrament of baptism, we should refer to the stern and severe welcome to the fount, upon which we have already discoursed, and to those imperious commandments to all who came. But there needeth no commentary upon either of the Christian sacraments; whereof the one before us signifies by its very emblem an ablution and purification from former uncleanness—the other, a divine nourishment in a new life, and a sacred union to the body of Christ;—the two taken together presenting to our eye the two great principles of our dispensation—repentance towards God, and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ.]—*Collected Writings*, Vol. ii. p. 40.

The fact is, throughout the whole of Irving's writings we observe that his mind ever and anon turned to the sacramental element of the Christian Church with the fidelity of the needle to the pole. No matter what may be the special subject upon which he is discoursing, we are sure to come upon passages thickly strewn over the field of his inquiry which breathe a very lofty and reverent spirit concerning the two Sacraments of the Gospel. Take this for a specimen:—'The doctrine that the two Sacraments are no more than bare and naked signs, we utterly abhor and detest; but that they are most apt and beautiful signs of that consummated life, whereof they are also the actual and sealed commencement and continuance in them who believe, and in those who believe not the seals of their apostasy, there can be no doubt' (v. p. 302). Here again is a passage which, for tone and doctrine, the most orthodox Churchman might be proud to call his own: 'According as Christ liveth in us, according as, by faith, we do incorporate the body of Christ with ourselves, according as we assimilate the Divine food of the Lord's Supper unto that life which we have in baptism, we do verily increase in the stature, in the wisdom, in the power of Christ; and we do increase in love, union, and fellowship with one another, through the Holy Ghost. That food which we receive from heaven, that immortal food which we have in the Supper of the Lord, though it be flesh and blood, is not flesh and blood subsisting through the power of the living soul; natural life cannot quicken; natural life cannot assimilate it. It is the flesh and blood of the spiritual life which the Holy Spirit did sustain in Christ, pure and spotless, and which the Holy Ghost in us doth assimilate for the nourishment of His life' (v. p. 445). And can the wide-spread error, which dissevers the inward spiritual grace and the outward visible sign in holy baptism, receive a more trenchant blow than is dealt in the sentences we are about to quote? 'John's baptism was a baptism unto expectation; Christ's baptism is a baptism unto possession. And, methinks, in these times they believe themselves to be baptized only into the expectation of receiving,

‘and not into the actual receiving, of the Holy Ghost; into John’s baptism, and not into Christ’s baptism, which will be followed with the forgetting that there is a Holy Ghost’ (v. p. 130).

In Irving’s mind there always dwelt the strongest possible antipathy to cant; although, alas! he himself was doomed to be the victim of one of its most outrageous forms. This abhorrence of cant manifests itself repeatedly in his writings, and it is quite interesting and instructive to select from them the spirited portraits he draws of the characters he sarcastically labels as ‘Evangelicals,’ ‘Bible Christians,’ ‘Converts.’ Here is the ‘Bible Christian:’—

‘Each man will read the Bible for himself, having a hearty contempt for creeds and confessions and orthodoxy. And fine work they make of it! And they call themselves Bible Christians! Which men I have found so self-opinioned, so prejudiced against the most venerable forms of the Church, so mighty in their own conceit, and so fond of innovation, that I have got an instinct of abhorrence towards them, and would rather hope to have communion with a superstitious Papist, than with one of these self-instructed, self-guided Bible Christians, as they are wont to call themselves in their contempt for all who have any reverence for the authority of the Church. They are exactly to religion what your weaver statesman and shoemaker political economist are in civil affairs.’—Vol. i. pp. 120-1.

In another place he gives this sort of character such pungent counsel as the following:—‘Come, my Bible-proud brother, let me tell thee a secret into thine own ear, as it were heard only by thyself: because thou settest no store by the constantly received opinion of Christ’s Church, I dread thou art an ignorant novice, or a self-conceited bigot; and that, if thou take not heed, Satan will make thee an incorrigible heretic’ (p. 134).’

The picture of the ‘Convert’ of the period is struck out in a few vigorous lines after this fashion: ‘The converts of this infirm character generally come out of a worldly and gay class of men, who, by some powerful statement of the truth, come to be impressed; and as like generally produceth like, the impression is most commonly made by appeals to their fears or to their affections, or what is commonly in these times called preaching to the heart,—simple preaching—affectionate preaching, wherein there is no bone of doctrine,—no strong sinew of duty, but an outward alabaster-form of skin and flesh; some water-colour gaudy sketch of the person of Christ; some flattering encomium of the beauty of religion; some poetical representation of the pleasures of godliness; perhaps some rhapsody of the joys of heaven, or savage scheme of the horrors of hell; some form of that preaching which now is popular throughout the churches, catches the ear of certain

‘ novices, and a little moves the surface waters of their spirit. They are said to be impressed, and upon the instant hailed as brethren. They are taken under the wing of some society; they are advanced to be collectors of money for it; they receive the *entrée*, and are introduced at certain religious parties, and are said to be doing well, in a most hopeful way; and they hear incessantly of the pleasures of religion, and of the great doings of the religious world. And what comes of it in the end? They rejoice, and much rejoice, but suffer nothing; they seem to think that Christ hath suffered the whole, and that they have nothing to do but to enjoy.’ And so on; yet further, stripe upon stripe, does this great theological satirist chastise the pretenders, and expose the shams, and give to ridicule the divers kinds of cant.

We have adduced scattered passages from Irving’s writings bearing upon sacramentality in general, and in particular upon the sacrament of baptism. But one of the most important of his published works was a volume of ‘Homilies on Baptism,’ with an epistle dedicatory to his wife, the touching words of which are already known to this generation from having been repeated by Mrs. Oliphant in her *Life of Irving*. It is not possible for us, within our limits, to give the reader a complete idea of this doctrinal treatise, but we will quote its concluding paragraph, in which that most important element in the practical working of baptism in the discipline of after-life—the element of responsibility—is exhibited:—

‘ This now is the conclusion of the whole matter concerning baptism, that every one, whether for himself alone, or for those also for whom he is responsible, should believe that God hath entered into covenant with him, in the most awful name of the ever-blessed Trinity, and that he is a person entered into the most solemn covenant with God; which covenant God will not abrogate, and man cannot. This covenant apprehendeth us as altogether sunk in sin, and destitute through every infirmity; and, apprehending us thus, doth, of free grace, endue us with forgiveness of sins, and the powers of the Holy Ghost: “Repent and be baptized every one of you, for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the Holy Ghost.” From the celebration and solemnization of that holy covenant, we ought to abide under the continual state of men forgiven—not once forgiven, but forgiven for a continuance; seeing we sin for a continuance. To doubt of our forgiveness at any time, or for any sin (except the sin against the Holy Ghost, of which I speak not), is to doubt, not the word merely, nor the promise merely, but the covenant of God: which, as it is the most solemn of all God’s transactions, may not be doubted, or disbelieved, or despised without the most aggravated sin against God, who is very truth, without variableness or shadow of turning. This is the very end of the covenant, to transfer the general promise to an individual soul, and seal it upon him as his own. The faith, therefore, of a baptized person is, that he himself is forgiven, and anything short of this is to make void the covenant. Secondly, From the moment of his baptism and ever onward till the separation of soul and body, we ought to look upon our body as a

pure and cleansed substance, inhabited by the Holy Ghost, and by Him empowered to live the life of Christ, and keep the commandments of God blameless. Nothing should appear too difficult for us, because the Holy Spirit, that dwelleth in us, is irresistible. In the habitual exercise of these two continued states of the renewed soul, peace with God, through the imputed righteousness of Christ, and sanctification unto all obedience, through the indwelling of the Holy Ghost, a baptized person ought to live: in thus living, he believeth the word and honoureth the act of the covenant of his God. And if, at any time, the clouds of doubt, and the fears of infirmity and falling away, are permitted by God to come over the soul of a baptized person, they are to be looked upon as temptations of Satan through the infirmity of our faith; and the only way which I know for effectually removing them is, to turn the eye of such a one unto God—as a covenant-keeping God, and to that covenant which He hath made with him in the sacrament of baptism.—Vol. ii. p. 431.

The ten Homilies on Baptism are succeeded by the eight Homilies on the Lord's Supper in this edition; but the latter, although intended by Irving for the press, were never published in his lifetime, and to the present editor we are indebted for their appearance in print. The last Homily is very valuable for the insight it gives into the increasing tendency of Irving's views towards Catholic doctrine concerning the Sacraments. It opens with a passage which makes it clear that Irving was not of that school of anti-sacramentalists who refuse to recognise any connexion between Baptism and S. John iii., or between the Eucharist and S. John vi. Towards its close occurs a paragraph which witnesses so strikingly to the boldness of the man who could dare to utter such language from a Presbyterian pulpit, that we need only leave it to tell its own tale.

‘The words which He had spoken [viz. S. John vi. 59—64] were of so corporeal, and, I may say, material a sense, that the wonder is not that some should have taken them literally, and do yet take them literally to mean an eating and drinking by the sense of a material flesh and blood, but the wonder is, upon the other hand, that all should not have taken up this interpretation of them. We wonder not that the error of transubstantiation, all absurd as it is, should have come into the Church, when we read this discourse, and consider the language of the Lord's Supper: “This is my Body, and this is my Blood.” But we do wonder that any man of common honesty, having such words in the communion, and such an interpretation of these words in this discourse, should dare to say that there is not any real presence of the body and blood of Christ in the Supper, or any real eating and drinking of the same by the faith of every believer; that it is a mere memorial of His death. Oh, I cannot express my abhorrence and detestation of such an ignominious, shameful deprivation [depravation?] of this holy mystery, which the Lord hath so defended; and I say it again, I would rather, many times, be guilty with those who ignorantly believe transubstantiation, interpreting our Lord's words to the sense to which He never spake, instead of interpreting them to faith, to which He always spake, than with those who contradict both the letter and the spirit, and speak neither to sense nor to faith, but to the mere acknowledgment of a fact which no well-informed man ever dreamt of doubting, that the Lord Jesus Christ was crucified upon Mount

Calvary. If the Lord had meant merely that He was to die, and that His death was to be kept in remembrance, what were there so astounding in this to the ears of man, as that they would call it a hard word which no one could bear? And what were the meaning of wrapping it up in language which seemed constructed on very purpose to be offensive to the ear and common sense of man? If that, indeed, were His meaning merely, His words were ill-chosen words; and His disciples did well to be offended. But if, as hath been said, He would express an assimilating and visiting power of faith, such as there is no other language for expressing but the language of eating and drinking; and if the only object of that faith be His human substance, what other way was there to express the nature, the virtue, and the effects of that act of faith upon His human subsistence, but by eating His flesh and drinking His blood?—Vol. ii. p. 635.

We shall pass over the third and fourth volumes with but slight notice of their contents. The third volume consists of fourteen discourses on Prayer; four discourses on Praise; a series of nine lectures on Family and Social Religion; together with eight discourses delivered on public occasions. The whole range over the period 1823—1827, and was chiefly preached in Hatton Garden. The fourth volume contains thirty-eight miscellaneous discourses, ‘written,’ as the editor informs us, ‘at various periods, between the year 1822, when Mr. Irving first settled in London, and 1832, two years before his death. The whole of them, with one exception, are now printed for the first time.’ The first seven discuss the various forms of idolatry into which Protestants are liable to fall. Throughout these, and we may add throughout all Irving’s writings, there runs that perfect fairness of spirit which enabled him to detect the weak points in his communion, and recognise much of the excellencies of communions from which he dissented. The unsparing severity with which he used to expose the besetting faults of his co-religionists, the frank and cordial manner in which he always spoke of the Church of England as a sister church, the courageous acknowledgment which he ever and anon made of essential truth underlying the erroneous dogmas and practices of the Roman branch, distinguish him as a man of great nobility of heart. Take this extract, from his lecture upon the ‘Idolatry of Symbols and Forms,’ to illustrate our meaning:—

‘Yet though it be manifest that these public services of prayer and praise have no significancy or spirit save in those who are sanctified unto the Lord by personal sanctification, this does not hinder the heartless formalists, who go through it Sabbath after Sabbath, bowing and kneeling, and responding in proper time, from thinking that thereby the whole form of religion is accomplished, and that Christ inquireth no more after them, but is well content with having received these large dues from their unwilling hand. These men are less to be spared than the Papists, who really claim pity for the thick blind and mystery of iniquity which hath been spread on the light of truth; but then our Protestant formalists have the truth shining in their face, through the pure and wholesome air,

yet wilfully will they hide themselves from His light, and involve themselves in artificial darkness, and worship the darkness which they have made. Theirs, above all others, is the condemnation that light hath come into the world, but that they loved darkness rather than light. And the Papist hath really something to show for himself: his bead-roll, his pater-nosters, his crossings, his masses, his confessions and absolutions, his household gods, which he calls saints, his gods of the place, and his gods of the days and months; but then our Protestant formalists, having nothing of that multitude of forms to show, have yet the face to think that an hour on Sabbath, the laziest, heaviest hour in the weekful of hours, will purchase absolution for all the rest, and is hardly remunerated by an eternity of blessedness. Such Protestant formalists are on the very edge of no religion. Theirs is a sorry sham of a religion, but the Catholics have a broad-spreading and cunning substitution for a religion. The former is the most inexcusable; the latter is the most lamentable. The former hath but a step to become an infidel. Amongst a nation of the former—which our nation, I think, is fast hastening to become—a new plantation of religion is required; amongst a nation of the latter, reformation is what is needed, some powerful hand to strip off the veil under which the beauty and loveliness and active members of religion have been buried. We have less danger in our Church from this quarter, having no forms of prayer; but in our sister Church the danger is imminent, even amongst the godly, of idolizing those forms in which their Church is most piously and decently arrayed. And if I err not, at this very time it hath grown into an idol with the most pious of her people, and is too much talked of and discoursed of, and depended on. But amongst the mass of the people of all ranks it is an idol as surely as the Catholic missal; and the weekly saying of its prayers is as securely rested upon as the intercession of all the saints in the canon. And so it will continue until, instead of gratifying the idol, and abetting the idolatry with continual offerings of adulation, they bear against both with a constant prophecy of condemnation, and shake the people out of their blind veneration of a most excellent book, in order that they may introduce them to its wholesome religious acts,—tear the veil of superstition which is at present over it, that the people may come at the true light and nourishment which it contains.’—*Vol. iv. p. 65.*

A few pages further on he utters this remarkable sentence: ‘Let religion sleep on contented with its quietness and serenity, and we shall find ourselves a nation of formalists, like the Protestants on the Continent, who have at this day purely less of the true religion than the Catholics have.’ How true this has become, makes it sound in our ears like a prophecy. Continental Protestantism, as all know now, is a miserable failure. But forty years ago, when Irving preached thus, the general opinion was very strongly in favour of its being the only source of spiritual life, and the undoubted asylum of doctrinal purity. Irving, however, was extremely dissatisfied with it, and took no pains to conceal his dissatisfaction. In fact, we are again and again astonished at the hard things he had to say of Protestantism in general; and it is impossible to resist the conviction that from first to last he was, at heart, in rebellion against its spirit. If we go over the salient features

of Protestantism, we shall not be able to point out one that escapes his censure. It is true that he does not professedly level his strictures at the principles, but rather points them at what he desired to regard as departures from those principles; but we repeatedly find him cutting up the roots when he thinks he is only lopping off the useless branches. His sermon upon 'Idolatry of the Book—the Bible,' is a fair illustration of what we mean. Read this passage:—

'A third form in which the idolatry of the written word expresseth itself is in the holy—but I call it unholy—notion which they have taken up concerning inspiration: that the very words are inspired, and the writers were but as organs of voice for that word. Where, then, were the sanctification of the writers if their soul were not in their words? And you will hear shrewd suggestions that even the act of translation hath a certain divine sanctity in it. Thus the Jews proceeded to honour the letter of the sacred book, counting the words and very letters of it, and holding that there was a mysterious sacredness in their very form. And for their idolatry they were permitted for ever to lose the spirit, which they sought not to find, and were slain by that letter on which they had such reliance. And in the same spirit they require of you at once to believe the book as the word of God, by one act of faith to adopt it, then to read it and bow down before what you read. That is, to make the book an idol, and then prostrate your soul unto it. And by so doing, you shall make your soul a timorous creature of superstition, or a blind worshipper of sounds and sentences, but never a child of the Spirit of God. . . . What portion of the Holy Spirit is in the written word, he only shall be a judge of who hath the same inspiration with Himself. It is the Spirit in us which discerneth the Spirit in the word. And then it is not letters and sounds that we discern, but the things signified, the ideas revealed, which beget in us such mighty revolutions. This, also, like the others, is an effort to infix in the outward object of the written word all that is necessary to our salvation, to concrete the Spirit into matter, if I may so speak, and have the whole efficacy of the Godhead under our eye, or our understanding, or some other of our proper faculties, and to make religion consist in the right use of that outward thing. But no; the Lord hath better determined that it shall never be so, and hath kept the finishing of salvation still with Himself, in order that He may have a purchase over God-avoiding man, to draw him to the only portion of his blessedness. Therefore, He will not concrete His Spirit in the matter of a book, nor make Him subject to any given formula of man's resolution, simple or subtle; but as the wind bloweth where it listeth, and thou hearest the sound thereof, but knowest not whence it cometh nor whither it goeth, so hath He resolved that it shall be with His Spirit, that men may learn to draw near unto His throne, and entreat the perfection of His gifts from that grace from which they have derived so much.'—Vol. iv. p. 82.

When Irving penned these words, was he totally blind to the consequences which logically flow from them? Could he not perceive that the legitimate outcome was the choice between two alternatives: either set up the intellect as supreme judge, and treat Scripture 'like any other book,' which, of course, implies venerating it no more than any other book; or take

refuge in the Church as the witness, custodian, and interpreter of the Scriptures? Did it never flash upon his mind—that splendid mind, like a rare, large gem, cut into numerous facets, from which the varied beams of truth were reflected with such gorgeous beauty—that to treat of the inspiration of Holy Scripture, apart from, and independent of, the inspiration of the Church, is a vain toil, and barren of any solid, lasting advantage?

We have now arrived at the last volume of this edition, misnamed the 'Collected Writings of Edward Irving.'¹ It contains the book which, of all his works, is of the deepest interest as regards the author: 'The Doctrine of the Incarnation opened, in Six Lectures.' The theological value of this book is, in our judgment, subordinate to its biographical value. We adhere to the opinion, which we expressed four years ago, that for us, as churchmen, the doctrinal extravagances of a Presbyterian have no vital import. Nevertheless, we must own to having read this work with very great interest, not only on account of the place it takes in Irving's life as the declaration of his faith upon the cardinal doctrine which it discusses, and as having provided a fulcrum upon which his opponents rested the lever of their *odium theologicum*, and hoisted him out of the Kirk; but also because it reveals depths of thought and powers of argument which prove that Irving's mental fibre had not deteriorated from its early vigour and elasticity, notwithstanding the wear and tear of the two different kinds of excitement to which it had so constantly and intensely been subjected ever since his arrival in London; on the one side the excitement of boundless popularity and increasing applause, on the other side the excitement of theological controversy embittered by envious detraction.

We shall follow the same course in dealing with the work on the Incarnation that we have adopted with respect to Irving's other writings, and endeavour to exhibit, as fairly as we can, and with as much fulness as our space will allow, the chief opinions which he advances in this book. We do not assume the position of judges. We do not take upon ourselves the functions of a court of heresy, and pretend to give sentence upon Irving's orthodoxy. We leave this to the judgment of our readers. They can come to what conclusion they please; and we shall content ourselves with remarking, that whatever that conclusion may be, it does not really involve consequences of

¹ A fly-leaf in volume v., dated August 3, 1865, announces the intention of publishing a 'Supplementary Volume consisting entirely of such [prophetical] writings, and including "The last Days," and the "Preliminary Discourse to Ben Ezra's 'Coming of Messiah in glory and majesty.''" This promise has not yet been fulfilled, and we have seen no advertisement of its being about to be fulfilled.

any serious importance, inasmuch as the opinions which it may condemn or endorse were held by a minister of another communion; and to his own communion Irving must stand or fall.

The title of the first lecture is: 'That the Origin of the Mystery, that the Eternal Word should take unto Himself a Body, is the Holy Will and good pleasure of God.' In it, and also in other parts of the work, Irving gives expression to very decided opinions and objections concerning current views of the Atonement. We extract a few specimens:—

'Ignorant men take upon them to scoff at this great work of the Incarnation, as if it were a substitution of the innocent instead of the guilty, against all reason and justice, and to the subversion of all reason and justice in the breasts of men.'—Vol. v. p. 21.

'I consider it to be rather a low view of the Redeemer's work to contemplate it so much in the sense of acute bodily suffering, or to enlarge upon it under the idea of a price or a bargain, which is a carnal similitude, suitable and proper to the former carnal dispensation, and which should, as much as possible, be taken away for the more spiritual idea of our sanctification by the full and perfect obedience which Christ rendered unto the will of God; thereby purchasing back, and procuring for as many as believe in Him, their justification and sanctification by the Holy Spirit, which is their conformity to the will of God. For whosoever is brought into conformity with the will of God is thereby included in His purpose. It was a great act of power in the Son—a demonstration of His almighty power—to take up flesh and purify it against all the powers of hell—to take up flesh and purify it against all the powers of sin and corruption. But no one will say it was impossible, for it hath been accomplished; and no one will say that there was any violation of the principles of eternal holiness and justice, for the Son to do what was within His power, or for His Father to suffer Him to do it.'—Vol. v. p. 25.

'By His Divine nature, I say, with the Godhead, He (Christ) transacteth, and by His human nature He rendereth the will and purpose and action of the Godhead intelligible, visible, and perceptible to the creature. But before two instruments will render the same harmonious sound, they must be brought into tune with one another; and the question is, How shall human nature in the fallen state be brought to be in harmony with the acting of the holy Godhead? Ever since the fall, God and man have been at variance. The thing was not, that ever the human will had acted in harmony with the will Divine; and how then is it now to be? How is a human nature to respond, truly and justly, in all things to a Divine nature? This is reconciliation of which so much is made mention in Scripture. This is the atonement of which they make so much discourse without knowing what they say or whereof they affirm. Atonement is not reparation, is not the cost or damage, but the being at one. It should be pronounced at-one-ment.'—Vol. v. p. 160.

'The Church has been so spoiled in its tenderer and nobler parts, by the continual and exclusive doctrine of debt and payment, of barter and exchange, of suffering for suffering, of clearing the account and setting things straight with God, that she hath lost the relish for discourse of the brotherly covenant, of the spousal relation, of the consubstantial union betwixt her and the Lord Jesus. She hath lost relish for high discourse concerning the mystery of His power, as God-Man; the beauty, the grace, the excellency of that constitution of being which He possessed. Strong as the strongest, even of almighty strength; weak as the weakest,—of all

infirmities conscious ; holy as the holiest, the only holy thing, yet consubstantial with the sinful creature, sinful in the substance as they, tempted as they, liable to fall as they. The Church likewise, by this profit-and-loss theology, by this divinity of the exchange, hath come to lose the relish of that most noble discourse, which treateth of the grandeur and the glory of the risen Christ, wielding the sceptre of the heavens, yet, from His peerless height of place, consenting to cast his eye perpetually upon the poorest, the meanest, the most deeply-tried and overwhelmed of all His people.—Vol. v. p. 225.

The point upon which the Irving controversy chiefly turned was, as our readers are aware, the peccability of Christ. That unguarded expressions and horrifying language should have been used in the heat of argument concerning so profound and awful a mystery as the perfection of our Lord's human nature, is what any one would expect with certainty, and the devout would look for with fear and trembling. But whatever statements Irving may have been impelled by his opponents to make in the pamphlets and letters which were called forth by the controversy, and also from the pulpit while it was raging, it would be difficult to bring an indictment against him on the serious charge of blasphemy—as his antagonists did not scruple to do—if this work on the Incarnation be taken as the source of evidence. We believe that the *catena* of passages we subjoin will faithfully exhibit the writer's tone when dealing with so solemn a subject:—

'By which frequent reiteration and various illustration of our Lord's sinlessness, the Apostle having prepared the way, &c. [referring to 1 S. Peter ii. 23].—Vol. v. p. 37.

'The Son Himself became outwardly manifest in manhood by the power of the Holy Ghost, and by His power was exalted from the grave to His present supereminency. It is the mighty working of the Holy Spirit which is conducting all things through the same perilous voyage of outward and separate existence, to reconduct them back again into a condition of outward stability and unchanging reality ; such as by the Father from all eternity they were really and substantially seen in the person of His own Son, in the Eternal Word, and all-perfect image of Himself. The only change or alteration, therefore, consisteth in revelation or in manifestation : there is nothing which hath not been eternally known to, and present in, the Son ; even the possibility of sin itself, which is, as it were, the chaotic basis out of which the manifestation of holiness and righteousness cometh.'—Vol. v. p. 75.

The last sentence in this passage must not be passed by without a remark. Irving's great proposition, which he laboured to establish with such painful exercise of his thinking and declaiming powers, was this : the substance which Christ took of the Virgin was the substance of fallen humanity. In this way he understood the article, 'man of the substance of His mother born in the world.' But what has the startling statement of the last-quoted passage, that 'the possibility of sin was eternally known to, and present in, the Son,' to do with this ? Here we have one of those extravagant departures from his line of argu-

ment, objectionable in themselves, and not pertinent to the main subject, which exposed him—and not without reason, certainly, in this instance—to a charge of fundamental error. Between positive truth and positive error there is a wide debateable region of speculation. Irving wandered very wildly over this region; and though a charitable view of his teaching may lead one to believe that he would ultimately seek rest and find a fixed abode in the domain of truth, there is too much colour given to the uncharitable disposition which his persecutors so plainly manifested of settling him ultimately in the domain of positive error—which is formal heresy. But let us resume our chain of evidence:—

‘And what is this wonderful constitution of the Christ of God? It is the substance of the Godhead in the person of the Son, and the substance of the creature in the state of fallen manhood, united, yet not mixed, but most distinct for ever. And is this all? No: this is not all. With humility be it spoken, but yet with truth and verity, that the fallen humanity could not have been sanctified and redeemed by the union of the Son alone; which directly leadeth unto an immixing and confusing of the Divine with the human nature, that pestilent heresy of Eutyches. The human nature is thoroughly fallen; and without a thorough communication, inhabitation, and empowering of a Divine substance, it cannot be brought up pure and holy. The mere apprehension of it by the Son doth not make it holy. Such a union leads strictly to the apotheosis or deification of the creature, and this again does away with the mystery of the Trinity in the Godhead.’—Vol. v. p. 123.

‘I am unfolding no change in the eternal and essential Divinity of the Son, which is unchangeable, being very God of very God; but I am unfolding certain changes which passed upon the humanity, and by virtue of which the humanity was brought from the likeness of fallen sinful flesh, through various changes, unto that immortality and incorruption and Sovereign Lordship whereunto it hath now attained, and wherein it shall for ever abide.’—Vol. v. p. 133.

‘Do I say, then, that Christ was sinful, or did any sin, or that His temptations led Him into any sin? If there was sin, how could there be reconciliation? No; He was holy. But was He liable to sin? Yes; He was tempted in all points like as we are. How could He be tempted like me, unless He were like me? His Godhead could not be tempted. . . . Only, then, His manhood could be tempted. And how can any one be tempted or tried, unless he be liable to sin? Even Adam, before he fell, was liable to sin. If any one, therefore, say, that Christ was not liable to sin, he doth say He was not a man; he doth say He is not come in the flesh.’—Vol. v. p. 158.

‘It is very painful indeed to me, but nothing new, as you can testify, to witness the obstinacy and perverseness with which men contend against this truth, that Christ came in the likeness of sinful flesh, to condemn sin in the flesh. What mean they by their ignorant gainsaying? Is it not the thing which is to be done in you and me, sooner or later, by God, that we should be sanctified and redeemed, this very flesh of ours, by the indwelling and empowering of the Holy Ghost? . . . Do I become a devil, by wrestling with the devil and overcoming him? And doth Christ become sinful, by coming into flesh like this of mine, extirpating its sin, arresting its corruption, and attaining for it honour and glory for ever?—Vol. v. p. 218.

As we quote these extracts—and we must confess that it has been to us a painful task—we find arising to our lips continually the question, What becomes of that article of the Creed, ‘was conceived by the Holy Ghost?’ Has it not been lost sight of by our author in his eager anxiety to set forth what he deems to be the full meaning of that other article (or rather of the latter part of the same article), ‘born of the Virgin Mary’? We feel more and more convinced that Irving was an illustrious example of the truth, that no man—and still less a man of great mental power, and of deep fervour—can bend the whole force of his mind exclusively upon one point of doctrine without, sooner or later, throwing out of equilibrium the entire body of the catholic faith.

It will be observed that very many of these passages are taken from the third lecture, the title of which, ‘The Method [of the Incarnation] is by taking up the fallen Humanity,’ exhibits in the most concise form the doctrine which Irving held. This lecture extends over 144 pages, and is divided into four parts. Whether these parts exhibit so many preached sermons we do not know. If they do, then we can understand the complaints of the prodigious length of Irving’s sermons and prayers, and how his almost cruel disregard of exhausted nature, and the urgent punctuality of the dinner-hour, tried to the uttermost his greatest admirers. And yet he seemed to think that he had reason to complain of being obliged to curtail his discourses in deference to custom. In one place in this volume he says: ‘Your time does not permit me to follow out this part of my subject at present. The more is your loss, the more also is mine, and, what is more, the loss of Christ’s Church, that our customs should always step in just when we have passed the porch of the sanctuary of truth, and debar us of the feast for feasts of another kind.’ Who could have heard this without a smile? The cool assumption of the importance of his own exposition of doctrine would have argued ridiculous conceit in any other man; but from him, knowing what he was, we accept it as part of the intense earnestness with which he strove to proclaim in all its fulness what he believed to be the truth.

The quotations we have made have been selected with a view to giving our readers as clear a statement of Irving’s doctrinal position in its several particulars as possible. But there remains one long passage which we shall append as a conspectus of his whole teaching, with regard to the Incarnation.

‘Into the mystery of the union between the Divine and human nature, it is hard to enter; and those who have dared it too far have most frequently lost themselves in error. It is revealed that His body was created by the power of the Holy Ghost in the womb of the Virgin Mary,

that He might be the woman's seed, according to the promise. He grew in wisdom as He grew in years, like any other child; though He was from the womb the very word of God, which had created the heavens and the earth, and spoken by the mouth of all the prophets: who was conscious of the eternity of His being, and of the blessedness thereof, before the world was. And He was obedient to the Law, in its letter and in its spirit; and He made the word of God His meditation, as we do; and He lived by faith upon it, as do all His people. He prayed, and was strengthened by prayer, as we are: He was afflicted with all our afflictions, and tried with all our trials, and was sustained by the power of the Holy Ghost, even as we. For we are not to suppose, with the early heretics, that His body was only an appearance, or illusion, but a real manifestation of the Second Person of the Blessed Trinity as man. He was not the Only-begotten in the bosom of the Father at the same time that He was the Messiah on earth; but He was the Only-begotten come out of the bosom of the Father, in order to become the Messiah upon earth. The Word had been revealed in the universal creation once, but now He is to be revealed in the individual man. In the former work the individual was seen in the universal; in the latter the universal is to be revealed in the individual, and gathered into Him. It was a high honour put upon human nature; but it was for a very high object; which we know only in part, and which will doubtless illustrate the being and glory of the Godhead more than the creation of the heavens and the earth. No wonder that the Word of God, foreseeing this great act of His incarnation, should speak of it by the mouth of all His prophets: for it is a singular act, whose extraordinary wonderfulness shall reach through all eternity. No wonder that the rumour of it came before, nor that sacrifice should be instituted to signify it, and the tabernacle to witness it, and the temple to confirm it, and the whole Jewish State to be, as it were, the womb of this great conception; in the foresight of which the prophet burst forth so sublimely: "For unto us a Child is born, unto us a Son is given; and the government shall be upon His shoulder; and His name shall be called 'Wonderful, Counsellor, The Mighty God, The Everlasting Father, The Prince of Peace.'" He was anointed to His holy office by the Spirit in the form of a dove; and declared to be the Son of God whom the people were to hear. And it was by the Spirit that He was led into temptation; and it was by the Spirit that the man Jesus Christ prevailed. Whatever powers He might possess otherwise, it is certain He prevailed against Satan by that Word and Spirit by which we are to prevail. He was travelling in the valley of humility; and it was no pretence of doing, but it was so. He was emptied: He did not seem to be emptied, but He was so. And He preached by the Holy Spirit, which was upon Him, and with which He had been anointed. And in the power of the Holy Spirit He went about doing good, and healing them that were possessed "with the devil." And the Chief Shepherd of the Sheep offered Himself by the Eternal Spirit. And He was justified in the Spirit, by the resurrection from the dead. So that in very deed, and in very truth, He was the Man Christ Jesus, the Son of man, the second Adam; who hath now joined the human nature to the Divine, and is become a quickening Spirit; baptizing with the Holy Spirit all who believe in His name and receive Him as the Prophet of God; bestowing the regeneration of the Holy Ghost, the fellowship of His priesthood, and the inheritance of His glorious kingdom.'—Vol. v. p. 267.

Here we close these volumes. We have, for lack of space, been compelled to omit even to mention the titles of some of

their contents ; but more than enough has been cited to afford ample materials for forming a conception of Irving's characteristics as a theological writer. The reader will observe, in the first place, that he was thorough. He never took up a subject but he looked at it in every aspect, he emptied it of all the teaching it could be made to yield, he illustrated it with all the variousness of his fertile imagination. He was not a suggestive writer, but he was pre-eminently an exhaustive one. He not only struck out a thought, but he followed it up likewise, and never relaxed from the pursuit so long as there was a point left for discussion. His brilliant mind scintillated sparks, but he did not leave it to others to kindle fires by them, but he kindled fires himself, which burnt out to the last flame of his glowing language. In no single place that has passed under our eye have we detected poverty of thought, or meagreness of expression. He is never to be caught beating out his matter thin to cover a space, but his mind always appears overflowing with exuberant wealth. Nowhere does the thread of his discourse outrun the staple of his argument.

The next most noteworthy feature in Irving's writings is sincerity. All he says he heartily believes, and he is passionately anxious that every one else should believe the same. Considering how voluminous and varied his writings are, it is most remarkable how free they are from all symptoms of hesitancy. With Irving there were no open questions. It was intolerable to him to leave the beam quivering in doubtfulness. Indecision upon any point of doctrine would have appeared to him no better than falsehood in the attitude of alarm. He was terribly in earnest in all he said, and this oftentimes imparts an air of overbearing assurance to his mode of stating his own views. Irving was not really intolerant. Indeed, there are many passages in his life which prove him to have been exceedingly large-minded in his sympathies with Christians not of his own communion. But he never suspected himself of errors ; he always took for granted that his own course was in the line of orthodoxy ; and this made much of what he wrote wear a harsh, and almost bigoted, appearance.

As a natural concomitant of his thoroughness and sincerity, the courage of Irving's writings is obvious on every page. The unsparing satire with which he pilloried the 'Evangelicals,' 'Bible Christians,' and the 'religious world,' has been already remarked ; and such a sentence as this may stand as an example of his passing cuts : 'This is particularly the shortcoming of those who call themselves Evangelical, and of all who are wont to pride themselves in being *Bible Christians* : and I am sorry it hath seized too many of the intellectual men of the Church

'of Scotland, who should know better.' Nor was his bravery of one sort only. He would acknowledge with frankness his obligations to the literature of the Roman Church for assistance which he failed to find in the literature of Protestantism. Alluding to Acts ii. 24, he says: 'To me they open a great deep, in the coasting of which I find little help or guidance from our clear-headed Protestant divines, but not a little from many of the fathers of the primitive, and some of the mystics of the Roman Catholic Church.' Such sallies of pulpit courage remind one of Massillon's bold utterances before the court of Louis XIV.; as, for example, when in the year 1709,—that year in which the dire distress of the poor contrasted so frightfully with the self-indulgence of the nobles, as to make every word about the origin of property a spark that might set the country ablaze, — he did not flinch from exclaiming, 'Qui l'ignore, que tous les biens appartenoient originairement à tous les hommes en commun; que la simple nature ne connoissoit, ni de propriété, ni de partage; et qu'elle laissoit d'abord chacun de nous en possession de tout l'univers?'¹—which, by-the-by, reminds us of Robertson's famous 'socialist' sermon on Nabal. And, indeed, Irving's courage cost him dear. Envy was on the alert,—envy in the bitterest form which it can assume; that, namely, which is kindled in the breasts of 'stickit ministers' by the popularity of a more eloquent and successful brother. Irving was bold even to rashness, and laid himself open to creeping informers. How he fell we know from Mrs. Oliphant's graphic pages; and whenever we recall to mind how 'one Cole, a clergyman,' having taken ample leisure from his own duties, busied himself to find accusations against Irving, we always think of Shakespeare's lines:—

'A falcon, towering in her pride of place,
Was by a mousing owl hawk'd at and kill'd.'

Something remains to be said about Irving's style as a writer, though not much; for we have quoted so extensively from his works, that our readers are in possession of abundant materials for forming their own opinions. There are many blemishes in his earlier writings which do not appear in his later; there are many faults, too, which cling to his compositions throughout. His first book is disfigured by the use of archaic and provincial term; and all his books display an affectation of that solemn and ponderous phraseology which carries the mind back to the literature of the Puritan age. The expression 'boon nature,' is quaint, but this scarcely excuses its eccentricity. The phrase

¹ Œuvres de Massillon, tom. iv. 137. (1810.)

'it irks the heart,' is a Scotticism, for which, of course, there is an apology in the writer's nationality; and it, at least, is intelligible to the English reader: but will the same apology serve for such an expression as this — 'there they lie in chains of darkness *dreeing* the everlasting penance'? Again, the purer taste of his later days would surely have blotted out such a sentence as this:—'A thousand angels of darkness are aye endeavouring to *scarf up* the bright sign of mercy in the heavens.' What does he mean? 'Scarving' is a technical word with joiners; and an affected blue-stocking might use it to express the putting on of her shawl, but Irving had no business with it. And yet he seems to have admired it, for in another place he talks of 'scarving up of the glory of the everlasting Word.' We have also such obsolete phrases as, 'A *stound* of pain,' 'thrênes of despair,' 'reaved away,' 'vie them in Thy hot displeasure.' It should be remarked that the whole of these examples are taken from his earliest essay in literature—the 'Argument for Judgment to Come;' and that that work exhibits a larger proportion of such faults than any other of equal extent. But the defects in Irving's style sink into insignificance when placed by the side of its merits. If he indulged now and then in Scotticisms or archaisms, he always used them with a vigour which went far to extenuate the liberty he took; if his sentences be occasionally turgid and grandiose in their wording, they cannot be called pointless or feeble; if his command of language led him sometimes into prolixity, it never betrayed him into obscurity; and, although his tropes and similitudes are now and then inappropriate and grotesque, they are far oftener happy and sublime. Irving is one of the few writers who combine clearness of statement with grandeur of language. He launches forth boldly upon the sea of speculation, and never loses himself, or bewilders his reader. There is no flight of rhetoric too lofty for him to attempt, and in no attempt is he ever baffled. It was said of Gibbon, in contrast with Hume, that while the latter writes up to the subject, the former gives the idea of writing down to it; and so of Irving it may truly be remarked, that we trace in his works the master's rather than the labourer's hand. His eloquence is yet fresh in the memories of men now living; and when we compare the traditions which cling to his name with the evidence which is furnished by his writings, we conclude that his pulpit oratory was not simply impressive: it must have been overwhelming.

ART. III.—*The Holy Roman Empire.* By JAMES BRYCE, B.C.L.
Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. A New Edition, revised.
London: Macmillan and Co. 1866.

THE calm which has reigned almost unbroken in Europe for the last fifty years has passed away for ever. A short time since we were looking with anxious gaze and bated breath for the issue of those disastrous civil wars of America, which seem to have frustrated the last sibylline vaticination, and delayed for centuries the westward march of empire. We were happily and serenely unconscious of that strange counter-revolution which was ready to burst out in the Old World; and which now, by its incalculable issues, has changed, if it has not darkened, the whole prospect of Europe. In America revolution aimed at the emancipation of nations; in Europe it has crushed the independence of kingdoms. With a cruel mockery, under the sacred pretexts of unity and fatherland, mere force has imperilled the freedom of the Continent; and, if the forebodings of many be not frustrated, Sadowa will yet take rank as the most disastrous, alike to vanquisher and vanquished, among the hitherto so-called victories of the world. For more than five centuries the Turks have done good service to Europe, by enforcing caution and watchfulness among Christian nations. The Ottomans have now sunk into such abject degradation and decrepitude that politicians have allowed themselves to be betrayed into forgetfulness of the fact that the Crescent represents, not a people, but a religion. How far the changes on the Continent during the last century might have been modified or arrested had the Turkish empire been animated with its original energies it is needless to speculate; but it is remarkable—and it illustrates the permanence of historical ideas—that what we understand by the Turkish question has acquired from recent events increased prominence and interest; and this, and not the possible absorption of Denmark by Bismark, and the *avatar* of a Brandenburgian Empire, or the appropriation by the Czar of Norway and Sweden, remains the great political crux of the cabinets of Christendom.

The events which we have just referred to, the demolition of the Austrian Empire, and the re-organization of a mid-continental federation, have taken place with a rapidity which seems quite in keeping with an age whose glory is in steam and telegraphs and needle-guns. We are at this moment manufacturing history with super-electrical velocity. It is the more needful that we should take stock of our old historical acquirements, and review

our knowledge of the past, that we may the better appreciate history as it is born to us day by day. There is no employment more necessary to, more worthy of, man. It is one of the attributes of his nature that he is the student of those revelations of God's opposeless will to which have been vouchsafed no inspired narrator; that he is a judge of the dead, great and small; of the actions and the passions of the mighty and the low; and that he is called to witness the sure evolution of the Tragedy of the Empires.

And in this historical review no department, if we may call it a department, possesses more interest than that treated of in Mr. Bryce's masterly and modest volume; a volume whose judicial and impressive tone, and clear and far insight into the complications of the subject, vindicate the writer's claim to that great title of historian so often assumed in our day, so rarely deserved. The subject of Mr. Bryce's volume is specially in season just now, when the temporal possessions of the Bishop of Rome are so seriously enjeopardized; and the bewildered Pope, wavering between malisons and benedictions, seems to know neither the time when, nor the person whom, he ought to curse or bless.

We invite our readers to run over with us the subject of Mr. Bryce's volume. We shall endeavour, by a few introductory remarks, to place in as clear a light as we can the connexion of the subject with antecedent history. We cannot help indeed differing with Mr. Bryce on at least one point. He speaks of the empire surrendered in 1806 as 'the same which the crafty nephew of Julius had won for himself against the powers of the east, beneath the cliffs of Actium,' which 'had preserved almost unaltered through eighteen centuries of time, a title,' &c. (p. 1.) The question of identity we are aware is a very nice one; yet in this case it seems cleared of most of its debateableness. Neither in idea, name, area, or historical succession was the empire of Charlemagne one with that of Augustus. Not in idea—for that of Augustus was in idea secular, uniform,¹ and universal; and that of Charlemagne was local, complex, and marked by an ecclesiastical character. Not in name as is evident: not in area, for that of Charlemagne was confined to Europe, and to only a part,² less than the original Roman conquests in Europe: not in historical succession, for at least 324 years elapsed between the extinction of the Roman Empire of the West, and the establishment of the Holy Roman Empire. The system organized by Charlemagne was 'not unworthy' of the title it

¹ Charlemagne's two-headed eagle expressed the union of the Empires of Germany and Rome.

² *Vide* Gibbon's 'Decline and Fall,' chap. xlix.

assumed ; but as a fact—and a fact, too, the oversight or neglect of which is sure to entail infinite puzzleheadedness—the Holy Roman Empire as much represents the great old Roman Empire as Napoleon III. represents legitimacy and the divine hereditary right of Charlemagne.

Mr. Bryce does not attempt a history of events, but he aims at exhibiting his subject as an institution 'created by and embodying a wonderful system of ideas.' If so we must more or less connect the institution with the previous state of things. The Roman Empire, in the second century, had grown to be the centre of the world ; and in that world an unexpected unity was given to the empire by Caracalla's decree of political universalism. This curious anticipation of the supermiraculous gift of the Gospel, the equal citizenship of the poor in the Kingdom, failed, as might be expected of such a scheme, to work unity ; and Diocletian, by his dividing the empire into four parts, and Constantine, by his introduction of that court ceremonial which has continued from him to us, rendered that unity more unreal, while for the time the fiction of universal sovereignty was more zealously affirmed. When Constantine adopted the Church it was already a great political force ; but, though the league was formed, a perfect identification between Church and State—such as had existed between Church and State in the Jewish system, such as had existed in pagan Rome between its political constitution and its recognised religious forms—was providentially rendered impossible by the existence and permanent recognised establishment within the Church of the ministry and sacraments. Mr. Bryce's theory is, that in consequence of this obstructiveness in her own system, the Church had no 'course left but to become the counterpart' of the State ; and that she thus, under the combined force of doctrinal theory and practical needs, shaped for herself a machinery of patriarchs, metropolitans, and bishops. This is a very curious theory, yet natural enough in a Scotchman ; but certainly neither ingenious nor new. The theory, however, is not necessary to the obvious and unquestionless truth that the Christian idea of unity contributed to the unification of the Roman Empire. The same political system was working itself out in another direction, and after another method. Romans admitted barbarians to rank and office ; and the Teutonic tribes were recognised. The religious, the social, and political system which they were admitted to share must have exercised a very remarkable control over them ; for, with the exception of Attila, all Rome's conquerors were conquered by Rome, all were softened and subdued ; and save Athaulf, Alaric's brother-in-law, no barbarian appears to have entertained for a moment the desire to extinguish the Roman Empire.

This influence of Rome over her enemies is traceable to two great impressions produced by Rome. The first of these was the idea of Rome's eternity, which again was the result of her universality. The second great element in this conception was the sanctity of the imperial name. 'Where the emperor is, there is Rome.' He was consecrated and worshipped. Our author observes that 'under the new religion the form of adoration vanished.' Yet Gibbon tells us that 'like the Cæsars, he (Charlemagne) was saluted or adored by the pontiff,' and Mr. Bryce's own authorities for other facts testify to this also. Perhaps nothing can more thoroughly illustrate the power of an idea than the conduct of Odoacer the Herulian. When Romulus Augustulus, the last native Cæsar of Rome, was deposed, a deputation went to Constantinople to Zeno, begging him that, as no second emperor was needed, he would bestow proper dignity on Odoacer, as his vicegerent. With this petition the emperor complied; and the Herulian, who had the power to extinguish the whole western power of Rome, was content to take the title of King Odoacer.¹ Thus, in fact, things reverted to what in a great measure had been their state during the first two centuries. But the consequences were most unfriendly to the unity of the empire. For this arrangement 'developed Latinism, it emancipated the popes, it gave a new character to the projects and government of the 'Teutonic rulers of the West.' But the first to attempt to blend the peoples and maintain the traditions of Roman wisdom in the hands of a new and vigorous race, was Theodoric the Ostrogoth, 'the forerunner of the first barbarian emperor.' Yet even he maintained his submission to the throne of Constantinople; and of the two annual consuls, one was always named by the emperor. After his death, Italy was temporarily recovered for Justinian by the arms of Belisarius, but the unity he restored perished and came to naught on the invasion of the Lombards in 568. Rome's 'two enduring witnesses, her Church and law,' survived, but they did not retrieve or stay when once begun the disintegration of the empire. 'As the empire fell to pieces, and the new kingdom began to dissolve'—as our author admits, the power and influence of the Church, as the centre, as that which furnishes the one abiding bond to society, began to be felt more and more. So, too, was it with the Roman code. But, permanent and powerful as we regard the Roman law, we cannot do more than admit that if 'in the eighth century the empire still existed in men's minds as a power not destroyed,' this is an instance of the unreasonableness and tyranny of the imagina-

¹ Not King of Italy. The barbarian kings for centuries did not assume territorial titles.

tion, and the too ready method with which most impressible minds mistake memories for facts. A kindred imagination prevails to our own day; and some of our modern Apocalypticists venture to maintain that the Roman Empire exists still. The Germanic empire of the great Charles implied the subjection of Italy to Germany: this was, we might say, avowed in the offer of Eribert, Archbishop of Milan, and the Lombard magnates, of the crown to Conrad.¹ At this very time, the southern provinces of Italy were faithful in their allegiance to the Eastern emperor. Yet Conrad III. just like his better-known nephew, Frederick Barbarossa, believed, or professed to believe, that magnificent absurdity that he inherited the kingdoms of the world as successor to Augustus, whose entire prerogatives he claimed to exercise over his subjects. It is at the very root of all we are urging, that in no trustworthy, no truly historical sense, can the Holy Roman Empire be called the restoration of the Western Empire. On this one point we think the philosophy of Mr. Bryce, if we understand him, is at fault; and philosophy, here as elsewhere, is truth, which must by no means be sacrificed to a passion for system.

That which was indeed the revival of the Roman Empire in conception, in self-assertion, and centralization, was the Hildebrandine Papacy; a phantom² only, it is true, as far as substantive manifestation of secular omnipotence is concerned, yet one that propagated throughout the world, and that from the old historical centre, a power veritably commensurate with the Roman empire in the West. The idea of Constantine, after struggling to maintain itself for a whole millennium, was finally extinguished when at the jubilee, A.D. 1300, Boniface VIII. presented himself to the astonished pilgrims, seated on the throne of Constantine, equipped with sword and crown and sceptre, and shouting aloud, 'I am Cæsar—I am Emperor.'³

But, while we protest against any fine-drawn theory which seems to justify the too common notion that the Augustan Empire of Rome was restored in the son of Pepin, and then flourished one thousand years, till 1806, we are of course free to confess that, through the whole process by which Pope and Frank conspired to convey—'convey the wise it call'—to themselves authority over and the actual possession of the dis-

¹ Hallam's 'Middle Ages,' vol. i. p. 223. Eighth Edition.

² We believe we are using here almost the words of the philosopher of Malmsbury.

³ When Innocent III. compelled the Prefect of Rome to swear allegiance to him, an end was put to the regular imperial supremacy over that city. This is the proper era of that temporal sovereignty which has been ever since possessed and asserted without question or limit by the Bishop of Rome over their own city.

membered residue of what once had been the Western Roman Empire, they displayed a commendable ingenuity and discretion in endeavouring to surround their pretensions with all the prestige that could be gained by reviving the old imperial ideas of Augustan Rome. History abounds with instances in which a defective title or inadequate resources have sought support or replenishment in assertions the most extravagant, or pretensions the most outrageous. The founders of the Lower Empire had indeed two difficulties to face, and if possible to overcome. And they failed to overcome them. The one difficulty lay in the act of usurpation by which they ventured to seize the dominions of the emperor at Constantinople; the other difficulty lay in the fact that they never were masters of the city of Rome. It was but the convenient invention of some nameless sycophant, however afterwards adopted, that where the emperor is, there is Rome. It was an afterthought, much in the same way, which justified the usurpation on the grounds that, as the empire of the Cæsars had come under the rule of a guilty woman, the West was justified in vindicating its own independence. But, great and manifold as were the crimes of Irene—and Charlemagne, a suitor for her hand, in his ambitious purposes seems to have forgotten the iniquities of her life—it deserves to be remembered that her reign was so short—only some five years—as to be far from justifying this plea; and the rational method of rectifying the anomaly was to be found in restoring her injured son, and not in robbing the throne of its oldest possessions. Indeed the curious part of this whole passage in the history is that Charles not only usurped the Western Empire, but in a measure the Eastern likewise; and the annals of the time and many centuries afterwards mention Charles, not as the successor of Romulus Augustus, but of Irene's son, the deposed Constantine VI.; and the name of this unhappy emperor, the sixty-seventh from Augustus, is followed by that of Charles, the sixty-eighth.

The imperial purple had descended from the shoulders of the divine Augustus to Constantine and Theodosius, along a line which numbers forty-four emperors. The successors of Theodosius in an evil moment divided the empire. The seventy-first descendant of Arcadius in the East was that last of the true Cæsars, Constantine Palæologus, who perished in the sack of Constantinople by the Ottomans. Any pretensions which the Holy Roman empire might with any show of justice advance to be regarded as a restoration of the empire of Augustus must be based upon the Latin usurpation of the Eastern throne (1203—1261). But that event, so futile in itself, so damaging and discreditable to Christendom, has been industriously consigned to oblivion by the historians of our day. The empire of the West,

presided over by Honorius the son of Theodosius, was brought to a close by the Goths when that unhappy prince, already referred to, the double diminutives of whose name are only too suggestive of defeat and disaster, the tenth successor of Honorius, faded away. In 476 A.D. the empire of Rome proper had completed its millennium and its surplus hundred years; a period somewhat like the 'year and a day' of our nursery times. It came to an end then utterly and for evermore. Mr. Bryce speaks of taking in in one mental view the empire of Rome from Augustus to Charles, and looking on it as a 'whole'; he says that this is most 'necessary'; to regard it as 'a single institution in which centres the history of eighteen centuries' (p. 433): he adds indeed that this is 'least possible to do.' We contend that it is not necessary, but wholly to be avoided; that, be the charm or the tyranny of ideas what it may, we must not submit to it; nor indulge a fancy as unreal and untrue as that of French writers, who look on their emperor as the historical heir of Charlemagne. The Lower Empire completed its appointed cycle. The same mystic cycle of a millennium and a century measures the duration of Rome proper, and is to be found in the Eastern Rome. From the middle of the fourth to the middle of the fifteenth century we measure an equal time:—from the foundation of Constantinople to its capture by the Turks.¹

Among the nations which the disintegration of the old imperial system brought into prominence, the most remarkable were the Franks and Saxons. In their conversion from Paganism, while the Saxons had the misfortune to be converted by Arian missionaries, the Franks, among the very latest converts, were Catholics from the first. While the hostility of their orthodox subjects destroyed the Vandal kingdom of Africa and the Ostrogothic kingdom of Italy—the Franks, the descendants, namely, of the Sicambri, the inveterate enemies of the ancient empire—found the greatest possible support for their ambitious purposes in the widely diffused sympathy of the priesthood, which had suffered so much from their Burgundian and Visigothic enemies. The Franks had withstood the Saracens of Spain; they had aided the

¹ In the East 115 emperors are reckoned from Augustus to Constantine Palæologus; and in the West (if we reckon Charlemagne as the successor of Romulus Augustulus, as we reckon Louis XVIII. successor to Louis XVII.), we reckon to Francis II. (1806) 114. If from the 1453 years which the Eastern Empire lasted we subtract the three centuries and a few years, we have the approximate number of 1100 years. If, from 1806, to which date, *nominally*, the Western Empire lasted, we subtract the 324 years of its abeyance between Romulus and Charlemagne, we have 1482 years. Again, deduct from this the three centuries and more till Christendom and Paganism were adjusted to one another by Constantine, and we have still the former number, with a sufficient approximation, of a millennium and a century. We merely mention this as helpful to the memory.

missions of Boniface; and their position and their services alike commended them to the partial regards of the Bishop of Rome. In our endeavours to distinguish the epochs of history we define the period commonly known as the 'Dark Ages' to be the earlier centuries which succeeded the taking of Rome by the Goths: from that event at least down to the age of Charlemagne. Perhaps never in the history of the human race has there passed a time of such hopeless and unmitigated trouble. Acuter sufferings there doubtless have been within a shorter term: when the Divine Mercy for the elect's sake shortened the days. But in the three hundred years which followed the victory of Alaric sorrow was multiplied, and when we turn our eyes to the land, there is nothing to be seen there but darkness and sorrow, and the '*plurima mortis imago*.' That time of evil culminated in the settlement of the Lombards in Italy. Their attempts were concentrated about the valley of the Po, and, formidable as they were, they left the exarch of Ravenna to rule undisturbed the rest of the country in the name of the Eastern Emperor. Yet they made their presence unpleasantly felt at Rome; and, distinguished among all the northern tribes for their dislike to the clergy, they drove the ecclesiastical chief at Rome to seek succour where he could find it. By those who are partial to the study of historical coincidences, it will be welcome as a curious instance of this kind, that a theological question precipitated the overthrow of the old and the new empire. What Luther's solifidianism was to the successor of Charlemagne, the iconoclastic controversy was to the empire of the veritable Cæsars. It was the part taken by the Emperor Leo, the Isaurian, which formed the proximate cause for the alienation from the Byzantine Court of the Italian dependencies. In the crisis of the controversy, Luidprand, the Lombard king, with an astuteness which may be matched, but can hardly be outdone, by any modern instance of diplomatic duplicity, seized the golden moment. As a champion of images he overran the exarchate; and as the minister of the Greek emperor he all but captured Rome. At such a moment, placed between the imperial heretic and the royal brigand, and Lombardy has not failed to produce others like Luidprand, Gregory III. had no alternative but to seek help from Charles Martel, already the deliverer of Christendom on the field of Poitiers. Charles died ere he could come to the succour of Holy Church; and Pipin, the third of his family who virtually ruled the Franks, engaged, on the condition of the deposition of his master Childeric, to become the defender of the chair of Peter. There is something in this mean conspiracy greatly suggestive: and later events in the progress of the historical drama illus-

trate the divine certainty of that temporal retribution which overtakes governments. Twice Pipin came to the rescue of Rome; on the second time in compliance with a letter written in the name of S. Peter himself. The victorious French bestowed the exarchate on the pope, and the pope gave a title in return, and Pipin became Patrician,¹—a dignity invented by Constantine himself, which, however exalted, and, especially in ecclesiastical matters, influential, implied subjection to the Byzantine emperor.

There was one further step necessary to the full extrication of the Bishop of Rome from his perilous state of exposure to his Lombard neighbours; and this step was taken when the son of Pipin, the chieftain so happy in having the title of his greatness incorporated in his name, put down the Lombard king, seized and assumed the Lombard crown, and, first of the Teuton kings, entered Rome in triumph. The situation was critical and memorable; and no wonder that some poetic mind, improving the occasion, turned his subjective impressions into an objective form, and wrought out the whole forgery of the donation, and the gratitude of Constantine, just healed of his leprosy, to Pope Sylvester. Hadrian received Charles. But Leo III. the same who sent the Frankish king the keys of the shrine and the confession of S. Peter, was the bishop to whom history is indebted for the first conception of the Lower Empire. In his weak and unsheltered condition the first principle of self-preservation would naturally assert itself: but we may give credit to Leo for a larger and more far-sighted policy. The grand memories of imperial Rome were yet alive among the nations; they were inextricably bound up with the law, the language, the religion of humanity. And, as if to impart a still greater vitality to the idea, another conqueror had come after the divine Julius, who had established one law, one religion, and one empire consolidated alike in Europe, Africa, and Asia. The suggestion was not to be put aside. The pope must have a temporal power at hand. Here was one already king of many races, who had in Saracen and Lombard overthrown the spiritual and temporal enemies of the Church; the Byzantine throne was at the moment occupied by the cruel Irene; no time was to be lost. The Frank entered Rome, and at a moment when he least expected it, when there can be little doubt that, if consulted, he would have declined the honour as, however to be desired, ill-timed, Charlemagne was crowned by the pope on Christmas-day, 800.

¹ The *first*, if we regard Gibbon as mistaken in giving that title to Charles Martel.

There is much the same kind of difficulty in forming a satisfactory estimate of Charlemagne as there is in judging Constantine. Gibbon, whose marvellous historical knowledge and, where Christianity is not *directly* concerned, uniform discernment are so rarely at fault, is severe enough in his delineation of the founder of the Lower Empire. That delineation is one continued sneer. And in truth, if the claims of Charlemagne to be accounted a hero after fifty-three indecisive expeditions, in which he fought with the troops and not with the success or the glory of his great predecessor, cannot be better verified than his claims to be accounted a saint—in the verification of which blazon his nine wives cannot easily be disposed of—the sooner he is reduced to his true proportions the better.¹ In his laws Gibbon sees nothing of the spirit of a legislator. In his encouragement of learning he finds his highest title to the gratitude of posterity. 'His real merit,' Gibbon remarks in a very Gibbonian sentence, 'is doubtless enhanced by the barbarism of the nation and the times from which he emerged; but the *apparent* magnitude of an object is likewise enlarged by an unequal comparison; and the ruins of Palmyra derive a casual splendour from the nakedness of the surrounding desert.'²

Mr. Bryce, on the other hand, sees in the rosiest light all that concerns Charlemagne; he goes so far as to assert against Gibbon and his own authorities (p. 60) that 'under the new religion the form of adoration vanished.' At all events, there can be no doubt that it was observed at the outset. In his comments on the coronation Mr. Bryce admirably observes:—

'It was just because everything was left thus undetermined, resting not upon express stipulation, but rather on a sort of mutual understanding, a sympathy of beliefs and wishes which augured no evil, that the event admitted of being afterwards represented in so many different lights. Four centuries later, when papacy and empire had been forced into the mortal struggle by which the fate of both was decided, three distinct theories regarding the coronation of Charles will be found advocated by three different parties, all of them plausible, all of them to some extent misleading. The Suabian emperors held the crown to have been won by their great predecessor as the prize of conquest, and drew the conclusion that the citizens and Bishop of Rome had no rights as against themselves. The patriotic party among the Romans, appealing to the early history of the empire, declared that by nothing but the voice of their senate and people could an emperor be lawfully created, he being only their chief magistrate, the temporary depository of their power. The popes pointed to the indisputable fact that Leo imposed the crown, and argued that as God's earthly vicar it was his, and continued to be their, right to give to

¹ Mr. Hallam has satisfactorily disposed of the hideous charge against Charlemagne which Gibbon thought he had authority for.

² Decline and Fall, chap. xlix.

whomsoever they would an office which was created to be the handmaid of their own. Of these three it was the last view that eventually prevailed, yet to an impartial eye it cannot claim, any more than do the two others, to contain the whole truth. Charles did not conquer, nor the Pope give, nor the people elect. As the act was unprecedented so was it illegal: it was a revolt of the ancient Western capital against a daughter who had become a mistress: an exercise of the sacred right of insurrection, justified by the weakness and wickedness of the Byzantine princes, hallowed to the eyes of the world by the sanction of Christ's representative, but founded upon no law, nor competent to create any for the future.'—Pp. 63, 64.

The peculiar illegality of the whole transaction lies in this: that, as admitted by Mr. Bryce himself, and it appears to us admitted somewhat inconsistently, 'The very memory of the 'separate Western Empire as it had existed from Theodosius 'to Odoacer had long since been lost, and neither Charles nor 'Leo dreamt of reviving it. Besides, the empire was on all 'hands held to be one and indivisible. The coronation was, 'middle, beginning, and ending, both immoral and illegal; and, 'viewed as the act of a spiritual person, was a mistake as well 'as a crime. It not only called into existence a power which 'the Bishop of Rome felt himself afterwards compelled, by measures the least worthy of the representative of Christ and the 'Holy Ghost, to plot against, and cheat, and undermine; but it 'rendered perpetual those calamitous divisions between the 'Eastern and Latin Churches which, while all other consequences of the transaction have passed away, have survived, 'with all their animosities unabated, to our day.' Nor can the plea against the regimen of women on the throne of the Cæsars be really urged in justification by the friends of the pope, for Leo was a successor of that pontiff who had availed himself of Irene's power, and recognised her right to convene (in her son's name) the Second Council of Nicæa. The earliest occurrence perhaps on which we can fix the temporal recognition of the Western Empire is the treaty offensive between Basil the Macedonian and Louis the great-grandson of Charlemagne, in order to drive the Saracens out of Italy. There was an immediate Nemesis. The pope had broken with the Byzantine emperor because of his iconoclastic heresies. The earliest trouble which overtook the pope from the Western emperor was that contained in the decrees of the Council of Frankfurt, with its three hundred bishops lawfully convened under the imperial warrant, and honoured with the presence of the papal legates. That Council as firmly condemned image worship as the Eastern Church had done; and Charlemagne called upon Pope Hadrian to recant. Indeed the pope seemed to be in the first instance a loser by the establishment of the empire. Like Frankenstein

in the tale, the power his skill had called into being seemed already too much for him. Charles ruled the popes. Whatever his exploits in diplomacy and war, in letters and in peace, we cannot discover anything in his career save this fact, which will justify the eulogium of Mr. Bryce, that 'his magnificent works' recall 'the projects of Alexander and Cæsar.'

The empire of Charlemagne, whether made or blessed or both by the pope, upon the death of Charlemagne melted away like hoar-frost in the sun, after a duration like that of our own Stuarts: and when the judgment on the third and fourth generation was exhausted, the succession passed into the female line. On the failure of the main line of the eastern branch, the people accepted Conrad the Franconian, and after him Henry, the second duke, both representing the female line. The latter's ambitious plans, prematurely cut short by death, were left to be carried out by his son Otto the Great. The coronation of Charlemagne had been the completion of the great movement southwards of the German tribes; but the power then established was not itself to last. The division of the empire among, and the intellectual feebleness of, his successors hastened its decline and fall. And to Otto the Great belongs the glory of permanently resuscitating a uniform imperial system in Europe. Indeed Mr. Bryce says, that 'the Holy Roman Empire is the creation' of Otto. How then are we to designate the labours of Charlemagne? In 924 died Berengar of Friuli, the Lombard, and probably the first to bear the title of King of Italy. Berengar II. sought to force the beautiful and royal widow Adelheid to marry him. From her prison she appealed to the German king, nor appealed in vain. He rescued her, and he married her, and with her he was crowned at Rome by John XII. A.D. 962. If we hesitate to adopt Mr. Bryce's expression as to the connexion between Otto and the empire, and to regard him as the founder of what was already founded, he commends our unqualified assent in the following:—

'It is on the religious life that nations repose. Because divinity was divided, humanity had been divided likewise; the doctrine of the unity of God now enforced the unity of man, who had been created in His image. The first lesson of Christianity was love; a love that was to join in one body those whom suspicion, and prejudice, and pride of race had hitherto kept apart. There was thus formed by the new religion a community of the faithful, a Holy Empire designed to gather all men into its bosom, and standing opposed to the manifold polytheisms of the older world, exactly as the universal sway of the Cæsars was contrasted with the innumerable kingdoms and republics that had gone before it. The analogy of the two made them appear parts of one great world-movement toward unity; the coincidence of their boundaries, which had begun before Constantine, lasted long enough after him to associate them indissolubly together.'—P. 100.

But we are at a loss to know how such a movement towards unity could take effect without expressing itself in a concrete form: or how the felt necessity of a visible Church characterizes the middle more than the preceding ages. It is a truism, and a tedious one, to tell us that the whole fabric of the mediæval Christianity rested upon the idea of the Visible Church. He goes on:—

‘To acquiesce in the establishment of National Churches would have appeared to those men, as it must always appear when scrutinized, contradictory to the nature of a religious body, opposed to the genius of Christianity, defensible, when capable of defence at all, only as a temporary resource in the midst of insuperable difficulties. Had this plan, on which so many have dwelt with complacency in later times, been proposed either to the primitive Church in its adversity, or to the dominant Church of the ninth century, it would have been rejected with horror; but, since there were as yet no nations, the plan was one which did not, and could not present itself.’—P. 103.

We are quite sure that our extract is honestly and accurately made. We can scarcely understand the statement that there were as yet *no nations*; and we confess to being wholly bewildered by the way in which Mr. Bryce speaks of ‘National Churches.’ If indeed in this, as only too plainly in other parts of his book, his ideas are imported from the other side of the Tweed, then indeed we dare affirm with him that an ecclesiastical system so anathrous and acephalous as that patented by John Knox, that devout accomplice in three murders, would have puzzled the Church at any period of its undivided being, whether dominant or depressed. If Mr. Bryce means that there were in the Church no features distinguishable according to the nation in which it existed, by the recognition of which the existence of national Churches was recognised, he had better read again the canons of the Council of Nicæa. If it be that he is pleading for an Ultramontane unity, and maintaining that there existed, at any time during the acknowledged existence of the Holy Roman Empire, any real acceptance of such unity on the part of the Church as a whole, or of the Western Church—it is immaterial which,—then we must submit that he is wonderfully indifferent to the ecclesiastical history of the middle age. If he only means that the early Church, which was agast at the schisms of the Gnostic, Arian, and Donatistic epochs, would have been shocked at our modern inveterate schisms, then he is stating a very bare truism; and, it must be added, that he is singularly and peculiarly unhappy in his mode of stating it. In the following passage Mr. Bryce is more happy; and he gives us a valuable illustration of an important truth:—

‘Like the unity of the Church, the doctrine of a universal monarchy had a theoretical as well as an historical basis, and may be traced up to

those metaphysical ideas out of which the system we call Realism developed itself. In this view Humanity is an essential quality present in all men, and making them what they are : as regards it they are therefore not many but one, the differences between individuals being no more than accidents. The whole truth of their being lies in the universal property, which alone has a permanent and independent existence. The common nature of the individuals thus gathered into one being is typified in its two aspects, the spiritual and the secular, by two persons, the World-Priest and the World-Monarch, who present on earth a similitude of the Divine Unity.' [How two persons and their offices—never one, and almost never at one, but bitterly contradictory—can be said to present a 'similitude of a unity,' or even the similitude of a similitude of unity, divine or otherwise, we are at a loss to conceive.] 'That the souls of all Christian men should be guided by one hierarchy, rising through successive grades to a supreme head, while for their deeds they were answerable to a multitude of local, unconnected, mutually irresponsible potentates, appeared to them necessarily opposed to the Divine order. As they could not imagine, nor value if they had imagined, a communion of the saints, without its expression in a visible Church, so in matters temporal they recognised no brotherhood of spirit without the bonds of form, no universal humanity save in the image of a universal state.'—P. 105.

Engelbert, Mr. Bryce's authority for this view, grounds his theory on S. Augustine; so that, whatever be the theory of S. Augustine, it is not likely to have been based upon the 'parallel unities' of Church and Empire. The true issue of the principles of Engelbert were identical with the aspirations of Maximilian, viz. the unification of the world-monarchy and world-priesthood. And, in point of fact, the idea of Maximilian had been at an early period anticipated by the Bishop of Rome. S. Leo the Great had already conceptions and visions of the superlocal dominion of the apostolic chair. According to the terms of the Donation of Constantine, the pope was to inhabit the Lateran, to wear the diadem, the collar, the purple cloak, to carry the sceptre, and to be attended by a body of chamberlains. Similarly his clergy were to ride on white horses, and enjoy all the privileges of senators and patricians. It would seem indeed as if the Roman Church had called into being the imperial power in order that it might more advantageously learn how to affect the imperial style, and grow into the imitation of temporal dominion. The canon law was intended to reproduce and rival the imperial jurisdiction; and the first to codify it, Gregory IX., was styled the Justinian of the Church. So long indeed as the chief of the Church of Rome abstained from advancing his exclusive claims to the world-monarchy, the clergy cherished the imperial organization renewed under Otto the Great. The progress to the Hildebrandine assumptions was broken by the formal recognition of God as the *Imperator Cælestis*. Under the great politic pope this recognition would have been studiously avoided. The

image employed by mediæval writers sufficiently illustrates the prevailing doctrine. As the soul and the body are the papal and imperial power. Thus :—

‘The Holy Roman Church and the Holy Roman Empire are one and the same thing, in a mystic dualism which corresponds to the two natures of its Founder.’

This was the idol of the Forum, to which nearly ten centuries of Christendom did unquestioning homage : which even Hooker, under the shelter of an ‘if,’ and undismayed by existing facts, upheld :—

If all that believe be contained in the name of the Church, how should the Church remain by personal subsistence divided from the commonweal, when the whole commonweal doth believe? The Church and the commonweal are in this case therefore personally one society, which society being termed a commonweal as it liveth under whatsoever form of secular law and regimen, a Church as it liveth under the spiritual law of Christ, forasmuch as these two laws contain so many and different offices, there must of necessity be appointed in it some to one charge, and some to another, yet without dividing the whole, or making it two several impaled societies.’—*Ecc. Pol.* viii.

Only in the case of the Holy Roman Empire the two societies were, after a few years’ concord, engaged in *impaling* one another in a somewhat different use of the term. At the outset it was held that the divine commission was issued by the Almighty, as Sovereign of the earth, directly to the Emperor. Yet in fact this recognition of mutual independence was only attained at three points of the imperial history, and in all cases under emperors who had the courage to expound and maintain the actual practice of the imperial predominance. When the power of the crown was depressed, then that of the mitre asserted itself, and Boniface VIII. is entitled to the credit of being the first to assert what all along must have been foreseen by every thoughtful observer would be asserted at last, the actual identity of the imperial crown and the Roman mitre. The effect of this was in brief to render to all appearance irremediable the existing divisions in the Church. As we have already advanced, the conception of the Holy Roman Empire took its beginning in the iconoclastic controversy; and it was not the Bishop of Rome’s fault that the immediate effect of the division of the empire was not the perpetuation of a schism from the beginning. It is with a melancholy interest we read the reiterated statements of Frederick I. : that as there is in heaven but one God, so there is here but one pope, and one emperor—that Divine Providence has specially advanced the Holy Roman Empire to obviate the continuance of schism in the Church. The history of the popedom down to the remorseful death-bed

of the last prince-pope, Nicholas V., not to pass on to later times, is but one consistent and continuous narrative, proving how the position of the Western patriarch made it at once his necessity and his interest, *as at this day*, to resist and to reject all projects of spiritual reunion. In the case of both pope and emperor, their respective positions were so delicate and undefined that perhaps they could not help indulging in the most extravagant vaunts, and dreams the most irrational. The empire did not heal the schism to which it succeeded, and it shrivelled up and subsided into entire incapacity in face of the schism which overtook it in the sixteenth century. Indeed, its history may be looked on as typified in the power, energy, and premature impotence of Charles V., the last genuine head of the Lower Empire. The harmony between the Church and Empire was great at the beginning, for the obvious reason of mutual defence; the secular power needed the spiritual sanctions of the Church, the Church needed to be backed up by the temporal force of the new order. The most remarkable reversal of the original order of precedence between the two powers is to be found in the privilege of convening General Councils: a right, as Mr. Bryce says, of vast importance, even when exercised concurrently with the pope; but of course far more important when the object of the Council was 'to settle a disputed election, or, as at Constance, to depose the reigning pontiff himself.'¹ Indeed the fact of possessing the right of calling General Councils points to the other spiritual functions of the emperor. The order of coronation was virtually also an order of consecration to a spiritual position. Beside the globe, crown, and sceptre, the emperor received the ring of faith, was ordained a subdeacon, assisted the pope in celebrating mass, partook, not 'as a clerical person,' as Mr. Bryce says, but as co-celebrant, of the Eucharist in both kinds; and was admitted a canon of S. Peter and S. John Lateran.

Holy Scripture itself was pressed into furnishing additional sanctions to the divine right of the prince thus consecrated. The old theory of Jerome and Origen held that the Roman Empire, the fourth of Daniel's vision, the fourth part of Nebuchadnezzar's image, was to be the world's last universal kingdom, to which Antichrist was to succeed. For, according to the statement of Aquinas, as Christ came under the universal sway of Rome, so Antichrist will come under the general departure from that

¹ Mr. Bryce understands the 'commandment and will of Princes,' in our Twenty-first Article, to mean '*principum Romanorum*.' The singular coincidence of the two Nicene Councils being presided over by princes who were both stained with the blood of their sons is noticed by Gibbon. But Charlemagne was virtually *Princeps Romanus* when the decrees of the Seventh Council were sent to him.

empire as politically and spiritually regarded. Mr. Bryce would fain pass on from the theologians to the poets and artists of the Middle Ages, and seek in them an illustration of the views he is propounding; but he shrinks from the task, in modest diffidence as to his powers of pursuing it. In the domain of art, however, he instances two works in which the theory of the mediæval empire is unmistakeably set forth—one of them in Rome, the other in Florence.

The mosaic of the Lateran Triclinium is a memorial of the times of Charlemagne, and was constructed by Pope Leo III.; and an exact copy of it, made by Sixtus V., may still be seen over against the façade of S. John Lateran. As this work of ecclesiastical art forms a valuable corrective of Ultramontane ideas, we shall extract Mr. Bryce's description of it:—

‘It represents in the centre Christ surrounded by the Apostles, whom He is sending forth to preach the Gospel; one hand is extended to bless, the other holds a book with the words “*Pax Vobis*.” Below, and to the right, Christ is depicted again, and this time sitting: on His right hand kneels Pope Sylvester, on His left the Emperor Constantine; to the one He gives the keys of heaven and hell, to the other a banner, surmounted by a cross. In the group on the opposite, that is, on the left, side of the arch, we see the Apostle Peter seated, before whom in like manner kneel Pope Leo III. and Charles the Emperor; the latter wearing, like Constantine, his crown; Peter, himself grasping the keys, gives to Leo the pallium of an archbishop, to Charles the banner of the Christian army. The order and nature of the ideas here symbolised is sufficiently clear. First comes the revelation of the Gospel, and the Divine commission to gather all men into its fold. Next the institution, at the memorable era of Constantine's conversion, of the two powers by which the Christian people is to be respectively taught and governed. Thirdly, we are shown the permanent vicar of God, the Apostle who keeps the keys of heaven and hell, re-establishing these same powers on a new and firmer basis.’—P. 127.

The Florentine fresco in the Dominican convent of Santa Maria Novella belongs to about the date of 1350 A.D. In this painting the Pope and Emperor are represented as seated side by side; and just over the place where these appear the Saviour is enthroned amid saints and angels.

Theoretically, the tendency of the imperial system was to denationalize the several subordinate kingdoms. The emperor was not an hereditary chief, but the elect of his supporters; and the post he occupied was independent of the race or rank or actual resources of him who filled it. He not only excelled in dignity, but his power was different from that of the kings of the earth. This distinction between the imperial and kingly dignity was lost to sight under Charlemagne; but the difference became evident in his successors, and took its legitimate shape of an undefined suzerainty.

‘It was characteristic of the Middle Ages, that, demanding the existence of an emperor, they were careless who he was or how he was chosen, so he had been duly inaugurated; and that they were not shocked by the contrast between unbounded rights and actual helplessness. At no time in the world’s history has theory, pretending all the while to control practice, been so utterly divorced from it. Ferocious and sensual, that age worshipped humility and asceticism; there has never been a purer ideal of love nor a grosser profligacy of life.’—P. 131.

The Lower Empire had not yet become international, which was its main characteristic in comparatively modern times. It had not become international for a very obvious reason in Mr. Bryce’s judgment,—there scarcely yet had arisen the distinction of nations. There was a going to and fro on the public stage of races; there were human currents which had not yet become inspissated and broken up into kingdoms. At the close of the tenth century the emperor was also a German. ‘This union in ‘one person of two characters—a union at first personal, then ‘official, and which became at last a fusion of the two into ‘something different from either—is the key to the whole subsequent history of Germany and the empire.’

Feudalism, which had taken its rise on Roman soil, and was most fully established in France, existed in a mitigated form in Germany. Here the king, though titular lord of the soil, and empowered to exact aid and service from his vassals, and to make war and peace, was at the same time under great restraints. He could not retain escheated fiefs, a privilege which was the very basis of the power of the crown in France: he could not meddle with the jurisdiction of his tenants in their own lands, nor prevent them making leagues or waging war with one another. The great lords were the three Rhenish archbishops, whose power Otto seriously encroached upon by the institution of the Counts Palatine, whom he invested with ‘*regalia jura*’ within their own districts. Their power became more depressed and obscured on the rise of the second order of nobility in the thirteenth century. Before the gradual and indeed inevitable intrusion of Roman orders the primitive institutions of Germany disappeared; the class of serfs increased; the army of the nation dwindled down into a cavalry militia of barons and their followers, bound to a short and unwillingly rendered service. The popular assemblies were never summoned; and, instead of the old unity of national life, every district now had its own rules and customs administered by the court of the local lord. The nation had thus entered upon a new condition of being, in which, perhaps, after the lapse of centuries it might have achieved results akin to those of England, when its destiny was marred by the investiture of the German king with the dignity of the imperial purple.

'No two systems can be more unlike than those whose headship became thus vested in one person : the one centralized, the other local ; the one resting on a sublime theory, the other the rude offspring of anarchy ; the one gathering all power into the hands of an irresponsible monarch, the other limiting his rights, and authorizing resistance to his commands ; the one demanding the equality of all citizens, the other bound up with an aristocracy the proudest, and in its gradations of rank the most exact, that Europe has ever seen. Characters so repugnant could not, it might be thought, meet in one person, or, if they met, must strive till one swallowed up the other. It was not so. In the fusion which began from the first, though it was for a time imperceptible, each of the two characters gave and each lost some of its attributes ; the king became more than German, the emperor less than Roman,—till, at the end of six centuries, the monarch in whom two "persons" had been united appeared as a third, different from either of the former, and might not inappropriately be entitled "German Emperor." It was natural that the great mass of Otto's subjects, to whom the imperial title, dimly associated with Rome and the Pope, sounded grander than the regal, without being known as otherwise different, should in thought and speech confound them. The sovereign and his ecclesiastical advisers, with far clearer views of the new office and of the mutual relations of the two, found it impossible to separate them in practice, and were glad to merge the lesser in the greater. For, as lord of the world, Otto was emperor north as well as south of the Alps. When he issued an edict, he claimed the obedience of his Teutonic subjects in both capacities ; when, as emperor, he led the armies of the Gospel against the heathen, it was the standard of their feudal superior that his armed vassals followed ; when he founded churches and appointed bishops, he acted partly as suzerain of feudal lands, partly as protector of the faith, charged to guide the Church in matters temporal. Thus the assumption of the imperial crown brought to Otto as its first result an apparent increase of domestic peace ; it made his position by its historical associations more dignified, by its religious more hallowed ; it raised him higher above his vassals, and above other sovereigns ; it enlarged his prerogative in ecclesiastical affairs ; and, by necessary consequence, gave to ecclesiastics a more important place at court and in the administration of government than they had enjoyed before. In the eleventh century a full half of the land and wealth of the country, and no small part of its military strength, was in the hands of Churchmen ; their influence predominated in the Diet : the arch-chancellorship of the empire, highest of all offices, belonged of right to the Archbishop of Mentz, as primate of Germany. It was by Otto, who in resuming the attitude must repeat the policy of Charles, that the greatness of the clergy was thus advanced. He is commonly said to have wished to weaken the aristocracy by raising up rivals to them in the hierarchy. It may have been so, and the measure was at any rate a disastrous one ; for the clergy soon approved themselves not less rebellious than those whom they were to restrain. But, in accusing Otto's judgment, historians have often forgotten in what position he stood to the Church, and how it behoved him, according to the doctrine received, to establish an order like in all things to that which he found already subsisting in the State.'—P. 140.

On the other hand, the barons were suspicious and watchful that, under the fusion of the several functions, they should not be betrayed into abandoning any part of what they held to be their inalienable rights. Whatever Otto might demand as emperor, he only received as king ; and the result of all this

was that in Germany the imperial office was feudalized, while Germany itself was Romanized:—

‘Nevertheless, even while they seemed to blend, there remained between the genius of imperialism (if we may use a now perverted word) and that of feudalism a deep and lasting hostility. It was Otto who made the Germans, hitherto an aggregate of tribes, a single people; and welding them into a strong political body, taught them to rise through its collective greatness to the consciousness of national life, never thenceforth to be extinguished.’

The feudal system had nearly extinguished the old Teutonic order of freemen; and Otto was thus not in a position to avail himself of the only true counterweights to a predominant and encroaching aristocracy. The burgher class began to take form after Henry the Fowler induced his forest-loving people to dwell in fortresses to resist the inroads of the Hungarians; and it was the very tendency of the imperial name to foster—as the kingly was debarred from doing—the influences, and invite the sympathy, of the Commons.

Mr. Bryce devotes a chapter to a review of the Saxon and Franconian emperors. Otto the Great perhaps attained the highest position of personal power of all the emperors: his courageous conduct in the successful deposition of John XII. (Rome has been rather unfortunate in her Johns, the last of which name, generally known among his contemporaries as the ‘*Diabolus Incarnatus*,’ was deposed by the last real emperor of the Lower Empire) and the elevation to the vacant throne of Leo the secretary, illustrates this. John, it is true, succeeded in returning to the city, and availing himself of a tumult among the Romans, who were impatient of the presence of the imperial troops in the city; but he was speedily put out of the way by the sword of an injured husband, and Otto not only carried his nominee against the mob, but extorted from the citizens an absolute veto on all papal elections. But even the authority of Otto could not be maintained in the city, and, the moment his back was turned, Rome reasserted her turbulent independence. Even in Italy, where he ruled legitimately as Italian king, he found his vassals less submissive than in Germany. He was in a position, however, to renew two plans of Charlemagne—that of external conquest and of imperial reconstruction; and he effected an apparent reconciliation between the East and West by procuring as a bride, for his successor, Theophano, the daughter of Romanus II. the emperor. The sister of this Theophano married the Russian duke Wolodomir, whose granddaughter, by her marriage with Henry I. of France, connected the imperial line of Byzantium with the West.

In that West the power of the emperor was materially

crippled. The rise of the house of Capet marks the date of the emancipation of the Romano-Keltic people from the claims of the empire, which were never after admitted. In compensation for this loss Lorraine and Burgundy became, the one an integral part of the empire, the other a dependency. Schleswig, and the Sclavic tribes, and the Hungarians—which last Otto in effect made an European nation—owned the power of his arms. In Spain Otto made no way. And in England, although Henry the Fowler had obtained for Otto the hand of Edith the daughter of Athelstan, all claim of supremacy was stoutly and stubbornly repudiated by Edgar. The empire as it thus stood in the Saxon line included really only Germany proper and two-thirds of Italy, and it was thus less wide than the empire of Charles; and the ecclesiastical element was not so predominant. It was also—one might say therefore—less Roman. It was probably owing to these altered relations as much as to the genius of Otto that the empire enjoyed more peace and prosperity. Germany became the teacher of the nations, and Poland and Bohemia ‘recovered from her their arts and their learning with their religion.’

‘If the revived Romano-Germanic Empire was less splendid than the Western Empire had been under Charles, it was, within narrower limits, firmer and more lasting, since based on a social force which the other had wanted. It perpetuated the name, the language, the literature—such as it then was—of Rome; it extended her spiritual sway; it strove to represent that concentration for which men cried, and became a power to unite and civilize Europe.’—P. 159.

The succeeding rulers were not men of much mark, with the exception of the son of that Theophano, the Byzantine princess whom we have mentioned above. Otto III. was the most deserving of note of all the after emperors. His story is ‘short, sad, full of bright promise never fulfilled.’ It was his design to abandon, at least for the present, the less civilized countries of the north, to erect his throne in Italy, and revive the institutions of the Roman monarchy. Rome was to become again the capital of an empire victorious as Trajan’s, despotic as Justinian’s, holy as Constantine’s. He took the reins of government from his mother’s hand when he was only sixteen, and his first task was to pacify and subdue the turbulence of Rome. He asserted his right over the Papal chair so far as to appoint Gregory V. and the celebrated Sylvester II.: with those appointments, in room of the profligate priests of Italy, ‘began the ‘Teutonic reform of the papacy, which raised it from the abyss ‘of the tenth century to the point where Hildebrand found it.’ But by reforming the Church, the Emperor was promoting the disintegration of the empire—

‘With his tutor in Peter’s chair to second or direct him, Otto laboured on his great project in a spirit almost mystic. He had an intense religious belief in the emperor’s duties to the world. To exclude the claims of the Greeks he used the title “*Romanorum Imperator*,” instead of the simple “*Imperator*” of his predecessors. He introduced into the simple German court the ceremonious magnificence of Byzantium, not without giving offence to many of his followers. His father’s wish, to draw Italy and Germany more closely together, he followed up by giving the chancellorship of both countries to the same Churchman, by maintaining a strong force of Germans in Italy, and by taking his Italian retinue with him through the Transalpine lands. How far these brilliant and far-reaching plans were capable of realization had their author lived to attempt it, can be but guessed at. It is reasonable to suppose that whatever power he might have gained in the south he would have lost in the north. Dwelling rarely in Germany, and in mind more a Greek than a Teuton, he reined in the fierce barons with no such tight hand as his grandfather had been wont to do; he neglected the schemes of northern conquest; he released the Polish dukes from the obligation of tribute. But all, save that those plans were his, is now no more than a conjecture, for Otto III. “the wonder of the world,” as his own generation called him, died childless on the threshold of manhood, the victim, if we may trust a story of the time, of the revenge of Stephania, widow of Crescentius, who ensnared him by her beauty, and slew him by a lingering poison. They carried him across the Alps with laments, whose echoes sound faintly yet from the pages of monkish chroniclers, and buried him in the choir of the basilica at Aachen, some twenty paces from the tomb of Charles beneath the central dome. Two years had not passed since, setting out on his last journey to Rome, he had opened that tomb; had gazed on the great emperor, sitting on a marble throne, robed and crowned, with the Gospel-book open before him: and then, touching the dead hand, unclasping from the neck its golden cross, had taken, as it were, investiture of the empire from his Frankish forerunner. Short as was his life and few his acts, Otto III. is in one respect more memorable than any who went before or came after him. None save he desired to make the seven-hilled city again the seat of dominion, reducing Germany, and Lombardy, and Greece, to their rightful place of subject provinces. No one else so forgot the present to live in the light of the ancient order; no other soul was so possessed by that fervid mysticism and that reverence for the glories of the past, whereon rested the idea of the mediæval empire.’—Pp. 161—163.

The death of Otto marks the period when the empire began to show signs of weakness, although on the accession of Conrad, the first monarch of the Franconian line, Burgundy and Arles were added to the Germanic realm. Indeed in such a precarious state was the empire even now, that Rome, instead of being the centre, was but an outpost, contiguous to the Greek possessions, Bari and Beneventum, and liable at any moment to become again subject to the Byzantine ruler. Conrad’s son, Henry III., raised the empire to the meridian of its power. No one’s prerogative had stood so high. At home and abroad the strength of the imperial will was recognised; in Rome he was more absolute than any German prince before or since. He deposed the three claimants of the Papal chair, whose contest

had 'shocked even the reckless apathy of Italy,' and the Synod passed a decree granting to Henry the right of nominating the Supreme Pontiff. On his sudden decease in 1056, the sceptre dropped into the hands of a child, and the great struggle began between the empire and the papacy, the latter led on by the Archdeacon Hildebrand.

As we have already seen, the Germano-Roman empire owed its origin to the Roman Church's carnal desire of secular protection: a desire so strong as to blind the chief actors to the hereditary rights of the imperial purple, and to make them forgetful of their duties to 'God and the King.' Then followed an incident the most discreditable to the Church of all that had befallen her since the triumph of Arianism, indeed, the duties and professions of the Church considered, the most infamous which could have occurred, the forgery of the donation of Constantine. A fact was converted into a type; and the type in turn was made to do service as a fact. Constantine's translation of his court to Byzantium implied the removal from the Church of all secular restraints upon her power of self-multiplication, and then it was argued that thus the emperor had conferred temporal possessions and royal dignity upon the Bishop of Rome. If the bishop had been in Rome then as prominent and responsible a person as he became eight or nine centuries afterwards, the whole case would be simpler. Yet we hold that the forgeries had a groundwork deeper and broader than Mr. Bryce admits. He argues that Constantine virtually invested the pope with authority, because the pope was the chief person in the forsaken capital. We believe that this is wholly a mistake; nor can we conceive how the leader of an obscure, unpopular, and hitherto unacknowledged community could have achieved, so soon as the year 321, or in many years after, the eminent position which is assumed. The deeper and broader groundwork for the forgeries which we spoke of above is found in the restoration, by order of Constantine, of the property confiscated under Diocletian, and the permission secured to the Church by the same emperor to receive bequests. The Church must, in the nature of things, have acquired property more or less. The Church of Rome was in possession of landed property at the beginning of the fourth century; and there can be no difficulty in supposing that Constantine (as stated in the life of S. Sylvester) of his own gift may have himself invested the Roman Church with some of these possessions, proving himself thus in a double way, by restoration and endowment, a generous patron to the Church. The forgeries, after doing irreparable mischief, are owned to be forgeries. The only question is as to when and by whom they were made. The theory of Baronius, mentioned by Gibbon

in a note, was cleverly forged to cast the odium of the crime on the Greeks. But the Greeks were certainly not the forgers: the Latin Church had been utilizing the document for three centuries before it became known to the Greeks. On the other hand, it is capable of proof that the theory of Morinus, placing it in the tenth century, is too late. But we shall be safe in accounting the document as the production of the middle of the ninth century: and the sovereignty which it conferred we see publicly assumed by Nicolas I. the first pontiff who was crowned; and this would place its birth close to that of the *Decretals*. So formidable an argument was but rarely employed. It was brought forth just as the imperial power was becoming weaker, and less disposed to contend about what seemed only abstract rights. Leo IV. in 1054, urged it against the Patriarch of Constantinople to justify his claims: Urban II. in 1091, employed it to make good his claim over Corsica. We in this country are not likely to forget the use made of it against us: when first it was assumed that all the islands of the West were included in the original donation: and then, acting on the assumption, Hadrian IV. bestowed Ireland on the English king. How this rare use can be reconciled with the pretensions of Rome we cannot conceive, and we have not room for any speculations upon this suggestive topic; but it is gratifying to be able to put on record the fact that the first open denial of the authenticity of the document was made in the Roman Church. We say, open denial; for the fact that Gregory VII. never availed himself of so appropriate an instrument in vindicating his claims seems to indicate that that singularly sagacious and clear-headed prelate was himself unconvinced of its authenticity. But the world accepted it: and the first denial of the truth and validity of the donation of Constantine arose out of a question connected with a private lawsuit, and proceeded from a Sabine monastery, so late as the year 1105.¹ The monks of the Benedictine Abbey of Farfa ventured to maintain that the jurisdiction of the Holy See was exclusively spiritual. Nothing came of this. The tendency of such a claim as that which the donation put forward is to extend itself. And in a very little time the empire came to be regarded as the gift of the pope. And yet that not as pope: there was as yet no affectation of that transcendental theory that all power was Peter's in heaven and in earth, as asserted by such pontiffs of the thirteenth centuries as Innocent III., Gregory IX., and Innocent IV. The earlier and more reasonable theory was that in accordance with which the pope, representing and acting on behalf of the Roman

¹ Gibbon, c. 49.

people, the hereditary trustees of the imperial power, conferred the crown on Charlemagne and his successors. Yet it would be rash and unhistorical to make the forged donation responsible for the secular aims and efforts of the Bishop of Rome. Rather, the production of the document witnessed to the existence of these aspirations; which indeed would seem to have been inevitable considering the connexion existing between the imperial and ecclesiastical thrones. If the pontiff was to bestow upon an orthodox and faithful king the *Imperium Romanorum*, he surely must have the right to withhold or to retract this supreme dower in cases where the elect of the German powers was neither right in belief nor exemplary in practice, as was the case with Frederick II. If the pontiff had thus impliedly the power of conferring, of withholding, of retracting, the imperial crown, by the very circumstances of the case it became an inevitable conclusion that the totality of the imperial power, to bestow or to refuse, rested in the pontiff: according to the original conception of the Germano-Roman empire. The forgeries were only a clumsy attempt at *ex post facto* legislation, in which it was tried to give an historical and logical connexion to the pontifical claims. The forgeries did not *create* the papal claims, they witnessed to them. Already some centuries earlier Leo the Great had affirmed the ecclesiastical dignity of the city. '*Roma per sedem Beati Petri caput orbis effecta.*' And Gregory the Great did more than any other in the assertion of such a claim. It was an easy task, after the principle of coronation at Rome by the Pope's hands was admitted and acted on, to convert this into a recognition of ulterior pretensions; or to prepare the way for the assumption that the papal chair was itself the source of the imperial dignity. Louis the Pious, by submitting to be crowned afresh, owned the invalidity of any coronation not performed by the Bishop of Rome. The whole tenor of the Hildebrandian reforms seemed designed to weaken on the other hand the imperial powers. The appointment of a regular body to choose the wearer of the tiara was an immense advance to the way of extinguishing the influence of the emperor. Again: all estates were interested in putting down the sin of simony; but, when Gregory VII. made it a sin for a cleric to receive a benefice from a layman, he denounced the whole system of lay investiture, and struck a 'deadly blow at all secular authority. Half of 'the land and wealth of Germany was in the hands of bishops 'and abbots, who would now be freed from the monarch's control 'to pass under that of the pope.' Then the conflict between the as yet uncrowned Henry IV. and Gregory VII. resulted in such entire victory to the pontifical side as to carry to its greatest height the authority of the Bishop of Rome, and it

could no more be questioned that the spiritual dominion was absolutely superior, and that all rulers were responsible to it.

‘Gregory was not the inventor nor the first propounder of these doctrines: they had been long before a part of mediæval Christianity, interwoven with its most vital doctrines. But he was the first who dared to apply them to the world as he found it. His was that rarest and grandest of gifts, an intellectual courage and power of imaginative belief, [1] which, when it has convinced itself of aught, accepts it fully with all its consequences, and shrinks not from acting at once upon it. A perilous gift, as the melancholy end of his own career proved, for men were found less ready than he had thought them to follow out with unswerving consistency like his the principles which all acknowledged. But it was the very suddenness and boldness of his policy that secured the ultimate triumph of his cause,—arousing men’s minds, and making that seem realized which had been till then a vague theory. His premisses were admitted—and no one dreamt of denying them—the reasonings by which he established the superiority of spiritual to temporal jurisdiction were unassailable. With his authority in whose hands are the keys of heaven and hell, whose word can bestow eternal bliss or plunge in everlasting misery, no other earthly authority can compete or interfere: if his power extends into the infinite, how much more must he be supreme over things finite? It was thus that Gregory and his successors were wont to argue; the wonder is not that they were obeyed, but that they were not obeyed more implicitly.’—P. 177.

An unexpected help towards the enforcement of these pretensions was found in the component parts of the empire itself. Whatever estates, forming the imperial constitution, were bent on gaining anything from the crown, had always the pope as an ally, actual or possible. And so the Italian states gained the papal sanction for their leagues. The German states, again, were thus enabled, not only in general to narrow the prerogatives of their head, but also to exact the promise that the crown should not become hereditary:—

‘It is not possible here to dwell on the details of this struggle, rich as it is in the interest of adventure and character, momentous as were its results for the future. A word or two must suffice to describe the conclusion, not indeed of the whole drama, which was to extend over centuries, but of what may be called its first act. Even that act lasted beyond the lives of the original performers. Gregory VII. passed away at Salerno in A.D. 1087, exclaiming with his last breath, “I have loved justice and hated iniquity, therefore I die in exile:” twenty years later, in A.D. 1106, Henry IV. died, dethroned by an unnatural son whom the hatred of a relentless pontiff [Paschal II.] had raised in rebellion against him. But that son, the Emperor Henry V., so far from conceding the point in dispute, proved an antagonist more ruthless, and not less able, than his father. He claimed for his crown all the rights over ecclesiastics that his predecessors had ever enjoyed, and when at his coronation at Rome, A.D. 1112, Pope Paschal II. refused to complete the rite until he should have yielded, Henry seized both pope and cardinals, and compelled them by a rigorous imprisonment to consent to a treaty which he dictated. Once set free the Pope, as was natural, disavowed his extorted concession, and the struggle was protracted for ten years longer, until nearly half a century had elapsed

from the first quarrel between Gregory VII. and Henry IV. The Concordat of Worms, concluded in A.D. 1122, was in form a compromise designed to spare either party the humiliation of defeat. Yet the Papacy remained master of the field. The emperor retained perforce half of those rights of investiture which had formerly been his. He could never resume the position of Henry III.; his wishes or intrigues might influence the proceedings of a chapter, his oath bound him from open interference. He had entered the strife in the fulness of dignity; he came out of it with tarnished glory and shattered power. His wars had been hitherto carried on with foreign foes, or at most with a single rebel noble; now his steadiest ally was turned into his fiercest assailant, and had enlisted against him half his court, half the magnates of his realm. At any moment his sceptre might be shivered in his hand by the bolt of anathema, and a host of enemies spring up from every convent and cathedral.'—P. 180.

This damaging conflict had reached its height at a moment full of the most critical interest for both parties; when a spirit of earnest and dutiful co-operation was, above all things, necessary. The era of the Crusades had set in. It of right belonged to the head of the Holy Empire to lead against the infidel the sacramental host of the warriors of the Church. This was his special function. It might too have proved an opportunity of winning back lost prestige and influence. As it was, all the benefits were reaped by Europe and the pope. By a defecating process which cleared her of a great deal of perilous stuff, Europe regained a sense of security, and found a season of repose, during which she was able to pursue undisturbed a course of much-needed internal re-organization. But the pope derived a like kind of benefit from the Crusades to that which his predecessors had derived from the translation of the seat of empire from the old capital to the new Rome on the Bosphorus. His dignity and right of precedence were left undisputed, and the power was everywhere regarded with reverence and awe which could call all Europe to arms. It is lamentable to think that the only *Catholic* work accomplished by the mediæval popes, of whom history and Dr. Newman have expressed such very irreconcilable opinions, was the enlistment of the nations in a work of fruitless bloodshed—a successful enlistment, from which, a century and a half later, a subsequent pope learned how to raise a crusade against the emperor himself. But the prosperous issue of the papal struggle was marred by one consequence. The seeds of disunion were sown between the component elements of the Germano-Roman empire. The defeat of the empire in her struggles with the pope bred in Germany that profound national distrust and hatred which was ripe for action whenever Luther should come. By raising the priesthood, in order to depress the nobles, Otto the Great prepared the way for the overthrow of his own power. Through a similar fatal

policy, the popes, encroaching upon the freedom of the German states, called into being and gave force to that feeling of Teutonic patriotism, the test of which was resistance to Italian priestcraft. But in this period of anarchy, some changes indirectly repressive of the papal power were brought about; especially the elective principle was recognised, A.D. 1156; and if by fiefs becoming hereditary, or being bestowed with the consent of the state, the power of the crown seemed narrowed, yet at the outset this change was of a conservative character; its final effect was to change the array of battle; and thenceforward it is not so much emperor and pope who are pitted against one another, as the Germanic and Italian nationalities themselves.

On the failure of the Franconian line, the hapless house of Hohenstauffen, with its strong anti-papal antipathies, succeeded, and held the uneasy throne for nearly a century, from Conrad III. 1138. Barbarossa, his successor, carried the dignity and power of the empire to its climax. Mr. Bryce describes him happily as a kind of Imperialist Hildebrand. It is not the least curious fact in all this eventful history, that whenever such a prince appeared, Rome was ready with her match, and Barbarossa found himself pitted against Hadrian IV. and Alexander III. The already existing causes of dispute inherent in their respective positions were inflamed by the claim of the pope to the bequest of the Countess Matilda, of Tuscany; while, as feudal superior of the Norman kings of Naples and Sicily, as protector of the towns and barons of North Italy, who feared the Germanic yoke, the pontiff appeared very much as an independent potentate. The disputes between Hadrian and Frederick were soon closed by the death of the former; but then succeeds that dismal twenty years' strife, in which the emperor was contending, as our Henry II. was contemporaneously contending, to recover the command of the priesthood, and establish the political supremacy of the crown. The inter-leagued cities of Lombardy, whose confederacy had been counselled and hallowed by the pontiff, and the fevers of Rome secured to Alexander III. a victory the more signal, as it was over a monarch so astute and devoted. Three slabs of red marble in S. Mark's, at Venice, indicate the issue of the conflict. They mark the spot where Frederick, overcome with sudden awe, knelt, and was raised by the pope with tears of joy, and with the kiss of peace. The tendency of the revival, which set in about this time, in the study of civil law, was to reinstate, in theory at least, the emperor in his imperilled dignities, and gave a kind of sanction to the dreamy aspirations of Arnold of Brescia. Had Conrad III. listened to the overtures of this remarkable man, instead of the solemn and pathetic voice of the Abbot of Clairvaux, Europe might never

have been blessed or banned by one assuming to be universal bishop, and sole fount of all episcopal authority. With a different feeling, and in a more reprehensible tone, Frederick made answer to the Roman deputation, which would have bestowed on him universal empire, as the Romans might have bestowed it on Julius at the Lupercalia. He treated the whole proposal with unhesitating insolence; and unvarying success in war and diplomacy seemed to attend all his efforts on Italian ground, to vindicate the inalienable rights of the crown.

‘This fair sky was soon clouded. From her quenchless ashes uprose Milan; Cremona, scorning old jealousies, helped to rebuild what she had destroyed; and the confederates, committed to an almost hopeless strife, clung faithfully together till, on the field of Legnano, the empire’s banner went down before the carroccio of the free city. Frederick, though harsh in war, and now balked of his most cherished hopes, could honestly accept a state of things it was beyond his power to change; he signed cheerfully, and kept dutifully, the peace of Constance, which left him little but a titular supremacy over the Lombard towns. At home, no preceding emperor had been so much respected or so prosperous. Uniting in himself the Suabian and Saxon families, he healed the long feud of Welf and Wurbilingen; his prelates were faithful to him even against Rome; no turbulent rebel disturbed the public peace; and he crowned a glorious life with a happy death, leading the van of Christian chivalry against the Mussulman.’—P. 198.

To him belongs the peculiar honour of anticipating by centuries the development of a generous policy, by attaching to himself the great commercial cities, enfranchising many, and granting them, with municipal institutions, an independent jurisdiction. To the primitive order of German freemen, scarcely existing out of the towns, save in Suabia and Switzerland, he ‘further commended himself by admitting them to knighthood, by restraining the licence of the nobles, imposing a public peace, making justice in every way more accessible and impartial.’ Though he was ‘the greatest of Crusaders,’ however, we would rather give to Frederick II. than to him the praise of being the ‘noblest type of mediæval character, in many of its shadows, in all its lights.’

As it was under the Hohenstauffen family the empire in its ideal dignity stood highest, partly owing to the genius of the princes of that illustrious house, partly owing to the ascendancy of Roman law, Mr. Bryce chooses this era as the fitting time for a review of ‘the titles and claims by which it announced itself the representative of Rome’s universal dominion.’ Mr. Bryce briefly touches on the relations established between the crown imperial and Hungary, Poland, Denmark, France, Sweden, Spain, Naples, Cyprus, and Armenia. Venice, till her extinction by France and Austria in 1796, never recognised

within her domains any secular authority save her own. We do not think that Mr. Bryce does justice to the home-contained *imperium* of England: nor does he seem to give as much weight as is deserved to the explanation which he himself suggests of the instances which seem to contradict the imperial independence of the land. Such homage as the English crown rendered at any time to the imperial crown was not for England, but for such appanages of the English crown as were bound to do service to the empire. Although the crown must be bestowed by the pope, and the title of emperor was not assumed until the coronation, it was not a little strange and inconsistent that the rights of the emperor were held to be in full force before the crown was placed upon his head. He could summon synods, confirm papal elections, and exercise jurisdiction. It was the Rhine ruling the Tiber,—

* Verso Tiberim regit ordine Rhenus.*

It was Barbarossa who first added the term 'Holy' to the previous title; a term which did not come into common use till the rise of the house which was the first to abandon it—the house of Hapsburg. The invention of the term was due in a great measure to the anti-papal policy of the house of Hohenstauffen. It was Hildebrand and his followers who had represented the empire, compared with the spiritual dominion, as secular, earthly, and profane. To counteract this notion, Frederick and his advisers began to use the title 'Holy Empire' in public documents, thereby asserting the divine institution of that which he represented. His house had well earned the hatred of the bishops of Rome. Great must have been the alarm of the pontiff on discovering the plans of Henry VI.—to consolidate in his family an hereditary empire; which, by obviating the recurrence of interregna, would have robbed the popedom of its most precious opportunities of aggrandizing itself at the expense of the empire. Henry had to rest content with getting his son Frederick chosen King of the Romans. On the sudden death of Henry, this election was set aside, and Innocent III., in the subsequent conflict, supported Otto of Brunswick against Philip, brother of the late emperor. Otto IV., on his election, proved so uncomfortable an emperor to his patron, that Innocent was compelled to depose and excommunicate him; and he was dethroned by that Frederick II.:—

* Whom a tragic irony sent into the field of politics as the champion of the Holy See, whose hatred was to embitter his life and extinguish his house. Upon the events of that terrific strife for which emperor and pope girded themselves up for the last time [1212—1250], the narrative of Frederick II.'s career, with its romantic adventures, its sad picture of

marvellous powers lost on an age not ripe for them, blasted as by a curse in the moment of victory, it is not necessary, were it even possible, here to enlarge. That conflict did indeed determine the fortunes of the German kingdom no less than of the republics of Italy, but it was upon Italian ground that it was fought out, and it is to Italian history that its details belong. So, too, of Frederick himself. Out of the long array of the Germanic successors of Charles he is with Otto III. the only one who comes before us with a genius and a fame of character that are not those of a Northern or a Teuton. There dwelt in him, it is true, all the energy and knightly valour of his father Henry and his grandfather Barbarossa. But along with these, and changing their direction, were other gifts, inherited perhaps from his Italian mother, and fostered by his education among the orange groves of Palermo—a love of luxury and beauty: an intellect refined, subtle, philosophical. Through the mist of calumny and fable it is but dimly that the truth of the man can be discerned,—and the outlines that appear serve to quicken rather than to appease the curiosity with which we regard one of the most extraordinary personages in history. A sensualist, yet also a warrior and a politician; a profound lawgiver and an impassioned poet; in his youth fired by crusading fervour, in later life persecuting heretics while himself accused of blasphemy and unbelief; of winning manners and ardently beloved by his followers, but with the stain of more than one cruel deed upon his name; he was the marvel of his own generation, and succeeding ages looked back with awe, not unmingled with pity, upon the inscrutable figure of the last emperor who had braved all the terrors of the Church and died beneath her ban,—the last who had ruled from the sands of the ocean to the shores of the Sicilian sea. But while they pitied they condemned. The undying hatred of the Papacy threw around his memory a lurid light; him, and him alone of all the imperial line, Dante, the worshipper of the empire, must perforce deliver to the flames of hell.¹

He had readily pledged himself to lead a crusade. He hesitated, and was excommunicated by Gregory IX.; he went, and was re-excommunicated for going; and he was excommunicated for the third time for returning. The strife which ensued was fierce and pitiless; yet, as Mr. Bryce well distinguishes, it was the King of Naples rather than the emperor who was attacked. But Frederick fell, and with him fell the empire: the principle triumphed which with unfaltering ambition, in days alike prosperous and adverse, a line of pontiffs had maintained, that Peter is the fountain of all power, temporal as well as spiritual; and Pope Clement IV. with a tender mercy, absolved Frederick's grandson, Conradin, the last of his line, from his inherited excommunication; but it was with an axe upon a public scaffold at Naples.¹ The pope was sole monarch of the Peninsula. For sixty years, no emperor appeared in Italy: and Gibbon says that the name was only remembered 'by the ignominious sale of the last relics of sovereignty.'

It is at this point that England, already by intermarriage

¹ Yet, in the thirteenth canto of his '*Inferno*,' the poet does some justice to the Emperor in the words put into the mouth of Pietro della Vigne, his chancellor.

² It was the deed of Charles of France, but the suggestion of Clement.

more than once connected with the empire, appears upon the stage. A wealthy and not formidable candidate for the imperial crown was found in Richard Plantagenet, Earl of Cornwall, son of John, whose ancestress, the daughter of Henry I. had been married to Henry V. The Emperor Richard was but a *fainéant* emperor; and at his death Germany was reduced to a fearful state of internal disorganization. The long and dismal interregnum was closed by the accession of the house of Hapsburg.¹ It is to this time, if to any time more than another, the caustic observation of Voltaire may be applied—that the empire was neither holy, nor Roman, nor an empire. The accession of the house of Hapsburg marks the beginning of the third epoch of the empire; it marks a time too when the monarchical principle was establishing itself more strongly than ever in France and England; yet such was the fatal influence of the imperial over the regal functions, that in Germany the monarchy had in a manner succumbed. Not only had the emperors failed to make good their legal rights to name or confirm—rights that in the days of the Ottos had never been brought into question; their own elections were now brought under pontifical review. Such a claim had been advanced so far back as the time of Innocent III., whose ‘ingenuity discovered for it an historical basis;’ for he affirmed that it was by the favour of the pope that the empire was translated from the woman Irene to the great Charles. Mr. Bryce speaks very gently of this flagrant fiction, which was never heard of for three centuries. But the empire had not only been vanquished by the Church; it was in great pecuniary distress. The secretary of Frederick III. declared that the revenues of the empire scarcely covered its expenses; and his political position considered in full, the emperor of the Holy Roman Empire was little better off than a modern emperor of Mexico. ‘Every prospect of reform within or of war without, was at the mercy of a jealous Diet.’ The Diet consisted of three orders—electors, princes, cities; and these were careful of their own interests, and proportionately jealous of one another. The dangerous uncertainty of elections which hitherto existed was remedied by Charles IV., the fifth emperor of the Hapsburg line, and son of that blind king of Bohemia who, falling at Cressy, left to our Prince of Wales the device of three plumes: that same Charles IV. who only succeeded to the empire on the refusal of the English parliament to allow Edward III. to accept the dignity to which he had been already elected. Charles, by his ‘Golden Bull,’ legalized the independence of the electors and

¹ In a note Mr. Bryce tells us that the castle of Hapsburg is in the Aargen, on the banks of Aar, and near the line of railway from Olten to Zurich.

the powerlessness of the crown. There was thus a combination of the elective and the hereditary principle. The authority of S. Thomas Aquinas is quoted, assigning the appointment of the seven princes to Gregory V., and the fiction was circulated by the clergy. Already, indeed, the ancient right vesting in the whole body of freemen, as at first, and then in the aristocracy, became vested in a small body, as at the election of Lothar II. A.D. 1125, which, exercising what was called the right of pre-taxation, chose the monarch, and presented him for approval to the rest. Thus the way was prepared for the final reform.

'The origin of that College is a matter somewhat intricate and obscure. It is mentioned A.D. 1152, and in somewhat clearer terms in 1198, as a distinct body; but without anything to show who composed it. First in A.D. 1265 does a letter of Pope Urban IV. say, that by immemorial custom the right of choosing the Roman king belonged to seven persons. Of these seven, three, the Archbishops of Mentz, Treves, and Cologne, pastors of the three richest Transalpine sees, represented the German Church; the other four ought, according to the ancient constitution, to have been the dukes of the four nations, Franks, Suabians, Saxons, Bavarians, to whom also had belonged the four great offices of the imperial household. But of these dukedoms two were now extinct, and their place and power in the state, as well as the household offices they had held, had descended upon two principalities of more recent origin, those namely of the Palatinate of the Rhine and the Margravate of Brandenburg. The Saxon duke, though with greatly narrowed dominions, retained his vote and office of arch-marshal, and the claim of his Bavarian compeer would have been equally indisputable had it not so happened that both he and the Palsgrave of the Rhine were members of the great house of Wittelsbach. That one family should hold two votes out of seven seemed so dangerous to the state that it was made a ground of objection to the Bavarian duke, and gave an opening to the pretensions of the King of Bohemia, who, though not properly a Teutonic prince, might on the score of rank and power assert himself the equal of any one of the electors. The dispute between these rival claimants, as well as all the rules and requisites of the election, were settled by Charles IV. in the Golden Bull, [A.D. 1356] thenceforward a fundamental law of the empire. He decided in favour of Bohemia, of which he was then king; fixed Frankfort as the place of election; named the Archbishop of Mentz convener of the electoral college; gave to Bohemia the first, to the Count Palatine the second, place among the secular electors. A majority of votes was in all cases to be decisive. As to each electorate there was attached a great office, it was supposed that this was the title by which the vote was possessed, though it was in truth rather an effect than a cause. The three prelates were archchancellors of Germany, Gaul, and Italy respectively: Bohemia cupbearer, the Palsgrave seneschal, Saxony marshal, and Brandenburg chamberlain.'

We shall make no apology for prolonging the extract:—

'These arrangements, under which disputed elections became far less frequent, remained undisturbed till A.D. 1618, when on the breaking out of the Thirty Years' War,¹ the Emperor Ferdinand II. by an unwarranted

One of the causes which precipitated the great European conflict—the few in history whose results have been at all proportioned to its character—was the Elector of Cologne. Gebhard, becoming Protestant to marry Countess Agnes of

stretch of prerogative, deprived the Palsgrave Frederick (King of Bohemia, and husband of Elizabeth, the daughter of James I. of England) of his electoral vote, and transferred it to his own partisan, Maximilian of Bavaria. At the peace of Westphalia, the Palsgrave was reinstated as an eighth elector, Bavaria retaining her place. The sacred number having been once broken through, less scruple was felt in making further changes. In A.D. 1692, the Emperor Leopold I. conferred a ninth electorate on the house of Brunswick Lüneburgh, which was then in possession of the duchy of Hanover, and in A.D. 1708, the assent of the Diet thereto was obtained. It was in this way that English kings came to vote at the election of a Roman emperor. It is not a little curious that the only potentate who still continues to entitle himself elector,¹ should be one who never did (and of course never can now) join in electing an emperor, having been, under the arrangements of the Old Empire, a simple landgrave. In A.D. 1803 Napoleon, among other sweeping changes in the Germanic constitution, procured the extinction of the electorate of Cologne and Treves, annexing them to France, and gave the title of elector, as the highest after that of king, to the Duke of Wirtemberg, the Margrave of Baden, the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and the Archbishop of Salzburg. Three years afterwards the empire itself ended, and the title became meaningless.—P. 253-5.

These seven had the power of election, not of creation. This rested with God.

Mr. Bryce's fifteenth chapter is no unimportant contribution to the philosophy of history, and will amply repay perusal. The great event of the last three hundred years is the formation of nationalities—something different from the existence of nations, of which our author speaks elsewhere—with distinct language and character, habits and institutions. It was just then, when the presence of a harmonizing and controlling power was most needed, that the empire succumbed. It was just then, what from the very moment of its own hard-won, and, indeed, ill-won triumph, might have been foreseen, that the papacy was proved to be unequal to the position of arbiter of the nations. The empire was peace. The oldest and noblest title the emperor held was *Imperator pacificus*. The pontiff has, if we accept the verdict of history, as little succeeded in realizing this title as the emperor. Perhaps the only imperial function of this emperor which the mediæval popes left unappropriated was that of creating kings.² The theory of the empire was as little reduced to fact as has been that of the papacy. Indeed, the

Mansfield. His Calvinism ruined him. Saxony, Brandenburg, and the Palatinate, were already Lutheran. The violence of the Protestants was greatly inflamed by the Pope venturing, for the first time, [and the last] to deprive a prince of the empire of the imperial dignities.

¹ The Elector of Hesse Cassel thus enables us to distinguish between the Grand Duke of Hesse Darmstadt and the Landgrave of Hesse Homburg.

² Mr. Bryce in a note tells us that the title of Majesty was granted by the Imperial Chancery to England and Sweden in 1633, to France in 1641.

only occasion on which the empire exhibited itself as really an international power, was when Sigismund convened the Council of Constance. Aided by an Avignonese pontiff, Henry VII. seemed to achieve a momentary triumph for the empire; but the Tuscan fever, and the poisoned chalice in the Eucharist, triumphed over the heroic emperor, A.D. 1313; and 'with him' ends the history of the empire in Italy, and Dante's book is 'an epitaph instead of a prophecy.'

Mr. Bryce gives an interesting sketch of Rome and its politics in her middle age, with notices of Arnold, Rienzi, and Porcaro, the last martyr of the cause of municipal independence. The failure to attain freedom during the three centuries which lie between Arnold and Porcaro, the author ascribes to the disadvantage under which Rome laboured of possessing neither that foreign trade nor manufacturing industry which enabled Venice, Pisa, and Genoa, to attain such eminence. With an inadequate harbour at a distance, and a desert at her gates, the productive energies of Rome have been paralyzed for centuries. But we can hardly resist the conviction that in an age when commercial success is the all-in-all of national or municipal existence, this whole condition of things will be changed, and that, whether Rome becomes the Italian capital or a free city, she may yet, by a sudden revival of trade, attain the wealth which is ascribed to her in the language of divine mystery. Maximilian, the most notable of the late emperors, who followed his ancestor, Rudolf, after an interval of two centuries, was really the founder of the Hapsburg dynasty. The empire became hereditary about the same time that the Eastern empire passed away, and a new world was discovered; and it must ever remain one of the wonders of history that, at such a juncture, both empire and papacy failed to realize the gain; that release from the jealousy and power of a rival brought no increase of vigour to the one; that the commercial zeal of that remarkable time brought no wealth or energy to the Eternal City; that the discovery of another world to be evangelized, and the sense one would have thought inevitable of increased responsibility, brought neither purer counsels nor clearer insight to the self-styled Universal Bishop. All the advantages of that great crisis, which so gifted a prince as Charles V. was so well qualified to gather in, were wasted through the evil counsels of the Vatican, and the insolence with which a sensual pontiff repulsed a German monk. The work of Luther was consummated in the peace of Westphalia. The empire had become identified with the house of Hapsburg; and that memorable council was influenced in no slight degree by the writings of Hippolytus à Lapide, more familiarly known to us by his real name of Chemnitz, who,

arguing against the whole Romano-papal idea of the empire, did not hesitate to urge in so many words, *Domus Austriacæ extirpatio*. The empire lingered on, impotent for good. It could neither prevent the seizure of Silesia nor the partitionment of Poland, to a chieftain of which unhappy nation the imperial princes were indebted for deliverance from the Turk. The house of Hapsburg had supplied in many instances respectable princes, but their policy was invariably dictated by selfishness, the worst vice a ruler can be guilty of. It is difficult to guess what change, if any, would have been given to the course of events had the wishes of half the Electoral College in 1658 been successful; and the crown bestowed on Louis XIV., who afterwards used to be called the 'Hereditary Enemy of the Holy Empire.' It was but one of many projects always frustrated, to set aside the Hapsburg family. But another shortly arose to give effect to the policy of Louis. It was Napoleon's intention at one time to oust the Hapsburgs, and himself become the head of the Holy Roman Empire. One is at a loss to conceive how this wonderful man, who went so far on the way as to account himself the successor of Charlemagne, reached this idea so slowly. He had overthrown two emperors; the representatives respectively of the Eastern and Western Cæsars. At this point the Invisible Hand, so often felt in history, gave a new direction to his arms, and reserved for the coming 'Man of the Earth' the throne of universal monarchy, leaving to the quondam elector of Brandenburg the task of disinheriting the successor of Rudolf and Maximilian. Goethe—it will be our last extract from Mr. Bryce,—

'Has described the uneasiness with which in the days of his childhood the burghers of his native Frankfort saw the walls of the Roman Hall covered with the portraits of emperor after emperor, till space was left for few, at last for one. In A.D. 1792, Francis the Second mounted the throne of Augustus, and the last place was filled. Three years before there had arisen in the Western horizon a little cloud no bigger than a man's hand, and now the heaven was black with storms of rain. There was a prophecy dating from the first days of the empire's decline, that when all things were falling to ruin, and nakedness rife in the world, a second Frankish emperor should arise, to purge and heal, to bring back peace, and to purify religion.'—P. 392.

Yet here have we another Napoleon, Rome still in his hands and Europe immeshed in his policy, and the empire palpitating under its death-wound.

We have followed Mr. Bryce with pleasure, charmed by his ingenuity, gratified by his industry, not surprised by his Trans-Tweedian theology: occasionally conscious of a feeling of weariness arising from his repeating himself. In our estimate of the

whole period with its 160 popes,¹ we shall perhaps differ from him. We hold that all the good the Holy Roman Empire did, it did indirectly. In this way it fostered amongst the half-civilized nationalities order and law and faith. These it was divinely ordained should increase, while the empire, in accomplishing its mission, like the divine hermit, was ordained to decrease. All this we dutifully and thankfully acknowledge. All the empire's direct aims, with little exception, appear to us either worthless or wicked. The creature of selfishness and fraud, it maintained a feverish existence by the propagation of a falsehood as gross as one of Falstaff's: that it was the heir and representative of the Augustan empire. In any career of conquest and aggression, as that of Napoleon's, we gauge the work done, and the doer of it, on their own merits. But a theocratic institution, not as it fails, but as it is false to its own Nature, must be weighed in other scales, and all the more so because a theocratic institution in Christendom is that same kind of invasion of the rights of the Lord Christ which in the Church is perpetrated by the papal claim of supremacy. Indeed it might be fairly contended that those 'services which we admit the Lower Empire indirectly rendered to Europe, came not from the empire at all, but directly from the refining and softening influences of the Church: and, confirmatory of this, attention might be drawn to the happier history of those kingdoms which were virtually, if not actually, free from imperial influence. The anointed agent of Church and world, the empire, failed in the only two great trials which it was called to face. It neither saved the Church from the Lutheran schism, nor Constantinople from the Turk. Fraud is always fraud, and falsehood falsehood; and it is trifling with the sacred reality of words, and the more responsible conclusions of a sound judgment, to determine differently on these subjects because they happen to come before us in history.

And in proportion as we bring ourselves to adopt the true, if severe, criterion as regards the empire, shall we form a truer estimate of the position of the papacy in the middle age. It was the pope who gave realization to the dreams of Charlemagne. He assisted to create the Lower Empire. Whatever indirect services the empire rendered to society, were rendered during the time the pope acknowledged the supremacy of the crown. And so much the less is society indebted to the popes of the middle age. No sooner was the instrument proved to be useful than all the efforts of the popes were directed to undermine and

¹ There is a useful Chronological Table prefixed, which gives the names of the popes, 255 in all, not reckoning the anti-popes, about thirty in number. The last is defective in the records of the anti-popes.

destroy it; to sap the foundations of all loyalty; to bring in question, ay, and more than bring in question, the inviolability of oaths; to shake—by a frantic diplomacy, which made war a holy institution, and carnage in another sense than the poet recked of the Daughter of God—the very hopes of humanity. The Church herself indeed seems to have been penetrated with a sense of her own utter degradation; and she who, of her previous ninety-eight pontiffs—who ruled from S. Peter included for eight hundred years—had canonized more than one half, has ventured to canonize during her theocratical millennium only five, out of a number reckoning nearly one hundred and sixty.

And now, even while we are writing, the heirs of Luther are raking together the spoils of the annihilated empire, and Italy and Rome are demanding to be restored to themselves; and care upon care is weighing down the heart of the aged pontiff, suspicious of his subjects whom his priesthood have never succeeded either in ruling or in converting, and depending upon carnal aid with that immemorial reliance which prompted Leo to call Charles from beyond the Alps. There is no Christian heart—we had almost said there is no human heart—that will refuse to pray for the suffering old man, the prince without a peer to befriend him: the father forsaken of all his own children. Yet be our suffrages rendered not only that he may be comforted and supported, but also that he may be enabled to rise to the full conception of the character of the Apostle whom he represents,—the fiefless and homeless pastor of the Church,—who claimed no crown, nor from one end of his diocese to the other, from Euphrates to the Tiber, owned earth enough in which to make his grave. May it be granted to Pius IX. to learn, however late, that the theocratical dreams which his office has inherited from the empire, and a love for which seems to constitute the last infirmity of his mind, are, and have ever been, the greatest curse of the Church of God.

ART. IV.—*The Church and the World.* Essays on Questions of the Day. By various Writers. Edited by the Rev. ORBY SHIPLEY, M.A. London: Longmans. 1866.

It seems to be pretty well understood among *littérateurs* now that a 'movement,' whether ecclesiastical or secular, theological or scientific, must receive an impetus from a bundle of essays in order to insure its progress. The original 'Oxford Essays' and 'Cambridge Essays' had no connexion except that which they derived from the binder: but the gentlemen who were bound up in that fagot of Neologian sticks called 'Essays and Reviews,' did the rough work of pioneers in a novel style of associated literary partnership. Alpine climbing has been stimulated in the same manner. The Irish Church,—that *crux* of Establishmentarians,—has had its volume of Essayists. The Ultramontanists, under the presidency of Dr. Manning, cheered up their drooping spirits, and made a little figure by the like expedient. But all these efforts must give place to the present magnificent enterprise, for the bulk of matter, variety of subject, and number of contributors. This volume contains eighteen essays by as many different writers. The questions treated in its pages range over a wide field; and the list of contents looks like the commingling of papers read at a Social Science meeting and a Church Congress. Infanticide and Clerical Celibacy; Architecture and the Conscience Clause; Hospital Nursing and Ritualism;—these headings give a fair notion of the scope of the book, and justify what we have remarked upon it. The Editor introduces his goodly company of essayists with a preface, in which he informs us that 'the several Authors 'are responsible only for the statements contained in their own 'contributions.' This is a stereotyped formula with which such volumes as the present are labelled. It corresponds to that sinister word 'limited' which Joint-stock Companies add to the titles of their schemes. We, for our part, confess that we are unable to appreciate the value of this saving clause. It did not protect the notorious 'Essayists' from being held, each and every of them, a *particeps criminis*, as regarded the general drift of the book; and why should it do more for our friends now lying before us? Any number of men clubbed together under one Editor to produce a book setting forth certain opinions, besides the part each plays as an individual, conjointly create an atmosphere which we may call the tone,

views, or tendency of the volume. This is inevitable; and this is something, over and above their separate responsibilities, for which all are responsible. In the second paragraph of his preface Mr. Shipley, though without appearing to be aware of it, repeats the first paragraph somewhat more elaborately. We can see no use in this anxiety to disclaim the natural consequences of association.

But let us to the book itself. The eighteen essays which compose it exhibit no arrangement as they stand; at the same time they are capable of being grouped to a certain extent. Nos. 1, 5, 7, and 14 may form one group; and perhaps No. 4, on Cathedral Reform, may be thrown in as an appendix to this set. Nos. 2, 17, and 18 fall together very naturally. So also do Nos. 10, 11, and 16. The remaining seven articles are isolated as regards their subject-matter, and claim no fellowship by which they may be linked on to any of the others. We will glance at these last first, and then deal with the groups as groups.

The third essay, entitled, 'Infanticide: its Cure and Cause,' is a short, but, as far as it goes, an able treatment of a sad and very urgent question, which presses hard upon the conscience of the English public (if it have a conscience) at the present day; which is confessedly a blot upon our boasted civilization; and which puts our Christianity to the blush, and makes it hang its head and keep silence before the reproaches of its too exultant enemies. The subject is, indeed, most complicated. Difficulties beset it on all sides, and these difficulties spring from the most opposite sources. A false sentiment screens the mother who murders her illegitimate child from the extreme penalty to which she is in strict law amenable; while a one-sided virtuousness visits with the severest infliction of social degradation the woman who has fallen from honour, at the same time that it leaves the man uncensured. Again, popular modesty in England shrinks from facing, what is absurdly called, the 'social evil' as a disease. It does not attempt to treat it, because, it fears lest, by the unavoidable recognition which treatment involves, it should seem to tolerate it. The idea of localising the vice is shocking, because it is giving permission to that which is not permissible. And this is, under one aspect of the case, just sentiment. No system of public morality can be countenanced by a Christian, which gives a place to immorality as a necessary element in the social scheme. English feeling revolts at the thought of prostitution being legalized by the civil authorities. It has to the Christian mind one remedy—extirpation. Whether, however, police regulations are not called upon to keep within bounds what they cannot prevent, is a question of larger incidence, and

while public duties must proceed on lower motives, the greater evil remains that there is absolutely no check on vice, either by religious prohibition or social regulation. And yet, as a matter of fact, there is no city in Europe where this kind of vice is so much on the surface as in London. Nowhere does temptation so dog the steps of youth as in its streets. Another difficulty in dealing with sins of unchastity is, that when they take a criminal form, and have to be dealt with legally, the structure of the tribunals is not such as to insure a high and delicate principle according to which the claims of morality on the one hand, and mercy on the other, shall be truly adjusted. And this is their misfortune rather than their fault. It is inherent in the nature of the cases they have to deal with. Infanticide and concealment of birth are brought before the same tribunals as theft, murder, forgery, assault, libel, and uttering false coin. They are regarded by the law all alike as crimes. They are offences against the commonwealth, and endanger the safety of the citizen in person, character, or property. The law tries, condemns, and punishes them all from this point of view. But jurymen, who are the administrators of the law, are not so single-minded as the law. They do not keep to one point of view in regarding the crimes they deal with. When called upon to deliberate over crimes which take their rise from unchastity—such as infanticide and concealment of birth—they invariably moralize. Hence the uncertainty and inconsistency of their verdicts in such cases. A thief or a forger they will give a verdict upon as a mere criminal, and with an unbiassed consideration of the facts submitted to them. But when required to try a woman on the charge of murdering her illegitimate child they are often carried away by their feelings against their judgments. They, quite unconsciously, perhaps, turn their thoughts upon the non-criminal sin of unchastity which has led to the criminal sin of murder. We speak thus advisedly. Unchastity is a sin which the law does not recognise as a crime; therefore we call it non-criminal: but murder is a sin which the law does recognise as a crime; therefore we call it criminal. Now juries, as agents of the law, ought to look to the crime, and pay no attention to the sin. But sin and crime excite very different feelings in the minds of men. They condemn criminals, but pity sinners; and for this reason, that sin is an offence against Divine law, which they do not administer, but crime is an offence against human law, which they do administer. If juries could be empanelled who would regard infanticide simply as a crime, and close their eyes to the preventive sin of unchastity, then verdicts of wilful murder would be found without recommendations to mercy; and verdicts of

acquittal in spite of facts to the contrary, would not so often startle our notions of judicial consistency. There would be no moralizing. But sin is associated in men's minds with a fall, a misfortune, temptation, and all the various circumstances which are supposed to be extenuating. In a case of infanticide the law punishes because murder has been committed, not because the child was the fruit of a sinful connexion. And yet the case appears to the jury so deeply coloured with the precedent fact of illegitimacy that they cannot be got to look at it as a mere murder, although it is only as a murder that the law commands them to try it. In short, the verdicts which juries deliver in cases of infanticide are, for the most part, the result of considerations which refer to facts and circumstances entirely beyond the cognisance of criminal law. The minds of jurymen are made up by the sin of unchastity, and delivered upon the crime of child-murder. Hence their anomalous and inconsistent character.

We have discussed this point rather lengthily because we feel that the common reason assigned for the strange verdicts given in cases of infanticide, namely, that men set no value upon the life of a new-born infant, and cannot be got to look upon its wilful destruction as important enough to be called murder, does not solve the whole question. Mr. Humble's essay is full of thoughtful suggestions concerning the religious treatment of the evil, and valuable hints as to practical steps to be taken towards that object—suggestions and hints which had best be received in his own words. There is one remark of his which we will notice before we take leave of his essay. He observes that the high morality of Ireland is attributable to the habit of confession, while the low morality of Scotland is to be accounted for by the absence of that habit. The facts as regards the two nations we believe to be pretty correct, but we have heard very different reasons assigned for them. Scotchmen are guided in their morals by considerations of worldly prudence, and do not contract early marriages. But Irishmen are equally remarkable for their reckless imprudence, and maintain the moral reputation of their country by marrying before they are able to keep a wife. The reasons are at least plausible. With regard to Mr. Humble's idea, we are afraid it will not serve if generalized over all Christian countries, and the morality of the confessing communities be compared with that of the non-confessing.

The sixth essay, by Dr. Alfred Meadows, upon 'Hospital and Workhouse Nursing,' need receive no further notice at our hands than a passing word of unqualified approbation. As a professional man, he speaks *ex cathedra* upon the subject he deals with; and ever since his paper has been published, as

well as before that time, the press has teemed with the scandalous revelations of workhouse inhumanity and hospital mismanagement. A like weight of professional authority attaches to the fifteenth essay, on 'The Study of Foreign Gothic Architecture, and its Influence on English Art,' by Mr. Street. He certainly has a peculiar claim to be heard on the subject he has taken up; for he, more than any one else has—to use the cant phrase of a party—caused the modern Gothic of this country to change from being frigidly Anglican to becoming warmly Catholic.

Of the remaining four articles which we have classed as isolated, we have space to note little more than the titles. Mr. Blenkinsopp furnishes a paper on the 'Re-union of the Church,' remarkable for its excellent temper and width of view. It asserts positively the substantial character of the Anglican Communion as an integral part of the Catholic Church, and regards the re-union of Christendom as acting with impartial force upon all the parts, and drawing them together by moving each one towards the centre of truth. It is free from the blemish which disfigures the writings of some unionists, who think themselves bound to apologise for whatever is Anglican, and to flatter whatever is Roman; who seem to think that the English Church should make advances to the Roman Church with some such expressions on her lips as those Miranda addresses to Ferdinand, in the 'Tempest':—

"To be your fellow
You may deny me; but I'll be your servant
Whether you will or no."

The ninth paper is anonymous, for which, the Editor says, 'the reason is obvious.' We can only wonder that the reasons for its total exclusion from the book were not equally obvious to him. The heading misleads. It stands thus:—'The last Thirty Years in the Church of England; an Autobiography.' We expected from this to find an interesting historiette of the great movement commonly called Tractarian, a sort of supplement to the fascinating 'Apologia' of Dr. Newman; and we must confess to our disappointment at discovering it to be nothing but a relation of religious experiences of the most personal and private character, shorn of the only thing which could give them the slightest interest to the general reader—the name of the individual. We should be sorry to say anything that would pain the feelings of the lady—it is a lady—who has volunteered this piece of spiritual self-dissection. But we all know how largely the religious biographies of the 'Evangelical' party are composed of passages of morbid introspection reproduced from diaries and note-books, and all agree in regarding them as singu-

larly unprofitable. The 'Autobiography' in question is just such a passage. It has no useful purpose to attain that we can see, unless it be to recommend, as by a side-wind, the practice of auricular confession, and certainly its recommendation is damaging. The tone of the paper is neither healthy, hopeful, nor instructive, and we think, on every account, that it had better have been omitted. The subject of confession might well have been treated in a paper professedly devoted to it; but the conditions under which it is here presented are neither judicious nor practical. Of the 'Conscience Clause' we have had enough so far as writing and talking go, but Canon Trevor has given us a little more in No. 12. When we say that No. 13 is a paper on 'The Eucharistic Sacrifice,' by Mr. Medd, we need add nothing to recommend it to the perusal of all who desire to learn from a wise and learned theologian upon that high subject.

The first group of essays may be clustered together under the title, 'The Christian Ministry: its Education, its Condition, and its Organization.' Upon the first of these aspects of the subject, Mr. Rogers contributes a paper, headed 'University Extension.' The second is suggested by Mr. Vaux's article on 'Clerical Celibacy.' The third comprehends the essays 'On the Revival of Religious Confraternities,' by Mr. Baring-Gould; on 'Vows, and their Relation to Religious Communities,' by Mr. Carter; and, practically, though not so obviously, that on 'Cathedral Reform,' by Mr. Walcott. It is but lightly that we can touch upon the great variety of topics presented to us in this and the other groups of essays, which we have to notice; and what we shall say will rather run parallel with the remarks of our essayists than arise directly out of them.

One, and that not the least remarkable, of the many remarkable facts which distinguish the present age of the English Church is, that, while throughout her ranks, both lay and clerical, she is animated with an activity and vigour which she has not exhibited for centuries, there is a decline going on in the numbers, and also in the quality, of the candidates for holy orders. The whole bench of bishops utters the complaint that at the ordinations fewer and fewer men present themselves, and these more and more inferior in ability and learning. The prospectus of the Curates' Augmentation Fund sets the melancholy truth before the public in accurate statistics, and confidently proposes as a remedy, that all curates should have a certain prospect of at least £200 a year within a definite period. We heartily wish the Fund success. Others declare that earnest and able men are deterred from taking orders because the clergy are so hampered by dogma, fettered by Church laws, and tyrannized over by bishops. This is an objection on paper, but not

in fact; for there never was a time when the Church of England was so lawless, and her bishops so powerless, as the present. Another reason assigned is the opening to competition of the civil and military appointments. This, as Mr. Rogers explains, is totally inadequate to account for the diminution and deterioration. The truth, no doubt, is that all these influences, and others besides, are operating to bring about the result. We shall not pursue the investigation of them beyond the line suggested by the words 'University Extension.'

We are inclined to think that some confusion exists in the minds of people who deplore most loudly the present condition of supply and demand in the clerical market. Not that we question for a moment the facts, or that we deny them to be deplorable; but we wish to point out that when the question is discussed, as it is in Mr. Roger's essay, and as we find it elsewhere, under the title of 'University Extension,' there are two distinct and independent subjects under contemplation. One subject is the decrease of candidates for holy orders; the other subject is the decrease of the number of graduates amongst the candidates. When we speak of university extension with reference to the clerical profession, we aim at supplying not only more candidates, but more candidates of a certain kind; and this object may obviously be obtained without adding to the total number of candidates. For it is quite possible to conceive that such measures might be taken with regard to the cheapening and facilitating the course of education at Oxford and Cambridge, that all the men who would otherwise take orders as literates, should be induced to qualify themselves as graduates, and yet the Church have a scant supply of ministers. Supposing this to be the prevailing desire, it is clear that it is a reaction from the motives which set on foot such places as S. Bees and S. Aidan's. The object in founding those institutions was to increase the number of men; the object in extending the universities is to increase the number of graduates in the ranks of the clergy. The institutions for turning out literate candidates were started, not because the number of graduate candidates fell off, but because many men desired to take holy orders who could not afford an University education. It was not a question then, whether the demand could be met, but whether the number of channels should be increased through which the supply should flow. But now the supply from all sources is insufficient, and the falling-off is chiefly amongst graduates. Hence the call for University extension.

It may be well to examine the reasons which prompt the desire to increase the number of graduate candidates, as distinct from increasing the numbers of candidates generally; for it is

perfectly plain that the end in view would not be answered even though S. Bees and King's College were to pour forth a stream of literates as plentifully as the exigencies of the Church demanded. Mr. Lecky, in his recent work, has expressed in very neatly turned phrases the old-fashioned description of an English clergyman. He writes:—'In England at least, the accomplishments of a scholar, and the refinement of a gentleman, blending with the pure and noble qualities of a religious teacher, have produced a class type which is scarcely sullied by fanaticism; and is probably, on the whole, the highest, as it is the most winning that has ever been attained.'¹ This is very kind of Mr. Lecky; but the worst of it is that people begin to complain that 'the accomplishments of a scholar and the refinement of a gentleman' are not such common attributes of the English clergy as they used to be, and that there is reason to fear that they will become more scarce still. It is, moreover, asserted that a significant correspondence exists between the decline of these qualities among the clergy and the increase of the number of literates. Consequently, it is thought that the best way to check this deterioration, and to maintain, and even improve, the scholarly and gentlemanly tone of the English priesthood, is to make such reforms in the two great universities as shall attract to them those candidates for holy orders who now go forth as literates. It is difficult to discuss this subject without giving offence to those excellent men who are doing the Church's work without the decoration of a university degree; but we hope we may avoid such a misfortune by saying beforehand that we have met, amongst the clergy, with graduates who were not gentlemen, and with gentlemen who were not graduates. Having by this double-edged compliment cleared the ground of scandals, let us see what are the exact bearings of this generally-expressed desire for gentlemanly clergymen in respect of university extension.

Taking things as they are at the two universities, it is agreed on all hands that the training there given is more likely to turn out gentlemen than the training afforded at any other places of education. The reasons for this are so trite and so true that it is unnecessary to repeat them. Two questions, however, arising out of this admitted fact, seem to us to deserve attention, though we do not remember to have seen them anywhere discussed. One question is, How far do 'the accomplishments of a scholar and the refinement of a gentleman' (we accept this formula, as accurately expressing the desideratum), which are generally supposed to characterize a graduate clergyman, depend upon the

¹ *Rise and Influence of Rationalism in Europe*, vol. ii. p. 62.

present educational system and social habits of the universities; and is it likely that the alteration in these respects, which would certainly result from the cheapening and enlarging process, commonly called university extension, would influence the production of the desired qualities? The other question is, Are scholarship and refinement indispensable to the composition of an earnest and efficient parish-priest? With regard to the former question we may observe, that it seems to have escaped notice that the evil (if evil it be) for which a remedy is sought, is not rightly expressed by saying that men who take orders do not take degrees. This result might have been brought about by various causes other than that which is at work in the present case. For example, it is conceivable that the universities might be so thoroughly unchurched and even unchristianized, might be so completely handed over to the secular power, both as to government and style of education, that candidates for holy orders would feel repelled rather than attracted by their tone and system. But the true way of describing the evil is, we believe, to say that the class of men who take degrees at the university are not the class of men who take holy orders. This places the subject in its right light, and shows it to be, what it really is, a question of change in the social grade of candidates for orders. The priesthood is passing from one rank of society to a lower. Perhaps this statement may startle; perhaps it may offend; but is it not true? It is the assumption upon which the movement for university extension, in respect of candidates for holy orders, is based. We share deeply in the regret which this statement excites; but the transition has not proceeded so far, nor is it going on so rapidly, but that a good and effectual restraint may be put upon it. And this brings forward the question, What steps can be taken to increase the number of graduate candidates for holy orders? We confess we have little faith in those schemes which go entirely upon the cheap tack; or, again, in those which propose relaxing almost every regulation and abolishing every custom which combine to make the character of an university man. If Oxford and Cambridge are desirable above all others as places of clerical education, they are so by reason of their peculiarities, which distinguish them from all others. It is absurd to make them quite different from what they are, in order to extend their benefits to a larger number of men. The tea in a particular tea-pot may be excellent, but its excellence will not be imparted to the whole circle by adding water *ad libitum*. And yet a good deal of what has been said and written upon the subject involves this absurdity of watering down university education, in order to extend the advantages it originally possessed. The fact is, that the ques-

tion of university extension, though at first raised to meet the particular want of graduate candidates for holy orders, immediately expanded much more widely and generally as soon as it came to be discussed. All special thought of the clerical view was laid aside, or rather merged in schemes which made no more account of the Church than of law or medicine.¹ And how far-reaching these schemes, according to the views of some active agitators, would be, may be learned from what Mr. Goldwin Smith has recently put forward in his 'Letter to the Rev. C. W. Sandford,' upon the 'Elections to the Hebdomadal Council':—

'Finally,' writes Mr. Smith at p. 19 of his letter, 'there is the great question of all, that of University extension, which will assuredly not be settled by the erection of a Poor College. My own conviction has long been that it will not be settled by any practicable addition to the number of students here, but that as in the Middle Ages the nation came to Oxford, Oxford under our present condition of society will have, conjointly with Cambridge, to go to the nation—to go to the nation in the way of supervision, affiliation, inspection, central direction of education; for education, till it has emerged from its present state of confusion at all events, must be more or less centralized somewhere, and to secure its independence of political influence, it should be centralized in the Universities rather than in the place which is also the centre of political power.'

It is quite plain that this, or anything like this, view of University extension will not meet the demands of those who desire to see more Oxford and Cambridge graduates—as graduates are at present understood to be, and as the Church is supposed to be the better for having them in her ministry—presenting themselves for Holy Orders.

What then, it will be asked, is to be done? An additional college which shall offer special encouragement to candidates for Holy Orders, is certainly one important step; and it is to be earnestly hoped that the Keble Memorial may be wisely framed to achieve this step. But beyond this, we think, something may be done by the old colleges in the way of restoring that regard for the interests of the Church which their secularization by modern legislation has so greatly impaired. If there be left amongst them any true love for the Church, let them assign a portion of their revenues to found exhibitions for

¹ Dr. Daubeny, in his 'Letter to the Provost of Oriel on University Extension,' says that he did not attend the preliminary meeting held in the hall of Oriel, because the circular which convened it implied that the subject to be discussed related to 'University Extension, with especial reference to the education of persons needing assistance, and desirous of admission into the Christian ministry;' but that he afterwards found 'that no sooner had the question of University-Extension with reference to young men intended for Holy Orders been mooted, than a feeling found expression both amongst the clergy and the laity present, that the subject under consideration ought not to be so limited.'

the special benefit of undergraduates intending to take Holy Orders. Although Mr. Rogers (p. 11) speaks of the additional supply that would thus be furnished as 'so trivial as to be almost nothing: so slight as not to meet the demand in any appreciable degree;' we think that it would be something appreciable, and also that no other scheme we have heard of or can devise would be effectual. We ought to add that we do not concur in the opinions of those who desire that all clergymen should be graduates—not because we do not wish to see such a result, but simply because we do not believe it attainable. If the present supply of candidates were sufficient, and it were merely a question of making them all graduates, then this view might be entertained. But the Church wants more men to minister in her service, and she will find employment for all the graduates that the most skilful plans can draft into her ranks, as well as for all the literates who may be recruited from other quarters.¹

We must briefly advert to the other question—Are 'scholarship and refinement' indispensable to the composition of an earnest and efficient parish priest? Many people will answer emphatically, Yes: and we ourselves have no desire to say, No. At the same time, as the subject is on the carpet, it may be as well to inquire a little into this 'gentleman-theory' of the priesthood. As for its origin, it is quite manifest that it cannot claim the so desirable sanction of primitive times, or appeal to the universal sentiment of Christendom in its support. It is neither catholic nor apostolic. In fact it is simply and purely English. This at one time would have been the most cogent reason for its careful preservation amongst Anglicans: now, however, the tables have a little turned, and it would weigh strongly with many for at least treating it with suspicion, if not for decidedly rejecting it. Curious, indeed, is the change which has come over the Anglican Church in this respect! When the Protestant faction was triumphant, the foreign Protestant bodies were regarded with great kindness by the leaders in that faction, and a good deal of fraternization with Holland, Germany, and Switzerland, with Calvinian and Lutheran sects,

¹ It is interesting while upon the subject of university extension to observe what Archbishop Whately said about it in a letter to Earl Grey written in 1834. 'Every M.A. was originally, and should be now, entitled to demand of the University authorities (unless good cause could be shown against him) a licence to open a hall on his own account; of which there were formerly at Oxford, and I believe at Cambridge, a very great number. It was partly under the reign of Elizabeth, and partly under that of Charles I. that the monopoly was introduced, under which the colleges have, in fact, swallowed up the University.'—*Life of Abp. Whately*, i. p. 227. The reforms since effected have given this relaxation; but how completely it has failed in the few attempts that have been made to act upon it, is known to every one.

was maintained; and English Churchmen took their stand, for the defensive, upon their fidelity to English, as distinct from foreign, views and practices. Now, however, to be English is, in the opinion of many, to be narrow-minded and uncatholic. Consequently, a sentiment which can exhibit no better title to respect than its distinctively English origin, carries its own condemnation with it. It was once the boast of the admirers of the Church of England that her clergy were the most gentlemanly set of ecclesiastics in the world. At the present day the fact is acknowledged with a sigh. Of course we are using the word 'gentleman,' according to the worldly acception of the term, as describing a man whose education and manners make him a fit associate for the higher ranks of society, quite irrespective of the dignity he carries as a clergyman. And yet that dignity had something to do with the position which society accorded to its possessor. The clergyman received a cordial reception because he was a clergyman; only the laity, if asked to explain this fact, would have replied that they took it for granted that he was a gentleman likewise. The truth is, the reasons were mixed. Although people did not own to any great reverence for the priestly office as such, because their belief in its powers was dim, and in a technical sense 'low;' yet some such reverence lurked beneath their behaviour to clergymen, and the claims to respect on the score of scholarship and refinement reposed upon this reverence to a greater extent than was acknowledged. The temporalities of the Church had something to do with it also. All clergymen (we are thinking of forty years ago, when curates were, as Mr. Blunt observes in his '*Directorium Pastorale*,' really apprentices who had only a time to serve) would, in the ordinary course of things, become beneficed, and a beneficed clergyman was an important member of society. Moreover, any clergyman might be made a bishop and be called 'My lord;' and these two things together gave the English priest a patent of gentility in the eyes of the world. It is not, indeed, very easy to disentangle the confusion of causes which resulted in the popular notion that a clergyman must be a gentleman; but the above may serve for an attempt.

In passing we may notice how this gentleman-theory has worked to the decided disadvantage of the Church. The notion that a clergyman must needs be a gentleman has operated upon the ambition of the class just below the line of gentility, and made the clerical status desirable to them as at once giving them the footing in society which they had not, but desired to have. We do not say that this ambition has been a primary cause, for that would be unjust to their higher motives, but we have good reason to think that it has often acted as a secondary

cause. When these aspirants to gentility pass into the ministry through the cheap channels of S. Bees and S. Aidan's, and the rest, the awkwardness with which they sustain the newly-acquired character of 'gentleman' is oftentimes distressing, if not amusing, to behold. Their anxiety lest they should commit themselves, or lest the world should not take them to be gentleman, is both ludicrous and painful. Instead of being easy they are bumptious, instead of being modest they are bashful. Their minds are constantly puzzling out the question, What befits a gentleman? Now, if the worldly notion of a gentleman had not attached itself so closely to the idea of an English clergyman, we should not have had the troubles of literates on this head to lament. We think, therefore, that it would be well if this notion were discarded; and, in its stead, let the character of a Christian gentleman, which is the fruit of true gentleness of spirit and humbleness of mind, be exclusively cultivated. No amount of swagger and assumption will gain for a low-bred man the footing of a gentleman; but if a clergyman, who has not had the advantages of birth and liberal education, keep close to his character as a Christian priest in a quiet and unobtrusive way, all people whose opinions are worthy of attention, will accord to him the respect which his office demands, and that is all the respect which a clergyman, be he of high or humble origin, ought to care about.

We next come to the condition of the clergy, which is treated in the Essay on 'Clerical Celibacy.' And here we must say that Mr. Vaux is entitled to the highest praise for the tact and discretion he has manifested in dealing with so delicate a subject—one upon which the feelings, convictions, and prejudices of the English laity are keenly sensitive. He has made out as good a case as it was possible to make, and his article leaves nothing to be desired for learning, temper, and lucid construction. But when we have said this we have said all that can be advanced in his favour. He fails of winning the cause he pleads for. But he fails creditably. The verdict must go against him, through no fault of the advocate, but because the question he has taken in hand has been most completely worked out by a long and varied experience. History has given the answer, and that answer no arguments—from the present exigencies of the Church, from the superior holiness of the virginal state, or from the mind of Catholic antiquity—can overrule.

Mr. Vaux proposes his subject in these terms: 'It is the encouragement of *voluntary* celibacy on the part of the clergy for which I plead.' The word '*voluntary*' is printed in italics, and it well deserves the emphasis which is laid upon it—not however, for the reason which Mr. Vaux would assign, but

because it contains a complete refutation of the whole argument of his essay. In the first place, 'voluntary celibacy' is an expression destitute of meaning as it is used in this essay in respect of the English Church; for it is that and nothing else which the English Church holds and practises, and therefore to plead for it is to plead for what exists already. If this essay were written in the interest of the Roman Church, which enjoins compulsory celibacy, or in the interest of the Russian Church, which enjoins compulsory matrimony, the phrase would be intelligible. As it is, it is simply meaningless. Every unmarried English clergyman is an example of voluntary celibacy, and every married one of voluntary matrimony. In fact, voluntariness is the very principle upon which the English Church has established the condition of her priests. We do not, however, really suppose that Mr. Vaux has taken so much pains, as his essay exhibits, to plead on behalf of a practice which has obtained in all its fulness in the English Church for three centuries, and still flourishes to perfection. He has in view, not the existing practice, but an innovation on the existing practice; only he has made a mistake in using the word 'voluntary' in describing what he desires to bring about. It is really *involuntary* celibacy which he endeavours to establish, and we proceed to prove this assertion. For what does 'voluntary' mean in such a case? Clearly it means the absence of all influence either one way or the other. But is it not the tenour of this article to establish an influence which shall guide the action of the clergy in the direction of the virginal state? If it be not this, then the essay is without aim or purpose. Take the three grounds of reason for celibacy mentioned above, and it will appear that out of each arises a moral force which destroys the voluntariness at once. First, the present exigencies of the Church are put forward as a plea for celibacy. But these exigencies, if they are to operate at all, must do so by compelling the clergy to yield their wills in the matter; and, then, what becomes of their voluntary action? A clergyman would say, justly, 'I am not free to marry, because I am told the welfare of the Church requires that I should remain single.' And let it be borne in mind that if a man is not free to marry, neither is he free to remain single. It is absurd to say that when a man has strong moral pressure brought to bear upon him to prevent his taking one of two roads, he is at perfect liberty to take the other road. His liberty is only perfect when it is equally open to him to take either one road or the other. Again, the superior holiness of the virginal state is propounded. But the moment this is done, the marriage state has a barrier thrown across it which, so far as such an argument can, coerces

freedom of action. Lastly, the mind of Catholic antiquity is asserted to be in favour of celibacy, which is as much as to say that the priest who marries goes against the judgment of that mind. The force of this argument will influence men with different degrees of pressure according to the different degrees of reverence they may entertain for antiquity. But inasmuch as it is assumed to have weight, it cannot be said to leave the wills of the clergy uninfluenced, and when their wills are influenced their voluntariness is destroyed. In short, the fallacy which vitiates the whole of the reasoning of this essay, is the misapprehension of what freedom of will means when viewed in relation to the conduct of a certain class of men as belonging to that class. The argument may be summed up thus: the clergy are bound to shape their lives in such a way as shall best conduce to the interests of the Church: the celibate state of the clergy is more conducive to the interests of the Church than the marriage-state: therefore the clergy are bound to remain celibates. The terms of this argument are perfectly clear; they are distinctly oppugnant to voluntariness; and the essay of Mr. Vaux is neither more nor less than an expansion of this argument. It does not explain it away, but it enforces it. In other words, Mr. Vaux has written an able and ingenious essay to prove that the free-will of the clergy in the matter of their condition, as to whether it should be single or married, ought not to be exercised, but that it ought to be given up for the sake of the Church; and—we repeat the question—when free-will is given up, what becomes of voluntariness? But it may be said in reply, that according to this, laymen oftentimes are not free to marry, because a variety of reasons—prudential and circumstantial—frequently keep those single who would otherwise marry. This argument will not hold good. The analogy upon which it is supposed to stand does not exist. No layman is deterred from marrying because he is a layman: but the clergy are deterred—or, if you please, dissuaded—from marrying because they are clergy. All the reasoning hinges upon this. The interests of the Church are brought home to them as priests of the Church. If this be denied, then the argument proves too much; for it will be just as good in behalf of the celibacy of the laity as of that of the clergy. But this cannot be denied, seeing it is asserted on the very face of the essay. In fact the essay argues from the status of the clergy in the direction of their celibacy, and no one would be so absurd as to argue from the status of the laity in the direction of *their* celibacy.

Let it not, however, be supposed that we are insensible to the countenance which is afforded to the advocates of celibacy

by the occurrence of unhappy facts. When we behold with disgust the silly conduct of a flirting curate, we are provoked at the moment to wish that the English clergy were either under the rule of the Russian Church, which obliges priests to marry, or under the rule of the Roman Church, which obliges them to be celibates. Likewise we can readily acknowledge that a married clergyman, embarrassed with a wife and young family, may find his efficiency hampered thereby in Whitechapel or Bethnal Green. We also allow that a poor clergyman had better not increase the straitness of his circumstances by sharing his penury with a portionless girl, to say nothing of the probable (and in such cases it would almost seem inevitable) half-dozen children. Such instances as these are, indeed, very telling as examples of imprudent marriages, but they have nothing to do with the general question of clerical celibacy. Laymen contract imprudent marriages as well as clergymen, only the imprudence of the cleric is more talked about because, being a sort of public character, his affairs are considered to be public property. A, B, and C are clergymen who have contracted imprudent marriages; D, E, and F are laymen who have done the same: is it reasonable to argue that because A, B, and C have done a foolish thing, therefore the whole body of the clergy should be persuaded to celibacy; and yet that the unwise conduct of D, E, and F is not to be held as of any cogency in ruling the whole body of the laity? But it will be advanced as against this, that the interests of the Church are at stake. We fully admit this, and we only desire that the question may be thoroughly discussed and decided upon the ground of the interests of the Church. Experience furnishes ample evidence to assist in making the decision, and its testimony goes to show that the Church suffers more from clerical celibacy than from the imprudence of clerical marriages. If on the side of marriage folly abounds, on the side of celibacy vice abounds much more: if there be inconvenience arising in isolated cases from clerical marriages, positive evil has but too surely accrued to the Church at large from the system of clerical celibacy. The Church of England had this experience before her eyes when, three hundred years ago, she decided to leave her ministers perfectly free in the matter of marriage. History, notwithstanding the discredit which the one-sidedness or untruthfulness of historians may have cast upon its testimony, deserves a fair hearing in such a matter as this, and our Church has given such a hearing, and upon the evidence thus adduced she rests her decision.

But, while upon this point, we may remark that history does not always obtain an impartial hearing when Church questions are under discussion. Its archives are, indeed, diligently ran-

sacked for arguments to support a foregone conclusion; but an impartial attention to all that it may have to tell concerning a disputed subject is seldom accorded. Historical records are laid under contribution to furnish precedents for the practice of some ritualistic observance, or the use of some curious vestment, but the reasons which those records may assign for the discontinuance of ancient practices and the modification of the ecclesiastical system are too frequently ignored. The student often has to lament the *lacunæ* in ancient documents which the ravages of time, and the carelessness of the ignorant, have produced; but the unbiassed inquirer has equal reason to complain of the wilful oversights the moderns perpetrate in their treatment of the materials which really exist. The judgment of one age has a perfect right to reverse the judgment of a previous age, but only after having carefully listened to the arguments on both sides, certainly not by overlooking what one side has to advance. It is, at least, unreasonable to assume that our forefathers committed an error when the steps by which they reached their conclusion are kept out of sight. The English Reformation, for example, may be found open to objection in certain points, after carefully considering its causes and conditions; but to dismiss it summarily and contemptuously as a huge blunder, which is what many of the mediævalists of our day are so fond of doing, simply disgusts a calm and philosophical mind.

The next question is, how the ministration of the English Church can be most efficiently organized? The essay by Mr. Baring-Gould, 'On the Revival of Religious Confraternities;' that by Mr. Carter, on 'Vows, and their Relation to Religious Communities;' and also that by Mr. Walcott, on 'Cathedral Reform,' all bear upon the subject. They are all full of thought and useful suggestions, and deserve careful and candid study. We strongly recommend them to the reader, while we ourselves pursue, in the remarks we are about to offer, a line of treatment partly parallel to, partly independent on, the arguments of the Essayists.

We are not of those who never speak of the English Reformation but in words of disparagement; who regard it as a blunder, if not a crime; and who feel bound to disclaim all sympathy with its promoters when reference is made to it by our brethren of the Roman obedience. We are, on the contrary, inclined to the opinion expressed by the Dean of Ely, when he presented to the Lower House of Convocation the report of the committee on Ritual, that the Reformation was no blunder, but a blessing, and if it were not a blessing it was a crime. There is, however, one part of the work perpetrated at the time of the Reformation, and which thick-and-thin Protestants delight to dwell upon as

the most satisfactory achievement of it, but which we, as Churchmen, can only contemplate with feelings of indignation and regret. We mean the dissolution of the monasteries, and the abolition of the religious orders. To call that a reform is to call things by their wrong names. It was not reformation, it was destruction; it was not improvement, it was rapine; its actuating motive was not the good of the Church, but plunder. That the monastic institutions had become too numerous, had grown too rich, had sunk into much sloth and occasional immorality, no candid reader of history will deny. For ourselves, we feel convinced that their general condition, with only such exceptions as were too few and insignificant to call for special notice, cried out loudly for some measures of re-construction. But robbery is not a synonym for such measures. When a man falls down in the street in a fit, it is necessary to loosen his neck-cloth, and open his waistcoat; but he who renders these services in order to appropriate the breast-pin and the watch, is a common thief. We have always thought that the kind attentions which the Church of England received in respect of her monastic corporations, were on a level with those of the said thief; and we have spoken of the dissolution of the monasteries as a work perpetrated at the time of the Reformation, because we cannot bring ourselves to think of it as part of that movement which we believe to have been divinely ordered for the good of our Church.

The immediate consequence of the abolition of the religious orders was to leave the Church destitute of all co-operative agencies for the spiritual and benevolent care of the poor and ignorant. The unceasing necessity of home-missions was not then understood. The idea which prevailed then, and which continued down to our own times, but which, happily, is almost, if not quite dispelled now, was that a people does not need evangelization when it has become professedly Christian, and its national religion is that of the Cross. The fact of there being multitudes of heathen in the midst of a Christian population, was not even suspected. The difficulties of the Church were supposed to be chiefly political, and only so far doctrinal as doctrine hangs on the skirts of politics in a state religion. The fact of practical heathenism being a chronic condition of a Christian country, flashed upon Wesley, and Wesley flashed upon the Church, but the Church was too sound asleep to be suddenly awoken by his or any other light. The fact has been gradually dawning upon her since, and now is nearly at noon-tide brightness. We now know that the evangelization of the people can never be looked upon as a *fait accompli*, but is a perpetual, though varying circumstance of a professedly Christian country; varying, partly through the

variableness of the energy with which home-mission work is carried on, and partly through the unequal progress of population and material prosperity. - Scripture-readers, city missionaries, lay-readers, Bible-women, sisters of charity, are so many desultory efforts made by the Church of England in feeling her way towards meeting the wants, the existence of which she is only just now fully alive to. While the necessity of some organization, supplemental to the ordinary parochial system, is felt and practically acknowledged by such efforts as those just enumerated, it is but natural that longing looks should be cast back to the period when the monastic system existed, and furnished an inexhaustible supply of the assistance now so much wanted. The circumstances of spoliation with which the abolition of that system was accompanied, give colour to the arguments of those who can see nothing but good in the system itself, and are for restoring it in its integrity. The suppression of the monasteries has so much the appearance of 'looting,' as to throw discredit upon the otherwise obvious fact, that it was better that the monasteries, being as they were, should be suppressed. The ugly facts of history, in this case, give an impact to the proclivities of mediævalists.

On the other hand, the need of some organization more distinctly ecclesiastical than any that have yet been attempted is strongly felt by those who have tried the various agencies we have mentioned above, and have experienced their defects. Our Evangelical friends know well enough the troubles in which a parish priest may be involved by the bigotry or conceit of a self-willed Scripture-reader. In such cases episcopal authority is greatly desired, and the chastening influence of religious association, in which individuality is lost in the corporate existence, would have prevented all the mischief. The inconveniences which beset the existing agencies seem to point in one direction for their remedy,—in the direction, namely, of religious association, whether of men or women. For all the defects which obstruct their working are traceable to two causes; the one is the undue prominence given to the individual, which allows self-will and conceit to have sway; the other is the low Church level on which these efforts take their stand, being regarded for the most part as having to do with Christianity in general, and no form of it in particular. In order to avoid these evils, and also to escape those which experience has shown to lie on the opposite side, great discretion will be needed in constructing a system upon which such associations may be organized. There are two cries set up by the advocates of the revival of confraternities which should be received with distrust in proportion to their enthusiasm. On the one hand, it is de-

clared that the parochial system of the Church of England has broken down, so far as reaching the masses in large towns is concerned. This is not strictly true. The parochial system is more efficient now than at any other period of its history; only it does not do now, any more than it ever did, what it never could do, and never was intended to do. Parochial work is not mission work; and we have pointed out that mission work, though differing in kind, is just as constantly needed in a Christian country as parochial work. Let this be distinctly understood, and then it will be seen that it is not the failure of the parochial system which has to be deplored, but the abolition at the Reformation of the mission system which was carried on by the religious orders; and that the true remedy is the establishment of a mission system which shall work side by side with the parochial system, depending upon it, subordinate to it, but still separately organized. Here, on the other hand, we must caution against another error. If it be granted that religious confraternities are needful for home mission work, it must not be hastily concluded that they should be merely a revival of the confraternities which existed before the Reformation. On this point we reiterate our previous remark that history ought to be read impartially, and its evidence fully and candidly sifted; and if this be done, the result will show that the pre-Reformation confraternities did a vast amount of mischief by their jealousy of the parochial clergy and their incessant encroachments upon the parochial system. What is desiderated is a cordial co-operation of the mission system with the parochial system; but history almost entirely witnesses to the rivalries and collisions which took place between the two, fostered too often by the bishops, who sought to play off the regulars against the seculars. We do not say that precisely this form of evil is likely to recur; but human nature is a constant quantity in all such combinations, and will certainly throw up mischiefs of some kind or other, unless judicious provision be made to repress them. How this is to be done is the problem of the day, and a good deal has been contributed towards its solution by the writers in the present volume.

The next group of essays that awaits notice is that which may be called the philosophico-theological group. We can, in the space of this article, do scarcely more than name them, and pass on. No. 10 is on 'Positivism,' by the Rev. J. Gregory Smith, and is a very able criticism on the rising philosophy of Antichrist; No. 11 is entitled, 'Revelation and Science: Two Interpreters of the Will of God.' It bears no name, for which the reason assigned by the Editor is reasonable, namely, 'that on the neutral ground between "Revelation and Science," the position assumed

'should be lost or won in virtue of the inherent weakness or strength of the arguments employed, independently of any influence arising from the author's name.' From this we gather that the author's name is influential; and the essay bears internal evidence of power which would make the writer of it respected. The sixteenth article is on 'Science and Prayer,' by the Rev. Malcolm MacColl, and it treats the subject with special reference to the discussion which Professor Tyndall raised in the columns of the *Pall Mall Gazette* on the occasion of the issue of the cattle-plague prayer. There is one merit which all these essays share in common, and that is the calm and judicious tone in which they carry on their discussions. The writers show themselves to be philosophers as well as theologians. They are not alarmists. They do not condescend to denounce, being well satisfied with their ability to refute; and where refutation is not possible within the present limits of knowledge, their faith in the Eternal Wisdom gives them patience to wait for more light. We transcribe from the conclusion of the eleventh article this nobly philosophical, as well as devoutly theological, adjustment of the relative positions of Revelation and Science; and commend its description of the proper attitude which the Churchman should maintain towards them.

"The Churchman will be content to wait patiently, weighing, correcting, proving his own judgment, as travellers in a new country correct their impressions of the form of the objects around them, and the relative bearings of the mountain peaks, as the grey light of morning clears and brightens into the perfect day. Accepting Revelation as an infallible record of the Divine Will, he will own that this too has come down to us through the instrumentality of human agencies; without an interpreter as infallible as itself on questions of physical science, and its meaning thereon; and with a mixture of the element of human fallibility of necessity absorbed into it, as it comes into his hand through the inevitable processes of translation, of copying, of interpretation. Accepting Science as a commissioned, though fallible interpreter of the works of God, he will be ready, while he examines its conclusions with a rigid scrutiny, to receive them with a certain reverence and reasonable submission; he will be thankful for them when they give him a clearer insight into the meaning of the Word, when they enable him to discern little errors which have crept into the record itself, or into its interpretation; when they enable him to separate clearly the opinion of men about revelation from that which is indeed revealed.

"Thus, not in hasty fear or trembling, lest some coming storm, surging up from some unexpected quarter, should prove that the edifice of his hope is built upon the sand, will he look upon the progress of advancing science, and listen to the dim sounds and faint murmurs borne to him out of the dark future. He will wait, as he might wait upon the bosom of some vast lake which he knows to be the source of a mighty river, even though he cannot tell the exact boundaries of the lake itself, or the outlet whence the river flows. Yet he will wait patiently, knowing that his comrades, toiling upwards from the river's mouth, must eventually arrive at the same goal which he himself has found, and nothing doubting, though their white sails in the distance, following the river-course, seem sometimes bending in directions varying from, nay, even

opposite to, the point where he himself awaits them. In patience he will wait, in patience possessing his soul, welcoming every stray beam of light, every detached fragment of truth, as undoubtedly indications of the presence of the God of Light and Truth, though he cannot as yet recognise the place of the one in the mighty edifice, or trace the other to the point at which it issued out of the splendours of the dawn. In patience he will wait, knowing that all voices which utter portions of the truth, though they seem to sound in discord now, will fall into their place in the great harmony wherewith perfect truth shall be declared to men, that all true interpretations differing, now, as men look on different sides and different aspects of the truth, shall speak with one voice, in the day when neither God's works nor God's words shall be needed to declare Him to His faithful ones, for, as they know assuredly, they shall "see Him as He is."—*The Church and the World*, p. 294.

We now come to the last group of articles. They are three in number, and may properly be ranged under the title, 'Ritualism.' The first article is No. 2, on 'The Missionary Aspect of Ritualism,' by Dr. Littledale; the second is No. 17, on 'The Reasonable Limits of Lawful Ritualism,' by Mr. Perry; the third is the last article in the volume, and is headed, 'The Liturgies of 1549 and 1662, contrasted and compared by the Editor.' It is but common candour to say that these three gentlemen have treated the different aspects of what they are content to call 'Ritualism' which they have respectively undertaken, with ability, clearness, and good taste, excepting, as regards the last particular, the questionable illustration Dr. Littledale draws from the coarse and glaring attractions of the gin-palace to point out the advantage of colour, lights, and music in divine worship as influencing the poor and ignorant. What Mr. Perry may have to say respecting the legal view of the question is entitled to a respectful hearing, for he undoubtedly possesses a large amount of well-digested knowledge on the subject, and this fact has only been brought out into stronger relief by his controversy with Mr. Shaw, the writer in the *Contemporary Review*; and, having in mind the vulgar vehemence and unchristianly bitterness with which the cause of Ritualism is pushed and contested in certain quarters, the calm and courteous spirit of these two disputants is refreshing. But with regard to the legal question itself it is quite clear that by no amount of general discussion, how judiciously and temperately so ever it may be conducted, can it finally be settled. It is certainly a great advantage to have the case fully set out and thoroughly sifted in the most public manner, and though we are by no means content with some of the means employed, yet such a mass of opinion, such an accumulation of evidence, as this free-handling of the subject produces, must have its value in preparing the way for a decision which shall rest upon sound principles, and be the result of comprehensive knowledge. But a valid decision must proceed from a court of law, composed of judges who do not go to

the consideration of the question with opinions or prejudices already formed. Common-sense, that quasi-judicial influence to which Englishmen are so fond of appealing, is weakest in the present case. When, indeed, such matters as surplined-choirs, choral-services, the surplice in the pulpit, the rubrical use of the Church-Militant Prayer, were in question, common-sense was perfectly competent to deal with them, for there was little legal difficulty involved; it was chiefly a matter of clerical tact and discretion as applied to each particular instance in which their introduction was sought. But in spite of the confidence with which Ritualists assert the obligation of the much-discussed rubric before 'the Order of Morning and Evening Prayer' to be equally clear and positive with that of the other rubrics, the stubborn testimony of facts contradicts them. Whatever its meaning may be, its obligation is not as positive. For some time, and up to this moment, well-informed and unprejudiced men have been at issue upon this question, and it is absurd to affect to treat a matter as beyond doubt when it is notoriously the most doubtful matter now before the Church—that is to say, a matter concerning which the most lively disputations are being carried on in every possible way.

It is quite true that the general practice of the English Church—such is the plasticity of public opinion in these modern times—can undergo very considerable modifications in regard of worship without judicial interference either furthering or checking; and a village church may have its ritual peaceably raised to the level of the cathedral standard. But then the very fact of there being a standard in the cathedral to which the rural service can be worked up, clears the ground of legal obstacles, leaving only the difficulties ordinarily besetting the change of local practices. But the Ritualists, in respect for example of incense, are absolutely destitute of any such standard. Incense is as unknown in cathedrals as it is in parish churches; and its introduction involves a change of a much more violent and novel character than any that could be effected by suddenly substituting a full-blown cathedral service for a slovenly parson-and-clerk duet in a small country church. No instance has been produced of a chasuble being worn till the last few years, and it is natural that many persons would desire that resort should be had to the legal tribunals to search into the subject and declare what the law is concerning it; and Churchmen of all shades of opinion will do wisely in looking this contingency in the face, and awaiting its possible approach with frankness and composure.

We call attention to this point for two reasons. In the first

place because we have observed with considerable surprise that some Ritualists seem to take for granted that the changes they are seeking to make can for a certainty be introduced without a legal battle; as though a chasuble or a censer were not more remarkable in the Church of England than a surpliced choir or a pair of candlesticks. In the next place, because we think that the dislike of legal interference in Church questions may be carried to an unreasonable extent. We, indeed, quite sympathize with the feeling which possesses all true friends of the Church, that litigation in ecclesiastical matters is *primò facie* an evil, and that all rash and wanton provocation of such measures is to be deprecated. At the same time circumstances may arise which may render litigation a wholesome necessity. Such circumstances may arise in respect of 'Ritualism.' We are not of those who desire to see the Church of England lose her character for reasonable comprehensiveness, but the present state of things certainly exhibits the extreme limit of comprehensiveness. S. Alban's, Holborn, on the one hand, and S. Mary's, Islington, on the other, do not witness to the liberty, but to the exuberance of self-seeking into which Church government has run. Where the fault lies, is another question; what the true remedy is we are not concerned to say; but the fact itself is indisputable; and the consequence,—legal proceedings,—is, we fear, but too probable; and because it is too probable, we desire to prepare the minds of Churchmen for it, so that they may meet it with all the advantages of clear foresight, calm judgment, and candid temper.

But besides legal action, there is another contingency, by no means so improbable, for which it is as well to be prepared, namely, legislative enactment. If the ultimate court decides that Ritualism in its most advanced form is not illegal in the Church of England, then we must expect vigorous efforts to be made to alter the law so as to make it illegal. What the decision of the court may be it is but waste of time to discuss; but it may at least be observed, that if the same latitudinizing temper with a little more fairness prevail which ruled the decision of the Privy Council in the 'Essays and Reviews' case, then we cannot see how a judgment of acquittal can be withheld from the Ritualists. It only needs that the rubrics should receive the same treatment as the articles. We know what the alarmist and the partizan would say then. The one will exclaim, Do not alter the law, for the Church of England cannot stand it; the other will cry out, If the law be altered, the effect will be a schism. Both outcries amount to the same thing, namely, that the Church of England cannot stand the strain of fresh legislation. Against this opinion there lies of course the protest, that it implies want of faith in the Anglican Church. If a body

be so weak in its constitution that it is unable to bear up under the measures taken to repair and strengthen it, then people will add it is clearly moribund, and must in the end perish. But this opinion no faithful son of the Church will suffer himself to entertain; and to all the sons of the Church the word of counsel is, 'Be not faithless.' Such, at least, is the thought which at first arises in the mind of a loyal Churchman, when signs of timidity, and distrust, and evil-foreboding show themselves in others. But the recollection of what legislation in Church matters involves in the present condition of political parties, and with the House of Commons composed of such a motley crew, that the third collect for Good Friday would be a more suitable 'Prayer for the High Court of Parliament' than that which is at present in use,—this recollection causes him to start back in horror from the thought of the holy things of the Church being subjected even to the discussion of so profane an assembly, to say nothing of their being ruled by their incompetent and unchristian judgment; and the cool proposition that a short declaratory Act should be passed for the purpose of meeting the difficulties of the present crisis cannot be received without a shudder. Happily Parliament seems to be aware of its own unfitness to deal with questions which affect the doctrine or discipline of the Church, and to perceive the incongruity of 'Jews, Turks, Infidels, and Heretics' coercing by their legislation, in a professedly free country, the belief and practices of a Christian communion. But this reluctance may give way to the persistent efforts of the Protestant sections, and if it do give way, then the consequences which may follow may well cause the extreme Ritualists to pause and reflect upon their position, and take thought how far loyalty to the Church of England, as well as love for the Church Catholic, with both of which sentiments we gladly believe them to be inspired, demand a re-consideration of the whole subject. It is, indeed,—we freely acknowledge it,—a thankless task to say any words, but words of sympathy and praise, to men who so manfully and self-denyingly grapple with sin in its most loathsome haunts, and minister to the sick and needy with a devotion which loves to imitate the example of their Divine Master. The impulse of every generous heart is to 'esteem them very highly in love for their works' sake." May that impulse receive no check, albeit the unhappy exigencies of the time call for criticism upon their conduct.

Before quitting the subject of Ritual, we would speak about that aspect of it for which the unionists claim special attention. The ritual movement, it is asserted, is bound up very closely with the movement for the re-union of Christendom. Now it is

fairly open to question how far uniformity in externals is necessary, or even useful, to the great purpose of unity in the faith. That such uniformity was not insisted on in ancient times, and did not obtain in the middle ages, is clear from history. The widest latitude was tolerated in non-essentials, always premising that the variations in ritual revolved round the grand central doctrines of the Church, and consequently were consistent with its catholicity. The shape of vestments, the sequence of colours, the number and position and character of the minor observances in ceremonial, varied indefinitely. There were national, provincial, and even diocesan 'uses,' distinguished by their respective peculiarities. The papacy first moved in the direction of uniformity, and our own Act of Uniformity was only a Protestant imitation, in respect of our own Church, of the attempts which the popes had more and more encroachingly made to fashion all the churches upon the Roman model. Thus the desire to see 'Ceremonies in all places one and utterly like,' finds less and less encouragement the further we go back in the history of the Church. But let it not be supposed that this variety of ritual is evidence of caprice, or that it favours the idea that the rubrical directions of the Church may be disregarded at pleasure. Though the 'uses' were very numerous, yet each one of them was authorized. Their variety gives no countenance to the chaotic state of ritual which, at the present day, justifies the remark that the Church of England is a heterogeneous mass of congregationalism. Each 'use,' though it may have obtained only in one nation, or in one province, or even no further than the limits of one diocese, yet was imposed by the authority ruling within that sphere, and was fully obeyed by all who were obliged by it. Individual priests did not take or leave portions of the ritual as it pleased them. Consequently there existed, in spite of the great variety of 'uses,' no such anomalous state of things as that exhibited by the Church of England, which professes to have but one 'use,' throughout her obedience, and yet the actual modes of celebrating divine service are almost as multitudinous as the buildings in which it is celebrated. Thus it appears that while, on the one hand, catholic unity does not in the least involve ritualistic uniformity, on the other hand, the voice of antiquity condemns the capricious tampering with the 'use' which a priest professes to be guided by. Viewing the whole question of ritual in its connexion with Catholic unity, we are reminded of the words which the Bishop of Vermont has placed as the motto on the title-page of his recent work: '*In necessariis unitas; in non necessariis libertas; in omnibus caritas.*'¹

¹ 'The Law of Ritualism examined in its relation to the Word of God, to the

Here we must break off the chain of remarks which have been suggested by, rather than applied to, this book, 'The Church and the World.' The repetition of its title reminds us of the exception which some critics have taken to it. For our own part, we find no fault with the title. On the contrary, it appears to us to be both appropriate, and pregnant with useful thought. The juxtaposition of these two words, 'Church' and 'World' is profoundly suggestive of reflections which all Christian men will do wisely to cherish in these times. For it reminds us of the real contest which is going on beneath the surface agitations of the hour: the contest between good and evil, between grace and nature, between the unseen and the seen, between the temporal and eternal, between holiness and sin; and it brings up in the memory the voice of our Divine Master, so full of power and of love to still the tempest of our troubled mind, 'If the world hate you, ye know that it hated Me before it hated you.'¹ Moreover it points out what the real mission of the Church, and consequently the grand work of Churchmen, is, namely to spread the everlasting Gospel throughout the world, so that its saving truth may penetrate its every part, regenerating, sanctifying, elevating it, until the trumpet of 'the seventh angel' sounds forth, and the 'great voices in heaven' proclaim, 'the kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and of His Christ; and He shall reign for ever and ever.'²

NOTE.

Since this article was begun a second edition of 'the Church and the World' has appeared. It is merely a reprint of the first edition, with an appendix containing a few notes to three of the essays, not in any way affecting the arguments and opinions propounded in the original work; and extracts from the reviews which had then been passed upon it.

Primitive Church, to the Church of England, and to the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States, by the Right Rev. John Henry Hopkins, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of Vermont, New York, 1866,' is the title of a book in many ways remarkable. Bishop Hopkins, the 'Presiding Bishop,' is seventy-five years of age, and yet, at the request of the clergy of the American Church, he takes up and handles in a spirit of the most perfect candour, and with a fresh and lively interest, the subject of ritualism. He is a zealous protester against, and has been an active controvertor of, Romish errors, and yet he speaks with the warmest approbation of the revival of a splendid ritual.

¹ S. John xv. 18.

² Revelation xi. 15

- ART. V.—1. *The Pope and the Revolution*. A Sermon preached in the Oratory Church, Birmingham, on Sunday, October 7th, 1866. By JOHN HENRY NEWMAN, D.D. London: Longmans. 1866.
2. *Revue des deux Mondes*. Paris.
3. *Annuaire des deux Mondes*. Tomes I.—XIII. (1850–1865). Paris: Bureau de la ‘Revue des deux Mondes.’
4. *Degli ultimi Casi di Romagna*. Riflessioni di MASSIMO D’AZEGLIO. Italia. 1846.
5. *La Politique et le Droit chrétien au point de Vue de la Question Italienne*. Par MASSIMO D’AZEGLIO. Troisième édition. Paris: Dentu. 1860.
6. *Sul Dominio Temporale dei Papi*. Considerazioni di G. B. GIORGINI. Firenze: Barbèra. 1859.
7. *Il Clero e la Società, ossia della Riforma della Chiesa*. Per FILIPPO PERFETTI. Firenze: Barbèra. 1862.
8. *La Questione della Indipendenza ed Unità d’Italia dinanzi al Clero*. Per ERNESTO FILALETE [Carlo Passaglia?]. Firenze: Le Monnier. 1861.
9. *All’ Illustre Passaglia Lettera di Girolamo Bobone, dell’ Ordine dei Predicatori, già Professore di Teologia Dogmatica à Roma, ora di Sacra Scrittura nella Regia Università di Siena*. Firenze: Barbèra. 1861.
10. *La Curia Romana ei Gesuiti*. Nuovi Scritti del Cardinale DE ANDREA, di Monsignor F. LIVERANI, e del Canonico E. REALI. Firenze: Barbèra. 1861.
11. *La Chiesa e lo Stato in Italia*. Studi del Cav. CARLO BONCOMPAGNI, Deputato al Parlamento, Ministro Plenipotenziario di S. M. il Re d’Italia. Firenze: Successori Le Monnier. 1866.

THERE are questions which admit both of an abstract and of an historical treatment: there are others wherein one of these two methods of discussion must needs predominate. In attempting to arrive at any conclusion respecting the advantage or disadvantage of the union of spiritual and temporal power in a single hand, historic investigation must, if we are not mistaken, necessarily occupy the higher place. For it seems impossible to prove, on anything like *à priori* grounds, that such union is necessarily good or necessarily bad: the times and circumstances must be

taken into account, and each case be judged mainly, if not exclusively, with reference to itself alone.

In patriarchal times, the first-born seems to have enjoyed the rights of the throne, the priesthood, and the double portion. Melchizedek is at once *king* of Salem and *priest* of the most high God. Even heathendom, in various ways, recognised some mystic connexion between the *regale* and the *pontificate*. Athens had its special Archon, the ἀρχὼν βασιλεὺς, and Rome its *rex sacrificulus*, to offer sacrifices which even these republics conceived to come with special fitness from a king alone. Virgil, when he would recall the features of antiquity, introduces his readers to a royal priest of Apollo:

‘Rex Anius, rex idem hominum Phœbique sacerdos’;¹

and Cicero had previously represented divination as a kingly office. ‘Omninò apud veteres, qui rerum potiebantur, iidem auguria tenebant. Ut enim sapere, sic *divinare regale ducebant*, ut ‘testis est nostra civitas, quâ et in *Reges augures*, et postea ‘privati.’² The Chinese Empire, which especially claims to be patriarchal—and some learned men, as Windischmann, have supported the claim—regards its ruler as one who combines priestly with regal functions. Mahomet, also, who looked more to the elder than to the Christian dispensation as a rule for guidance, left spiritual as well as secular duties to be exercised by succeeding caliphs. The Llama of Thibet affords another illustration of the same conjunction.

But at an early period in the history of the chosen race, this union was destined to be interrupted. It is true that the king and the *prophet* are united in the person of David; but no one man is king and *priest* between the time of Moses and of the latest of those seers who foretold of Him who alone of our race is at once Prophet, Priest, and King. Nor does this severance appear the less divinely sanctioned because it had its origin from the sins of Reuben, and of Simeon and Levi. Evil does not cease to be evil in itself; but in many instances, and this is a striking one, God overrules it to good. Levi by his zeal regains the priesthood; but the double portion is assigned to Joseph, and the royalty alone descends to Judah.³ In some respects the monarchy seems to have had the superiority; as is seen in the case of the deposition of Abiathar in favour of Zadok by King Solomon. But when a king would usurp the functions of the

¹ Æn. iii. 80.

² De Divinatione, lib. i. cap. 40.

³ Compare Genesis xlix. 3–12, and xlviii. 22, with Exodus xxxii. 26–28, Deuteronomy xxxiii. 8–11, and 1 Chronicles v. 1, 2. The election of Simon Maccabeus to be prince and high-priest in B.C. 141 was irregular, inasmuch as his family was neither of the house of David nor the house of Aaron.

priesthood and offer sacrifice or incense, he is rebuked, and the sin is divinely punished.¹ Thus did each power in turn restrain the other; and a devout and able commentator² may be right in interpreting the two golden pipes seen by Zechariah as God's two ordinary channels of good to His people; the anointed priest and the anointed king.

For the first three centuries of Christianity, no terms of alliance between the Church and State were possible. The Roman Empire seldom tolerated Christianity, and ten times fiercely persecuted it. The conversion of Constantine altered this state of things. There have been those who, looking back on the extraordinary graces displayed by the exprimitive Christians, have doubted whether this new phase of affairs was a blessing. We cannot follow them. They seem to us too apt to forget the misery of a condition wherein heroic virtue could alone hope to endure; wherein for Christians nothing was secure: they seem to ignore the torture of mind, as well as of body inflicted by these constant persecutions; the distressing difficulties connected with the restoration of the lapsed; the impossibility of progress in at least some directions of thought and action. Without the planting of the Cross on the imperial diadem, there could never have been that leavening of the wealth of the Egypt, that sanctification of the powers of the human intellect which actually took place in God's Church, when the sons of them that had afflicted her came bending unto her; when kings became her nursing fathers and queens her nursing mothers. A single instance of this operation may suffice. It is surely most striking to see at the head of the famous Epitome of Roman Law, the Institutes of Justinian, the inscription, '*In nomine Domini nostri Jesu Christi*;' to perceive how the fairest ideal of justice, that human reason, before the Gospel came, had ever dreamt of,³ was taken under the fostering wing of the Church, and by it purified and elevated, not destroyed.

In proportion as the Church drew to herself the intellect of society, as her missionaries became pioneers of civilization, and her prelates the most cultivated men of their age, it was natural that sovereigns should seek assistance from ecclesiastics in various departments of government. Transactions which involve a knowledge of reading and writing can only be carried on through the medium of persons acquainted with those useful arts: and in ages when the terms 'good clerk' (*bonus clericus*, *beau-clerc*) and 'good scholar' were synonymous; when a noble, as a poet justly represents, would exult in the ignorance of his lay-sons; chancellors,

¹ 1 Kings ii. 26, 27; 2 Chronicles xxvi. 16—20.

² Hengstenberg on Zechariah iv. 12—14.

³ De Broglie.

justiciaries, prime ministers must needs have been sought among the clergy. Hume, of course, and his followers have at hand the words 'priestcraft,' 'ambition,' and the like, as an obvious and easy solution of this phenomenon of the Middle Ages; and even Sismondi is not quite exempt from the imputation of the lower motives only. Gibbon is, in this respect, more just; and in our own time, since the Peace of 1815, there has arisen a school of historians in which the names of Guizot, Michelet, Hallam, Palgrave, Mill, and others stand conspicuous,—a school which has torn to very shreds the shallow and uncharitable theories of the eighteenth century, and recognizes in many an ecclesiastic-statesman, in many a prince-bishop, true lovers of liberty and order; men who may be justly believed to have been 'dear to God,' as well as 'famous to all ages.'

One such only shall be mentioned here, as a type and specimen of many of his kind. We know not where, in the earlier portion of the fifteenth century, the eye can light on a more noble and prepossessing figure than that of the first Scottish statesman of his day, Kennedy, Bishop of S. Andrews, in the reign of James III. Royal by descent, and more than royal by his gifts of head and heart; pious, munificent, zealous for the interests of literature and science; frugal in his household, bountiful in all that related to the worship of God or the public works of the State; a reformer of abuses, a conservative in all things good; firm, able, and upright—he was indeed a *parens patriæ*.¹

But it cannot be disguised that there was another side to this conjunction. All prelates are not such as that holy Bishop of S. Andrews. Earthly dignity and power may become great snares. If there were sovereigns who claimed to be as a *persona mixta*,² with certain rights reserved to them in the very sanctuary, there were prelates in the Middle Ages, as more recently in the eighteenth century, who forgot their sacred duties amidst the incumbrances of worldly state. We may have occasion to appeal on this subject to the language of historians, as the Abbé Fleury. For the moment we will only cite the well-known passage of the first great and enduring work of modern literature.

'Rome, that turn'd the world to good,
Was wont to boast two suns, whose several beams
Cast light on either way—the world's and God's.
One since has quench'd the other; and the sword
Is grafted on the crook; and so conjoin'd,
Each must perforce decline to worse, unawed
By fear of other.'

¹ See Tytler, *History of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 174. Bishop Kennedy died on May 10th, A.D. 1466.

² Chéruel, *Dictionnaire Historique*, Art. Roi. (Paris: Hachette.) 1855.

‘The Church of Rome,
Mixing two governments that ill assort,
Hath miss’d her footing, fallen into the mire,
And there herself and burden much defiled.’¹

This, then, is, we repeat, a subject where it seems impossible to lay down any precise rule. Union of spiritual and temporal authority cannot possibly be wrong, immoral, or irreligious; for it has been sanctioned by God himself. Those who, like Melchizedek, have borne it, are moreover types of the great Head of our race. Severance between these same powers must be equally blameless; for that, too, received the Divine blessing and sanction in the history of the chosen race. From the union innumerable blessings have accrued to humanity; more, probably, than most of us are aware of, for they are not always obvious to the sight: some not inconsiderable evils have likewise arisen, and the general tendency of events has for some centuries been towards separation. To measure the proportion of good and evil is a task which probably exceeds human powers, nor can any opinion upon the subject be considered to enter into the region of dogma.

Consequently, the *Christian Remembrancer* must again claim the right of allowing some latitude of thought and expression to its contributors upon such a theme. If between this paper and any which may have preceded or shall follow it, a certain slight measure of divergence be visible, we shall not be at pains to conceal it. We proceed, at present, to name some of these arguments in favour of the temporal power of the Papacy, which seem, at any rate to the present writer, to have most weight.

Let us, firstly, look at the opposite scheme, at the case where no hierarchy is recognized by the State. We know something of such countries; and we believe it to be a most serious evil in a social, in a political, above all in a religious point of view. People talk glibly of apostolic poverty. They ought not to forget that the great Head of the Church bestowed on His apostles the power of working miracles; a power which at once does away with the necessity of many other means of influence.

1
‘Soleva Roma, che ’l mondo buonfeò,
Due Soli aver, che l’una e l’altra strada
Facean vedere, e del mondo, e di Deo.
L’un l’altro ha spento, ed è giunta la spada
Col pastorale, e l’un coll’ altro insieme
Per viva forza mal convien che vada;
Perocchè giunti, l’un l’altro non teme.

Di oggimai che la Chiesa di Roma
Per confondere in sè duo reggimenti,
Cade nel fango, e sè brutta e la soma.’

Dante, *Purgatorio*, Cant. xvi.

The above translation is that of Cary.

Moreover it is by no means clear that a condition of things which befits the commencement of a dispensation is, necessarily, the most suitable for its continuance. In the case of all but saints, men are much more influenced by secondary considerations than they are apt to acknowledge even to themselves. 'In Egypt the state of God's people was servitude; and therefore His service was accordingly. In the desert they had no sooner aught of their own, but a tabernacle is required; and in the land of a Canaan a temple.'¹ As in the material fabric, even so in the persons of Christ's ministry. Unless due honour be paid to them, contempt of religion itself is but too likely to follow. Bishop Berkeley would fain have seen a graduated service of the clergy; brethren, we presume, specially marked out for the poor, rectors facing squires, bishops with the barons, archbishops with princes. In so far as this theory is realized by the actual condition of the English hierarchy, it also enjoys likewise the countenance of Edmund Burke.

'As the mass of any description of men are but men, and their poverty cannot be voluntary, that disrespect which attends upon all Lay poverty will not depart from the Ecclesiastical. Our provident constitution has therefore taken care that those who are to instruct presumptuous ignorance, those who are to be censors over insolent vice, should neither incur their contempt, nor live upon their alms; nor will it tempt the rich to a neglect of the true medicine of their minds. For these reasons, whilst we provide first for the poor, and with a parental solicitude, we have not relegated religion (like something we were ashamed to show) to obscure municipalities or rustic villages. No! We will have her to exalt her mitred front in courts and parliaments. We will have her mixed throughout the whole mass of life, and blended with all the classes of society. The people of England will show to the haughty potentates of the world, and to their talking sophisters, that a free, a generous, an informed nation, honours the high magistrates of its Church; that it will not suffer the insolence of wealth and titles, or any other species of proud pretension, to look down with scorn upon what they look up to with reverence, nor presume to trample on that acquired personal nobility, which they intend always to be, and which often is, the fruit, not the reward, (for what can be the reward?), of learning, piety, and virtue. They can see, without pain or grudging, an Archbishop precede a Duke.'²

It may fairly deserve consideration, whether these arguments do, by parity of reasoning, make in favour of a position for at least one bishop, which shall place him on a level with sovereigns; whether, waiving for the moment all question of doctrines, there may not be at least a plausible case made out in favour of the authority thus gained for religion; whether kings and nobles may not listen the more to the voice of an equal than of an inferior. In the time of Hooker there were in Europe several prince-bishops, and his language concerning the obedience due to them is singularly emphatic. 'With men of skill and mature judg-

¹ Hooker.

² Reflections on the French Revolution.

‘ment there is of this so little doubt, that concerning such as at this day are under the archbishops of Mayence, Cologne, and Treves, being both archbishops and princes of the Empire,—yea, such as live within the Pope’s own civil territories,—there is no cause why any should deny to yield them civil obedience in anything which they command, not repugnant to Christian piety; yea, even that civilly for such as are under them not to obey them, were but the part of seditious persons.’¹ The tone of the Protestant historian and statesman, M. Guizot, in our day, is equally decided. Indeed, his defence of the papal temporalities is one of the ablest extant.

At this point, then, the following may be submitted to the judgment of the reader as probable propositions:—

1. That the temporal sway of a Christian bishop is not in itself a thing necessarily immoral or irreligious.

2. That, this being the case, it must be fair to defend such rule, by all lawful means, against extraneous attacks.

3. That prayer offered to God for the continuance of what the suppliants deem to be, at least indirectly, a means of spiritual blessing, has that claim to respect which is due to its own exceeding sacredness, even from those who may think the object of such prayer a mistaken one.

4. That, nevertheless, the temporal government of any ruler, —king, emperor, bishop, president,—must be judged in and by itself as a temporal government, with reference to the ends and objects of such government: and that the same rules must be applicable to it as are applied to other governments by the general conscience of Christendom.

It is, of course, in connexion with the fourth and last of these propositions that differences between ourselves and Dr. Newman are most likely to emerge. Before proceeding further, we propose to supply a very brief epitome of his discourse.

The preacher, firstly, informs his audience that the subject of his address is fixed for him by the Roman Catholic bishop to whom he pays obedience (pp. 5, 6). He states, without claiming to prove it, the view of the Pontiff’s spiritual office and position, taken by members of the Church of Rome in the present day (p. 9). He describes the obligations of his co-religionists to the Pope arising from a sense of duty, and from a sense of gratitude (p. 15). Then follow a few sentences on the excellence of the character displayed by Pius the Ninth, and the severity of his trials (p. 16). A second part of the Sermon is devoted to an account of the present crisis in Italy. It commences with a brief and brilliant sketch of the conversion of the barbarians in

¹ Eccl. Pol. vii. 15, § 5. Hooker’s spelling of the cities is ‘Mentz, Colen, and Trevers.’

the earlier Middle Age (p. 17), of the rise and decay of episcopal temporalities; and then proceeds to point out that a large portion of the Pope's subjects now side with his enemies. A statement of their case, as they might be imagined to put it forth, is then given (p. 19), and a rejoinder follows (p. 20). Illustrations in favour of the preacher's views are sought from the history of the Israelites (p. 23). The stiff-necked character of the Roman people is next adduced; their contests with their sovereigns; the seventy years' secession to Avignon. S. Bernard is cited as a witness to the grievous faults of this nation 700 years ago (p. 24). The analogy of Israelitish history is again insisted on and continued (p. 28).

The preacher proceeds to argue for the happiness of small states, instancing Belgium, Holland, Switzerland. But the real question for the Roman people is (he maintains) *one of spiritual life or death* (p. 29); an assertion, however, which is followed by certain admissions to which we must subsequently call attention (p. 31). Then ensues a passage, powerful, eloquent, unexceptionable in itself, respecting the malice and injuries of Satan (p. 33). The duty of prayer is then urged; and the special object of prayer as regards the Pope is stated to be this: 'that the territory still his should not be violently taken from him' (p. 36).

The two following pages describe, with much beauty, the spirit and temper in which all prayer should be offered (p. 38). The probability of the Pope retaining Rome is considered, and regarded as the more probable side of the alternative (p. 41). But the other side is also considered, calmly and without despondency (p. 43). A comparison between the Roman Catholics in Italy and in England is then made; and some eminently beautiful sentences lead to the conclusion that God will give the suppliants what they ask, or will give them something better.

We are deeply conscious that to comment upon such a subject, and especially when treated by such a person, is a serious and even a solemn task. Moreover, at the very outset, voices of this kind hover round us: 'You are Anglican, Protestant, insular, narrow-minded, incapable of understanding the depth and difficulty of the problems at issue.' We understand such language to mean that we ought simply to accept in this matter, without question, the teaching of Archbishop Manning, Dr. Newman, the late Dr. Faber, the Dublin reviewers, and Sir John Simeon.

Now, we cannot thus consent to abnegate what we believe to be our rights. Even supposing that the above-named Roman Catholic authors were all agreed (which is very far from being the case), we should still claim the right of trying to weigh the

evidence before us. Yet thus much we willingly concede, that it is best, under the circumstances, to appeal as little as possible to Anglican witnesses. We shall summon into court almost exclusively French, German, and Italian writers; and, speaking roughly, they may be classed as follows:—

Firstly, we shall constantly appeal for facts to the *Annuaire des deux Mondes*. Having studied this repertory of information since its earliest issue, and having used opportunities of testing its value, we aver that, though often mistaken in its prophecies, it is extraordinarily accurate and trustworthy as regards facts. With it we shall conjoin two works easily accessible to the English reader—Dr. Döllinger's 'Die Kirche und die Kirchen,' and Farini's 'Lo Stato Romano.' The English translations of these two books will be employed.¹ In the latter case, it is *mainly* on the documents therein cited that we shall rely; because, though many may differ from Farini's comments, no one has ever questioned the genuineness of these documents.

Secondly, we shall make use of papers contributed by various writers to the *Revue des deux Mondes*. Besides quoting volume and page, as will be done in the case of citations from the *Annuaire*, we shall have here, in each instance, the name of the writer.

Thirdly, we shall give extracts from, or accounts of, certain Italian publications named at the head of this article, written by Azeglio, Perfetti, Filalete (supposed to be Passaglia), and Barlolommeo.

If any fact is mis-stated by us, we shall be glad to correct the error in a future number of this Review. Our chief task will be that of laying before our readers statements drawn from the above-named sources, and of comparing them with the positions taken up in Dr. Newman's able discourse. And here, *in ipso limine*, we wish to proclaim our recognition of the comparatively temperate tone of his Sermon; which, indeed, by the side of some publications of his English co-religionists, is moderation itself. Nevertheless, it seems to us calculated to leave on the mind an impression far different from that produced by the writings to which we have just referred.

There are in this discourse particular passages to which we must call attention as we proceed. But there are two or three general principles underlying the drift of Dr. Newman's argu-

¹ Döllinger. 1 vol. (London: Hurst and Blackett.) 1862. Translated by W. B. MacCabe. Of the account of the Roman States here given the *Dublin Review* complained; comparing the author, by way of blame, to Lingard; and calling him a Dryasdust, who simply stuck to facts! Well might a weekly publication term this language 'sublime and unconscious irony!'

Farini.—Translated by Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone. 4 vols. (Murray. 1851.) Vol. IV. translated by a Lady, under the superintendence of Mr. Gladstone.

ment, which ought to be noticed before we touch upon details. For these principles will be found, directly or indirectly, to colour our author's treatment of the entire question. We refer especially to (I.) Dr. Newman's language about the Reformation and the Reformers; (II.) his tone respecting the decay of certain institutions; (III.) the manner in which he seems to ignore the real difficulties attendant upon the clerical administration of those functions of government which are ordinarily entrusted to laymen; (IV.) his appeal to the excellence of the ruler's character.

I. The view of the Reformation supported by Dr. Newman will be fitly introduced by the following passages from the works of two great Roman Catholic theologians of Germany. The first relates to the grounds and causes of the Reformation; the second, to the motives by which Luther and Calvin were actuated.

'We must admit that the anxiety of the German nation to see the *intolerable abuses and scandals* in the Church removed *was fully justified*; and that it sprang *from the better qualities of our people, and from their moral indignation at the desecration and corruption of holy things, which were degraded to selfish and hypocritical purposes*. We do not refuse to admit that the great separation, and the storms and sufferings connected with it, were an awful judgment upon Catholic Christendom, which clergy and laity had but too well deserved—a judgment which has had an improving and salutary effect. The great intellectual conflict has purified the European atmosphere, has impelled the human mind on to new courses, and has promoted a rich scientific and literary life. . . . We have also to acknowledge that in the Church the *rust of abuses, and of a mechanical superstition, is always forming afresh*; that the servants of the Church sometimes, through insolence and incapacity, and the people through ignorance, brutify the spiritual in religion, and so degrade, and deform, and misemploy it to their own injury. The right reforming spirit must therefore never depart from the Church, but, on the contrary, must periodically break out with renovating strength, and penetrate the conscience and the will of the clergy.'¹

'An obstacle, which makes the Lutheran view more pardonable, since it shows that *it sprung out of a true Christian zeal*. . . . The Reformers, *in the excess of a pious zeal*, rejected all exertion on the part of man. . . . It would be in the highest degree unjust if we did not show that, according to the Lutheran system, the renovation of sinful man, the moral change—in a word, *sanctification*—must attach to the confiding reception of the declaration of the forgiveness of sin. . . . Who knows not the brilliant description of faith in his [Luther's] preface to St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans? . . . Here the Reformers were evidently misled by the most vague, most confused, *yet withal honourable feelings*. . . . At all events, it is *highly honourable to his [Calvin's] perspicacity, as well as to his Christian spirit*, that he saw, or at least felt, that by means of mere learned investigation, the believer could obtain no satisfactory result.'²

With these passages may be conjoined the expression of the

¹ Döllinger, *The Church and the Churches*, pp. 17, 18.

² Möhler, *Symbolism* (Eng. Tr.) vol. i. pp. 130—133, 159, 185, 208; and vol. ii. p. 208.

views of another Roman Catholic, the late King of Bavaria, as reported by Dr. Döllinger:—

‘As a sincere Christian, the King was convinced of the permanent future of Christianity, and therefore he could not think that the great division and warfare of the Christian confessions could hopelessly remain for all time, that noble intellects would always be uselessly employed in hurting one another. He thought that separation had, by God’s permission, had its time, and must serve to higher purposes. This time, if it had not elapsed, was near its end, and he therefore believed that, in spite of all polemical bitterness, in spite of all intermingling of impure self-seeking, in spite of the political interests which were always making use of the division for their own objects, a day of reunion would come for Christian nations, the promise of one fold and one Shepherd would be fully accomplished. . . . He saw that the future junction could not be expected in the form of a simple, unaided, mechanical reunion of the divided confessions. It was also clear to him that there could be no thought of a mere absorption of one Church by the other. He thought that a certain process of purification must be gone through on both sides, and it must be recognised that each of the two bodies, though in an unequal degree, had to receive good from the other, each had to purify itself from faults and one-sidedness by the help of the other, to fill up gaps in its religious and ecclesiastical life, to heal wounds; and neither could be expected to give up an actual good which it had proved in life and history. Under these conditions, sooner or later in the heart of Europe, in Germany, the process of reconciliation and union would go on.’¹

Of such sentiments as these we have found but very little trace in Dr. Newman’s publications, since he joined the Church of Rome. We do not know that he has ever, with Möhler, given the continental Reformers any credit for good intentions; or, with Döllinger, admitted that the desire for Reformation sprang ‘from the better qualities of the German people.’ We speak under correction; but, to all appearance, that great movement is, in Dr. Newman’s judgment, simply evil. In the sermon before us it is ‘the Protestant revolt’ (p. 17); ‘Protestantism, that bitter, energetic enemy of the Holy See’ (p. 42). And again (p. 44), ‘the violence of the Reformation . . . it has bred infidels to its confusion.’

It would carry us too far from our present subject to comment properly on these last words; to consider what amount of unbelief has arisen from the licence of Protestantism, and how much from the repression exercised by Rome. We should have to ask whether the infidels, only too sadly numerous and energetic, bred in those countries which accepted the Reformation, had proved worse than Diderot, than Voltaire, than Ernest Renan; all of whom were born and brought up in Roman Catholic France. And, as regards the success of that system of stern and cruel repression exercised before the Reformation, we would fain com-

¹ *Guardian*, June 8, 1864.

mend to the thoughtful reader the following words of a living writer:—

‘There will be, I say, in spite of you, unbelief and immorality to the end of the world, and you must be prepared for immorality more odious, and unbelief more astute, more subtle, more bitter, and more resentful, in proportion as it is obliged to dissemble. . . . The heresies of the East germinated in the West of Europe and in Catholic lecture-rooms with a mysterious vigour, upon which history throws no light. . . . The acutest intellects became sceptics and misbelievers, and the head of the Holy Roman Empire, the Cæsar Frederick the Second, to say nothing of our miserable King John, had the reputation of meditating a profession of Mahometanism. It is said that, in the community at large, men had a vague suspicion and mistrust of each other’s belief in Revelation. A secret society was discovered in the Universities of Lombardy, Tuscany, and France, organized for the propagation of infidel opinions; it was bound together by oaths, and sent its missionaries among the people in the disguise of pedlars and vagrants.

‘The success of such efforts was attested in the south of France by the great extension of the Albigenses, and the prevalence of Manichæan doctrine. The University of Paris was obliged to limit the number of its Doctors in Theology to so few as eight, from misgivings about the orthodoxy of its divines generally. The narrative of Simon of Tournay, struck dead for crying out after a lecture, “Ah, good Jesus, I could disprove Thee, did I please, as easily as I have proved,” whatever be its authenticity, at least may be taken as a representation of the frightful peril to which Christianity was exposed. Amaury of Chartres was the author of a school of Pantheism, and has given his name to a sect; Abelard, Roscelin, Gilbert, and David de Dinant, Tanquelin and Eon, and others who might be named, show the extraordinary influence of anti-Catholic doctrines on high and low. Ten ecclesiastics and several of the populace of Paris were condemned for maintaining that our Lord’s reign was past, that the Holy Ghost was to be incarnate, or for parallel heresies.’

So spoke Dr. Newman, as a Roman Catholic, only a few years since.¹ Surely, then, we may assert that Protestantism is not the only school of thought that has bred infidels. We have no wish to shut our eyes to facts: of course we know where Chubb and Toland, where Hume and Strauss were nurtured. But we also know, and have looked somewhat closely into, the sad biography of Giacomo Leopardi, and most certainly that greatest literary genius of modern Italy was not made an infidel by Protestantism. An inhabitant of the Roman States, a subject of the Pope, he had all those advantages—we should say, all those terrible temptations—which such a mind was sure to meet with in the Rome of the nineteenth century.

And now, earnestly desiring not to be hopelessly one-sided, we quit this portion of our subject with words which sound to us both wise and temperate. ‘The Reformation,’ says an English Bishop, ‘was not the work of a year, or of a generation. *Its*

¹Lectures on University Subjects, pp. 298—304. London: Longman & Co. 1859.

'foundation was laid both in the good and in the evil qualities of our nature. Love of truth, reverence for sacred things, a sense of personal responsibility, a desire for the possession of full spiritual privileges, co-operated with the pride of human reason, the natural impatience of restraint, and the envy and hatred inspired among the nobles by a rich and powerful hierarchy, to make the world weary of the papal domination, and desirous of reform in things spiritual and ecclesiastical.'

II. We turn to the consideration of our author's sentiments respecting decaying institutions. It will be necessary, in the first place, to state our own.

We confess, then, to belong to that school of historic students who believe that, as a *general* rule, nothing is crushed from without until it is ripe to perish from within. Such ripeness for ruin and overthrow may arise from one of two causes; or, as is perhaps more common, from a combination of both. The first cause is, that an institution which was admirably adapted for a certain state of manners and society has done its work; and 'that which decayeth and waxeth old is nigh to vanishing away.' Its good elements are less needed than heretofore; its less benignant features have become more prominent. Look at feudalism. Writers of a temper not likely to be unduly favourable to that *régime*, such as Froude, and a far greater historian, Sismondi, have dilated with force and eloquence on the beneficial effects wrought by the feudal system in the Middle Ages; on its many noble characteristics; the love, and reverence, and reciprocity of sentiment between high and lowly which it called forth. Shall we therefore regret that, at length, it came to an end? A poet answers, Yes:—

'Tis sad to watch Time's desolating hand
Doom noblest things to premature decay:
The feudal court, the patriarchal sway
Of kings.'

Granted: if the decay were really premature; if the feudal court came near to the fulfilment of its ideal; if kings still cherished the truly patriarchal spirit. But how seldom is this the case! How much nearer the real state of things are the well-known words of the Laureate:—

'The old order changeth, yielding place to new,
And God fulfils Himself in many ways,
Lest one good custom should corrupt the world.'

Much more when the good custom includes some deeply dangerous elements. 'I would not have spared the blood of my body or the guilt of my soul to serve the house of Glenallan,' is a speech

¹ Dr. Harold Browne, Bishop of Ely. Preface to his work on the Thirty-nine Articles.

that embodies, we believe, the true spirit of feudalism in its more unlovely aspects.

Now, with all respect, we wish to assert that the discourse before us exhibits to our mind only a partial and faltering recognition of these important truths. Thus, for example, from the way in which the loss of temporal power by the prince-bishops is spoken of by Dr. Newman (pp. 17, 18), the impression left on the mind of a hearer would probably be, that this change arose from a simple act of wrong-doing on the part of the world towards the Church. We venture to see in it a natural result of social progress on the one hand, and forfeiture often incurred by the fault of the holders on the other.

Firstly, a natural result of social progress. More complex forms of society generally tend towards division of labour. The increased education of the laity rendered it less necessary to apply to the clergy for a due execution of the offices of secular government. Although men of versatile genius have unquestionably fulfilled with signal success the combined offices of priests and statesmen: yet too often has one class of duties been merged in the other. Few think of a Cardinal Richelieu, or a Cardinal Mazarin, as princes of the Church; they are regarded simply in the light of prime ministers, who were practically laymen. Even of a later and far milder specimen of the class, Cardinal Fleury, Lacretelle has said, '*l'homme de cour paroissoit plus en lui que le prêtre; . . . sur tout autre point que celui de la cupidité, il avoit la morale des courtisans.*'¹ This is a danger which S. Bernard, in the twelfth century; the historian Fleury, in the eighteenth; and the spiritually-minded Antonio Rosmini, in our day, have all dwelt upon. S. Bernard was indeed far from desiring the overthrow of the temporal power of the Popes, and was strongly moved against the Romans of his day, by reason of their conduct towards the reigning Pontiff, his friend Eugenius. But he more than hints at the presence of worldliness and avarice in Rome. 'Who will vouchsafe to me,' he writes to Eugenius, 'before I die, to behold the Church of God as she was in the days of old: when Apostles let down their nets for a draught, not a draught of silver or gold, but a draught of souls? How do I long that thou shouldst inherit the voice of him, whose seat thou hast obtained. *Thy money, said he, perish with thee. O voice of thunder! O voice of grandeur and of excellence! May all who hate Sion be confounded and turned backward at its dread sound. This does thy mother earnestly expect, and indeed demand of thee; for this do the sons of thy mother, the little*

¹ Tome ii. lib. vii. cit. ap. Sismondi, *Hist. des Français*, tome xxviii. p. 154. It is fair to add that Sismondi's own remarks tend to show the existence of some very Christian elements in the character of Cardinal Fleury.

‘ones with the elders, yearn and sigh ; that every plant, which
‘the heavenly Father hath not planted, may be rooted up by
‘thy hands.’¹ We may also here cite a passage from a dis-
course by Fleury. It is perhaps somewhat over-strained ; never-
theless, it is desirable that this side of the case should be fairly
contemplated :—

‘Since the bishops have found themselves to be lords, and associated
in the government of States, they have thought that they possessed as
bishops what in fact only belonged to them as lords, and have insisted on
their right to judge sovereigns, not only in the confessional, but also in
councils ; and the sovereigns (ill-informed touching their own rights, as
for instance, Charles the Bald and Louis d’Outre Mer) did not contest
that authority. The ceremony of consecration, introduced about the
middle of the eighth century, answered well as a cloak for this claim, as
it appeared that the bishops, in placing the crown on the new kings, gave
them the kingdom on God’s behalf. . . . The Popes, rightly believing
themselves to possess equal, or even greater, authority than the bishops,
very soon began to undertake the regulating of differences between sove-
reigns, not in the way of mediation and intercession only, but in an authori-
tative manner, which was, in fact, disposing of crowns. . . . Behold to
what a pitch the inconveniences of the alliance between the episcopal
dignity and temporal lordships were carried. In those less enlightened
times, it was believed that to be bishop and lord was better than to be
simply bishop ; but it was not taken into consideration that the lord
injures the bishop, as we unhappily see even at this present time [about
A.D. 1700] in Germany and Poland. Under these circumstances, truly
Hesiod’s wise maxim is good, that half is better than the whole. But why
refer to Hesiod ? We have the teaching of Jesus Christ Himself, who
said that virtue when alone is better than virtue accompanied by riches.
In that confusion of the two powers, even the seculars, on their side, arro-
gated to themselves that which did not belong to them. Often the lords
would put priests into churches on their lands, without any participation
of the bishop. Kings claimed to dispose of bishoprics, although freedom
of election was ordered by the Councils. The learned Florus (deacon in
the church at Lyons) remarks, and very rightly, that under the Roman
Empire, neither the emperors nor the magistrates usually interfered in
the election of bishops, or in the ordination of priests, because then the
bishops had no temporal power, as indeed they never have had in the
Greek Empire. But, in the kingdoms formed out of the ruins of the Western
Empire, the bishops were so powerful that the sovereigns’ interests de-
manded that those dignities should be conferred on persons not suspected
by them : for this cause the consent of the prince was necessary even in
the most canonical elections. What I have said of the bishops must be
taken as equally applicable to abbots, &c.

Or consider again the following comments upon the conduct
of certain mediæval statesmen-bishops, engaged in the contest
with the German Emperors :—

‘Thus it happened at the German Court ; and a great misfortune it
was that its courtiers were bishops. These struggled amongst themselves

¹ Epistola cccxxxix. § 6.

² Troisième Discours sur l’Histoire ecclésiastique. Not having this work of
Fleury’s at hand, we translate from the Italian version of the passage as given by
Filalete.

to seize the helm of state, and Henry grew up wild with vices; and, what was worse, those ambitious prelates left in his childish heart evil recollections, which were the cause of his being at a later period so irreverent to the priesthood. Henry was a bad prince, but those bishops were worse, who by their domestic scandals had made him bad.

'Hanno, Archbishop of Cologne, instigated Sigefried of Magonza, and Adalbert of Brema, and the three raised complaints against Agnes's government; and, in order to give them some show of justice, they spread rumours against the fair fame of that excellent princess. . . . These were pure calumnies; and if afterwards his opposition to the Antipope won for Hanno the title of Saint, assuredly that slander of the virtuous Empress was a great disgrace to him.'

This passage is not cited, as some readers might imagine, from the pages of Sir James Stephen (although that brilliant essayist may be said to have anticipated it); but it is simply translated from a volume of the distinguished Benedictine monk of Monte Cassino, Luigi Tosti.¹ The question may be brought nearer our own time, by the citation of some remarks made by an English Roman Catholic, the biographer of Möhler, Mr. James Burton Robertson.

And here, once for all, we must apologize for making this paper so much like a mere string of extracts. It would be no doubt far more artistic, more agreeable to the writer, and far more pleasant to the reader, if in every case these passages were to be reproduced in a fresh shape, and woven into one continuous argument. But we fear lest in that case we might be suspected of unconsciously warping the sense of the writers whom we quote. It may be added, that in some instances (the Italian pamphlet by Massimo d'Azeglio is eminently here in point), the tone and temper of the writers is hardly less important than the substance of their allegations. We must, therefore, beg for patience on the part of our readers, and can only trust that, if they will but persevere to the end of this paper, they will find themselves in possession of a more solid and trustworthy mass of facts than would have been gained, if we had adhered to the more usual form of proceeding. The following is the language of Mr. Robertson. He is speaking of the period between the Reformation and the great French Revolution of 1789:—

'The number of ecclesiastical principalities of Germany, though on the whole conducive to the temporal welfare of the people, were, in a spiritual point of view, attended with great disadvantages. The prelates, too exclusively engaged with cares of state, often entirely abandoned to their coadjutors the spiritual administration of their dioceses; and there were instances in the last century, where the character of the bishop seemed entirely merged in that of the prince.² . . . The members of the German

¹ *La Contessa Matilde e i Romani Pontifici*. Firenze: Barbèra, 1859. (Pp. 85, 6.)

² 'An anecdote illustrative of the observation in the text is related of one of the Electors of Mayence in the last century. Passing in his carriage one day

Chapter, thus exclusively composed, were too often listless and given up to ease, indifferent to literature, little concerned about the great objects and interests of the Church, and evincing activity only in the obscure intrigues that preceded and accompanied the election of a bishop.’

The fact alleged in this last passage seems to us to be all but totally ignored by Dr. Newman in the sermon under review. Any one gathering his ideas of the matter solely from his sermon, might suppose that the faults which led to the suppression of the prince-bishoprics had been wholly and entirely on one side; that their overthrow was simply a wicked and unprovoked act of spoliation. We submit that nothing can be more one-sided and incorrect than such a view.

III. But we pass onward to the third feature, namely, the manner in which Dr. Newman seems to ignore the real difficulties attendant upon the clerical administration of those functions of government which in our times are ordinarily entrusted to laymen.

We have made reference to cases, such as those of Mazarin, or the Archbishop of Mayence, in which the statesman, so to speak, devoured the ecclesiastic. Let us now turn to those in which the ecclesiastic is true to the spirit of his own profession.

There are three great circles of thought, those of ethics, theology, and jurisprudence, which frequently indeed coincide, but which all have special spheres and provinces of their own. The connexion between the two first-named is of the closest; for revealed religion includes a republication of the moral law; and he who offends against a pure code of ethics is at the same time guilty of a sin in the judgment of divines. But the sphere of jurisprudence diverges more widely. The sin of thought, so solemnly condemned in that great repertory of Christian morals, the Sermon on the Mount, lies entirely out of the reach of earthly law; the drunkard who keeps within his home, the man who is guilty of the basest ingratitude to his friend, are justly condemned, both by the moralist and the theologian; but they do not come within the reach of the civil magistrate.

Now the habits of mind cultivated by the divine and by the legist are, in many respects, essentially distinct. Each phase of thought has its own peculiar virtues; each has its own special dangers and temptation. A similar remark would hold good as

through the streets of his capital, he saw a man taken suddenly very ill. He stopped his carriage, and bade his footman fetch a clergyman from a neighbouring church; and seemed totally to forget that he himself was invested with powers to render the poor man spiritual aid.

‘Yet there were other ecclesiastical potentates (and among these the Prince-Bishops of Würzburg), who to the last remained true to the spirit of their sacred profession, and spent their ample revenues in promoting the interests of religion, and the moral and temporal well-being of their subjects.’—Note by Mr. Robertson.

regards the functions of the ecclesiastic and the statesman, as distinguished from the judge. Consequently, any system which demands from its rulers the combination of gifts required for these several offices must *ipso facto* be adding very considerably to the difficulties attendant upon all government.

Dr. Newman speaks of the defunct prince-bishoprics and of the Papal rule in almost the same manner, as if they were completely similar. Such an incorrectness may be excusable in a sermon, because its brevity necessitates general statements: but a very considerable incorrectness it is, as has before been pointed out in the pages of this Review.¹ The Pope's temporal government is both better and worse than was that of the prince-bishops: better, in one remarkable feature; in other respects far worse. Its point of superiority lies in the free, noble, and varied manner in which the Sovereign Pontiffs have constantly thrown open the cardinalate. The chapters surrounding the prince-bishops of Germany had become solely and exclusively a body of nobly-born canons: and when once any society has resolved to keep out all admixture of fresh blood, its existence is doomed, and its overthrow is simply a question of time. The popes, without any unwise lapse into the opposite extreme, have again and again elevated the son of the peasant to a seat by the side of the son of an emperor; thus endeavouring, as Mr. Robertson well remarks,² to blend moderation and dignity with an ever fresh stream of energy, talent, and popular sympathy.

But in most other respects the Papal government has been far inferior to that of *good* prince-bishops in Germany, such as those of Würzburg. These last fell—the few good ones, partly because they were felt to be an anachronism, partly through the error of which we have just spoken:—the bad ones by the additional weight of their own excessive pomp and neglect of duty. But from one great source of mischief they had been comparatively, if not entirely, free. Although the head of each small state was an ecclesiastic, yet the civil officers employed under him were, as a general rule, laymen. In the Papal states, the rule is precisely the reverse; and this circumstance, respecting which Dr. Newman preserves entire silence, has produced evils of extraordinary magnitude.

A lay judge, trained in legal habits of mind, desires above all things that a prisoner should be *legally* convicted before he is punished. To tell him that a man is *morally* guilty is of no avail. He remits such cases to the moralist to deal with, and demands solid proof, on external testimony, of the man's crime: testimony, moreover, for the most part sifted by the skill of an

¹ *Christian Remembrancer* for April, 1862 (vol. xliii. pp. 285, 286.)

² *Memoir of Möhler*, p. xi.

opposing advocate. Now the ecclesiastic, speaking generally (we admit, of course, extraordinary exceptions), is unaccustomed to this judicial temper. Take for example the following case, which we give in the words of Mr. Gladstone :—

‘Under Leo XII. Cardinal Rivarola went as Legate *à latere* into Romagna. On the 31st of August, 1825, he pronounced sentence on five hundred and eight persons. Seven of these were to suffer death; forty-nine were to undergo hard labour for terms varying between ten years and life; fifty-two were to be imprisoned for similar terms. *These sentences were pronounced privately, at the simple will of the Cardinal,* upon mere presumptions that the parties belonged to the liberal sects; and, what is to the ear of an Englishman the most astounding fact of all, after a process simply analogous to that of a grand jury (I compare the process, not the persons), and without any opportunity given to the accused for defence.’¹

Mr. Lyons, whose despatches are admitted to have been eminently fair, remarks of the Court of Rome, ‘that it shows ‘an extraordinary disregard to laws and forms in its dealings ‘with its subjects; and seems almost always to assume an ‘arbitrary power to act in each matter according to the circumstances of the moment.’ Döllinger, who cites these words, mentions a case of a governor declaring that, *for want of proof*, the accused could not be convicted, but still he should be punished with imprisonment! There are those who seem to imply that such things are *not* grievances, or are not felt as such. We shall believe them, when they have proved that the human mind is differently constituted in the Roman states from the way in which it is constituted in other parts of Europe.

We might give other instances of this injudicial temper. But we pass onward to a cognate defect of the Papal government, which seems to be almost imbedded in the system.

If any one were to refer to a modern work of Roman casuistry (say, for example, the two able volumes on ‘*Théologie Morale*,’ by the Archbishop of Rheims, Monsignor Gousset²) he would find an extremely large list of callings which are considered in the present age to afford grounds of exemption from observation of the days of fast and abstinence. Numbers of Frenchmen among those thus exempted would probably seek formal permission from the proper ecclesiastical authorities; but whether they did or did not take this step would be regarded in France, as in Belgium, Austria, and other countries of the Roman obedience, as simply a matter between themselves and their consciences, with which the temporal government could have no possible concern.

Now let us look at the Roman states in the year of grace

¹ Letter II. to the Earl of Aberdeen. London: Murray. 1851. Fifth Edition. Balbo (*Storia d'Italia*); Cantù (*Cento Anni*); Döllinger (*Church and Churches*), as well as Farini, all give the same account; but there seems to be a slight confusion in some of them as regards dates.

² Paris: Lecoffre, 1850.

1856. In that year the Inquisitor Airaldi published an edict which called for the denunciation of every *ecclesiastical* and *religious* offence which might come to the knowledge of others. A maid-servant was bound to inform the Inquisition, if any person in the house where she lived had eaten meat on a Friday or Saturday evening. The maid-servant who failed to do this became liable to excommunication and to punishment. Now will the English defenders of the Papal government condescend to notice facts of this sort, and honour us with a plain reply to the simple question, *Is such an edict, or is it not, a mark of good government?* The *Civiltà Cattolica*, the organ of the Jesuits in Rome, a paper specially patronized by the Pope, *has* given a reply. It declared, in its issue of December 20th, 1856, that 'Airaldi had only done his duty.' This announcement is plain, frank, intelligible. We gather from it that, in the judgment of the chief organ of the Papal government, it is a simple act of duty to make a maid-servant a spy upon the acts of her master, and to threaten her with punishments, spiritual and temporal, if she does not reveal to constituted authorities the results of her *espionnage*. And as, of course, acts of duty on the part of governors ought to be accepted with thankfulness by all good persons among the governed, the knowledge that his servants stood to him in those relations ought, we suppose, to be a matter of sincere gratification to all dutiful subjects of the Sovereign Pontiff.

From German Roman Catholics, such as Dr. Döllinger, we also obtain a reply as clear and simple as that given in the *Civiltà*. But it does not accord with that of the *Civiltà*. From English Roman Catholic publications we can get no reply whatever.

Both Mr. Robertson and Dr. Döllinger select the Prince-bishop of Würzburg as the model of an ecclesiastical ruler. It is remarkable that this esteemed potentate conducted his government through lay administrators. Now in the Roman states the lotteries, theatres, houses of public amusement, and the *police*, are all under the care of priests. We deplore and execrate the heinous crime of the miscreant, whoever he was, who cut short the life of Rossi by a dagger. If any man could have re-organized the miserable confusion of the Papal states, Pellegrino Rossi was the man. But it is well known that he insisted on a very considerable modification, in this respect, of the mode of administering the states of the Church.

Cicero has few warmer admirers than Dr. Newman. That philosophic statesman warns us against all undue clemency, undue severity, and partiality in the infliction of punishments. 'Ita probanda est mansuetudo atque clementia, ut adhibeatur,

'reipublicæ causâ, severitas; sine quâ administrari civitas non potest. . . . Cavendum est etiam ne major pœna quàm culpa sit: et ne iisdem de causis alii plectantur, alii ne appellentur quidem.'¹ We much fear that Cicero *redivivus* would complain of the existence of *all* these errors in the Pontifical government of that city which he saved as Consul.

Not that we mean that any state completely succeeds in avoiding such faults. But in one country they may be rare, occasional, and more or less mitigated; in another common, frequent, and unmitigated. We regard it certainly as a sad blot on the history of British justice, that Dr. Newman should have been condemned to pay even a fine of 100*l.* as the result of the suit of Dr. Achilli against him; nor did we ever meet with any set of gentlemen who thought otherwise on this subject.² Yet even here there were surely some elements of mitigation. The conduct of the jury, of whom Sir Alexander Cockburn (now Chief Justice) declared 'that he never saw men so prejudiced;' the lamentable greediness for popular applause displayed by Lord Campbell: these features of the case can only be named in order to be condemned, and to be held up as a warning to posterity. But the remaining judges of the court took care to intimate their unanimous dissent from portions of the verdict; the fine was fixed at a sum which indicated, with unmistakeable clearness, what the authorities of the Queen's Bench thought of the amount of damage done to the character of the prosecutor: while the evidence, and the splendid speech of Sir A. Cockburn, left that prosecutor in such a plight that even Exeter Hall credulity broke down under the strain. Does any sane man doubt with whom the substantial victory lay? Wronged as he was, John Henry Newman had enjoyed and used his liberty of speech; and might, even in this moment of apparent defeat, feel that the Laureate's boast concerning England was no merely idle vaunt—

'It is the land that freemen till,
That sober-suited freedom chose;
A land where, girt with friends or foes,
A man may speak the thing he will.'

¹ De Officiis, Lib. i. cap. 25.

² A brilliant novelist, a great admirer of Dr. Newman, has left on record his opinion. 'Do you see yonder that stout gentleman with snuff on his shirt? the eloquent Dr. McGuffog, of Edinburgh, talking to Dr. Ettore, who lately escaped from the Inquisition at Rome in the disguise of a washerwoman, after undergoing the question several times, the rack, and the thumbscrew. They say that he was to have been burned in the Grand Square the next morning; but between ourselves, my dear Colonel, I mistrust these stories of converts and martyrs.'—*The Newcomes*, chap. viii.

Thackeray was fond of thus suggesting names: Hector to bring up the thought of his rival—'raptaverat Hectora—corpus vendebat Achilles.' So Messrs. Winsor and Newton, who supply artists, appear in this same tale as Messrs. Soap and Isaac [Windsor Soap and Sir Isaac Newton].

But if this famous trial revealed anew the deep and hopelessly unjust prejudices of the average British jurymen; if it showed that there was one judge who, despite his previous protestations to the contrary, could descend even on the bench to the most miserable clap-trap; yet the waves of its influence broke into further circles than those of the seas which wash the shores of England. The further question inevitably arose: You, authorities of the city of Rome; you, who knew what this man was—what earthly consideration induced you to go on intrusting to his care the most responsible and delicate functions? This man, who in Germany would have been visited, says Dollinger, 'with an infamous punishment in a convict prison, was arraigned before the ecclesiastical courts in Rome, and was there treated with an indulgence such as it would have been impossible to meet with in any other country.' It also appeared that, despite of the condemnation passed upon him by the Provincial of his Order, he had been taken as an associate and attendant in visitations, and that he was afterwards made a Professor in the College of Minerva at Rome, and then sent as a preacher to Capua.¹

It is sometimes asserted, it is more frequently implied, by Roman Catholic speakers and writers, that we 'English Protestants,' as they delight to call us *en masse*, are so prejudiced as to be unable to be fair even when we desire it. We are quite unable, on our part, to perceive that members of the Reformed communions enjoy a monopoly of prejudice. But as regards ourselves, we can only declare our earnest desire to be fair; and leave it to impartial judges, if such can anywhere be found, to decide upon the success or the failure of our endeavours. We have already made some admissions respecting the Achilli case, and we desire to make a few more before proceeding any further.

Let it, then, be fully and frankly admitted that scandals do occur in *all* religious communities; and that such communities are justified in adopting every fair and reasonable method of hiding them, provided that this can be effected without great injury on others. If a very sacred illustration may be adduced without irreverence, we may just allude to the conduct of S. Joseph; who not only (as Archbishop Trench has well remarked) was anxious to pardon one who must have *seemed* to be guilty of a grievous wrong towards him, but also intended to have kept the supposed sin from public knowledge.²

¹ The Church and the Churches. (Eng. Tr.) p. 399. 'It was in the *Dublin Review* of June, 1850—a [Roman] Catholic periodical, published under the patronage of Cardinal Wiseman—that these facts were first brought to light.'—Note by Dr. Dollinger, *ubi supra*.

² S. Matthew i. 19.

Let it be further admitted—it is at the least the belief of the present writer—that such scandals as that of Achilli are not common in Rome. Bishop Burnet in his day, Mr. Dicey in our day—both extremely anti-Roman writers—have remarked on the great outward decorum of Rome; and for our part we are far from thinking that it has been an outward decorum only. On the contrary we believe, and it is one of the strong points on behalf of the temporal power, that Rome was up to the time of the French occupation a decidedly moral city. We do not, of course, intend to intimate that, in a population of 150,000 souls, there were no bad and immoral persons; but we do mean that, comparing it with other cities of the same size, with Florence or Milan, with Leeds or Edinburgh, we suppose it to have enjoyed a real and marked superiority.¹ That such superiority has been very seriously impaired by the presence of the French regiments since 1848 seems to admit of no reasonable doubt; though we have not sufficient evidence to judge of the proportions which the mischief has attained.

But the point on which we here desire to insist is this: that, if once a case of crime does come before tribunals, it is fatal to confidence, it is a real and deep grievance, if the public learn that a priest is treated in one way, a layman in another. Mr. John Stuart Mill, in his very powerful critique upon Michelet, observes that in the time of à Becket a priest had no chance of a fair trial before a lay tribunal: and it is on this ground that the resistance of that primate to the Constitutions of Clarendon may be justified. Very opposite to this state of things is the condition of Rome under the Sovereign Pontiffs. Towards the clergy there has *not* been exercised that wholesome severity which Cicero pronounced to be indispensable to good government. If a priest and a layman have been participators in the same crime, not only must they be tried by different courts of justice, but the priest is subjected to a milder form of punishment—*un grado*

¹ Mr. Dicey ('Rome in 1860') is against us here: but to us his chapter on the subject is not conclusive. The following remarks of this writer (cited, we admit, *ex parte*) deserve consideration. 'Rome is, externally, the most moral and decorous of European cities. . . . From various motives this feature is, I think, but seldom brought prominently forward in descriptions of the Papal city. Protestant and liberal writers slur over the facts, because, however erroneously, they are deemed inconsistent with the assumed iniquity of the Government and the corruptions of the Papacy. . . . All the amusements are regulated with the strictest regard to their morals. . . . In the print-shops one never sees a picture which even verges on impropriety. . . . Not only is vice kept out of sight. . . . but its private haunts and resorts are absolutely and literally suppressed. In fact, if priest-rule were deposed, and our own Sabbatarians and Total Abstinence men and Societies for the Suppression of Vice reigned in its stead, I doubt if Rome could be made more outwardly decorous than it is at present.' For the other side, see Mr. D.'s book (Macmillan, 1861.) The Positivist, M. Taine, employs ambiguous language: but on the whole seems to doubt the morality of Rome.

(says the text of the existing law)—*un grado di minorazione di pena*. Well might Massimo d'Azeglio assert, that 'an inverse proportion of punishment would be the more righteous.'

We may have occasion, before we conclude, to draw attention to the case of Canon Reali. We are indeed far from forgetting, or from wishing our readers to forget, that the statement of the case is in some measure an *ex parte* one. Yet when this very distinguished theologian declares that a particular person has been made a bishop to avoid a pecuniary scandal, how can we—with the Achilli case before us—declare such a statement to be *à priori* impossible or incredible? And then again, how does the following *literal* translation of an authoritative document tend to exalt our notions of the administration of justice in Rome?—

'It was in truth to be hoped that the Presbyter Eusebius Reali, of the congregation of Canons Regular of the Most Holy Saviour of the Lateran, after having publicly retracted his errors committed in times past, would perfectly keep the promise which he had made. But it is clearly evident from public acts that he has returned to his vomit (*ipsum ad vomitum rediisse*), and has entered upon a course of life, which is not only unfitting a religious (*viro religioso*), but which gives cause of scandal and grievous offence to Christian people. Since, then, he is a disgrace and an injury to the congregation of which he is a member, and no hope of his amendment can be seen, our most holy Lord Pius, ninth of the name, has thought it good, albeit with unwilling mind, that the diseased sheep should be separated from his brethren. Consequently he intrusts it to the Father Abbot General of the aforesaid congregation, that he should proceed against him [Reali] to the length of expulsion, without going through the prescribed forms (*omissis præscriptis formis*), and declares him expelled, all obstacles notwithstanding (*expulsumque esse declarat. Contrariis quibuscunque non obstantibus*).

'Given at Rome, from the Secretariate of the Sacred Congregation of Bishops and Regulars, on this 13th day of July, 1861.

(Signed)

'N. CARDINAL PARACCIANI CLARELLI, *Prefect*.

'A. ARCHBISHOP OF PHILIPPI, *Secretary*.'

It may be said that this document makes against our allegation; for is it not a case of a *priest* being severely treated? We reply that the contrariety exists in appearance only, not in reality. We were speaking of priests charged with *moral* offences. Canon Reali declares that *his* offence has been the publication of a book against the temporal power of the Pope, and a warm sympathy with the cause of Italian unity. He asserts that he *never* made any retraction such as is named in the above document; that he took no more than the usual holiday; and he challenges the fullest inquiry. His great learning, his unblemished character, and his antecedents generally, plead loudly on behalf of a fair hearing. For the present, it is enough to ask whether in any *other* realm of Europe a man could be expelled from a post of

dignity by a document containing expressions of a grievously insulting character, and *omissis præscriptis formis*?

A great part of the remainder of this article must necessarily be occupied with the illustration of the point urged in this section; namely, the great difficulty attendant upon such a temporal government as that at present exercised in Rome. But let it for the moment be dismissed with the following words of Dr. Döllinger:—

‘It is further not to be denied that for a hundred years a tendency to secularization has passed through the whole of Europe. The union of spiritual dignities with temporal officialism has, henceforward, no sympathy to reckon on from the nations of Europe. Even the German spiritual principalities, in which, unlike the Papal States, the administration was chiefly in lay hands, have been destroyed, not merely by revolution, but by public opinion, which saw in them something foreign to the age, unnatural, a ruin of the past; and since 1814 not a single voice has been raised for their restoration. In our time, therefore, an union of temporal functions and action with the ecclesiastical is no longer an element of strength, but of weakness. Nothing gives rise to more bitter feelings than the application of secular governmental measures, or even of the power and chastisement of the police, to effect religious purposes; or the reverse, the application of religious means to political objects. . . . It is difficult to reject the opinion that lay hands are better suited to direct the action of state and police, with their manifold increasing material wants and cares; they are better suited than those of priests for a police and administrative omnipotence, a care for lotteries, theatres, gaming-houses, and houses of public entertainment, for managing passports and manufactures.’¹

IV. We have now to consider what force of argument lies in Dr. Newman’s appeal to the unquestioned and unquestionable excellence of the reigning Pontiff’s private character.

A great majority of the most philosophic among the Fathers, of metaphysicians both Platonic and Aristotelian, perhaps of the Schoolmen, certainly of modern psychologists, maintain that the soul is a simple substance; and that though, for convenience sake, we speak of its various faculties, these are in reality only different ways and modes by which the soul can exert herself. Nevertheless, forasmuch as we do seem to see certain souls employing their energy in one direction rather than another; in the employment, for instance, of the cognitive rather than of the emotional faculties, or the reverse; we are accustomed, in common parlance, to speak of the gifts of head and heart as being distinct, and at times apparently opposed. The novelist who recently gave the world ‘A Strange Story,’ which portrayed a being possessed of one set of faculties only, was of course, most literally ‘romancing;’ but his wild conception was still perfectly intelligible.

There are positions which summon into activity one class of

¹ The Church and the Churches, pp. 460, 464.

the soul's faculties rather than another. The greatest woman whom the Church of Rome has ever canonized, S. Theresa of Spain, is reported to have said that a spiritual director ought to be both learned and devout; but that, if both gifts could not be found in one man, it were better to have the learning without the devotion, than the devotion without the learning. The late Dr. Faber, citing this statement in one of his works, declares, 'that of all this saint's wise words, and they are innumerable, 'she never uttered one that was more like herself than that.'

Now, *mutatis mutandis*, this sentiment, whether sound or not in itself, may surely be transferred with safety to the science of temporal government. A ruler should, if possible, be at once able and good. Sanctified intellect is a grand and ennobling spectacle, whensoever and wheresoever it is manifested; but seldom grander than when witnessed on the throne of a mighty people. Such a sight we recognize in our own Alfred: such a memory does France, nay Europe, honour in the sainted Louis IX., 'The noblest and holiest of monarchs,' says Dr. Arnold; 'Perhaps,' writes Hallam, 'the most eminent pattern of unswerving probity and Christian strictness of conscience, that ever held the sceptre in any country.' 'Where,'—asks Keble concerning the thirteenth century,

'Where shall the holy Cross find rest?
On a crown'd monarch's mail'd breast:
Like some bright angel o'er the darkling scene,
Through court and camp he holds his heavenward course serene.'

A saint upon a throne, a Daniel or a Nehemiah in kings' courts, endowed with the gifts of mind which are needed for a sovereign or a statesman: what Christian but desires that such events were more frequent than they are or have been? But alas! just as the penetrative gaze of that famous *Española* was compelled to consider the possibility of learning and devotion being found apart; even so too must we, alike in social intercourse and in political life, too often expect to find severed asunder the qualities which we would gladly see united. 'Is it not a pity,' says a lively tale-writer, 'that people who are bright and clever should so often be exceedingly improper; and that those who are never improper should so often be dull and heavy?' Yes, it is a pity; in the sense that a distorted and disjointed state of things is altogether a pity. The world would be far other than it is, if all good persons were clever and attractive, all bad ones stupid and repulsive. It would be far other than it is, if the immoral, the irreligious, the unscrupulous never combined with their faults great intellectual gifts and some really high and noble qualities; if the philanthropic, the patriotic

and the devout were always as judicious in their choice of means, as they are zealous and single-hearted in their ends.

It may be said that this is an afflicting view of human nature. We think that it is so. But if it be a true view, if it be a part of our sad inheritance from the fall of our first parents, then it is simply idle to ignore it; foolish to attempt to think and speak, as if the case stood otherwise.

Look for a moment at the Emperor Julian. Who but must deplore, with awe and sorrow, his apostasy from the faith of Christ? And yet never did the 'great and grave' Prudentius better vindicate his claim to be the *Christian* poet of his era than when he showed that he had the eye to see, and the courage to proclaim, that this enemy of the Cross was of the bravest as a general, of the most justly famed as a legislator, in speech and act a well-wisher to his country, and, though faithless to his God yet not faithless to the lower interests of the Empire—

'Ductor fortissimus armis;
Conditor et legum celeberrimus; ore manūque
Consultor patriæ; . . .

Perfidus ille Deo, sed non et perfidus orbi.'¹

Or think of such an one as Henry IV. of France, known in earlier life as Henry of Navarre. His private life is simply scandalous, and merits the severest reprobation. But it would be mere partizanship and contempt for the truth of history, were we to deny that, as a sovereign, he fairly earned that love which rendered him, for at least two succeeding centuries, a native idol. His gaiety of valour, his cheerfulness and endurance, his earnest (and, for his lifetime, successful) endeavours to blend in one the classes that had been at variance, his faithful toil, in company with his great minister Sully, at the entire machinery of government—these things cannot possibly be ignored by any fair and just narrator.²

Let us look at an instance on the other side. It would not be easy to name a premier of Great Britain more honourable, courteous, dignified, and unimpeachable in all the relations of private life, than was Spencer Perceval. Does it necessarily follow, that he was acting wisely and justly when he resolved to run the risk of rebellion in Ireland rather than concede the right of voting to Roman Catholics? Or must we not in part at least adopt the well-known words of Sidney Smith?—'You spend a great deal of ink about the character of the present prime minister. Grant you all that you write—I say, I fear he will

¹ Apotheosis 450. Cit. ap. Gibbon, chap. xxii. *sub fin.*

² The merits both of Julian and of Henri Quatre have received ample recognition from Prince Albert de Broglie.

'ruin Ireland, and pursue a line of policy destructive to the true interest of his country; and then you tell me, he is faithful to Mrs. Percival and kind to the Master Percevals! These are, undoubtedly, the first qualifications to be looked to in a time of the most serious public danger; but, somehow or another (if public and private virtues must always be incompatible), I should prefer that he owed for the veal of the preceding year, whipped his boys, and saved his country.'

We may seem to have made a long and needless digression in order to prove positions which none will question. Our apology must be, that these truisms appear to be, if not actually contradicted, at least all but totally ignored, in the remarkable discourse which we have undertaken to review.

Excepting in the way of occasional allusion, we do not intend to go further back than the year 1814. We select this date, at which the Popes were restored to their dominions by the Congress of Vienna; partly, because we naturally desire to limit the range of questions which might else require a volume; and partly, because it was at that epoch that the present form of Papal government was instituted.

Since that date there have been elected to the Pontifical throne: Leo XII. in 1823; Pius VIII. in 1829; Gregory XVI. in 1831; Pius IX. in 1846. Now against the private character of these Pontiffs we have not one word to urge; nor would we deny the fitness of each one of them for the office of a Christian bishop. But the peculiarity of their position required that they should be fitted for temporal rule likewise, and we ask, Of which one of them can it be truly affirmed that he displayed any great capacity for secular government?

Leo XII. was 'chosen partly on account of his opinions, and partly also because he was sickly, frail, and had the appearance of one likely to die very soon. He made Cardinal della Somaglia his minister—a man eighty years of age, and not of active habits. And so, at a most difficult and perilous period, when there was much required to be done, to be regulated, to be created, *the destiny of the country was placed in the hands of two grey-haired valetudinarians, weary of life and just dropping into the grave.*' So speaks Döllinger,¹ appealing to the evidence of the French Consul cited by Artaud,² and of Chateaubriand in his *Memoires*.³ The veto which France, Spain, and Austria each enjoy with reference to one particular candidate for this elective monarchy was on this occasion exercised by Austria against Cardinal Severoli. Lest, however, we should seem to be resting too exclusively on one single authority who, with all his genius,

¹ *Ubi supra*, p. 380.

² *Histoire de Leo XII.* tome i. p. 130.

³ viii. 215, Ed. Berlin.

learning, and truthfulness, is still a German of the Germans, we will here summon into court an Italian witness, the historian Cesare Cantù. Let it be observed, that Cantù and Count Cesare Balbo are of all the distinguished living authors of Italy by several degrees the most pro-Papal:—

‘Leo XII. succeeded, 1823 . . . and gave to ecclesiastics the sole right of instituting and of judging even lay causes. . . . He re-established the Holy Office . . . replaced the Latin language in law courts and in the universities . . . entrusted the College of Rome to the Jesuits; and mixed “Commissions” of priests and officers terrified the Legations during the administration of Cardinal Rivarola, the Legate at Ravenna, who, on one single occasion, condemned 580 persons, then again suddenly pardoned and tried to reconcile *Sanfedisti* and *Carbonari* by marriages; and Heaven knows how those ended. But this did not stop assassinations for political motives (or which pretended to be such), which are the infamy of Romagna: and having at last had his own life attempted, he instituted a most severe “commission,” and redoubled his spies; at Ravenna seven persons were hung as political assassins. They may have been such, but they were universally pitied as political offenders. In short, when he offered free pardon to any one who would *spontaneously* come forward and “make divulgations,” thousands presented themselves. . . . Such were the governed and such their governors.’¹

The elective form of monarchy has at all times presented some special difficulties. These difficulties are assuredly not lessened by that right of *veto* already mentioned, which each of the great Roman Catholic powers possess. It *has* happened, it may at any time happen, that a cardinal peculiarly fitted for the Papacy is sent as ambassador to Paris, Vienna, or Madrid. Now, courts being courts, a nuncio who is intelligent and bold is very likely indeed to give some cause of offence to the sovereign of the country. He will be *vetoed* by that court at the next vacancy for the Papacy. On the ground that he had recommended the reigning Pope to acknowledge the revolted republics of South America, and to send them bishops, Cardinal Giustiniani was by the court of Spain deprived of the prospect, by him most uncoveted, of the Papal chair.² We are, of course, deeply conscious that to speak thus is to regard the matter from its purely human side. But is it quite possible, even for the most sincere and devoted members of the Roman Church, entirely to ignore that side? If we may judge from their writings, this question must be answered in the negative.

Leo XII. put a stop to the practice of inoculation, or of vaccination, in his dominions. Our authorities differ as to which

¹ Storia di Cento Anni, vol. iii. p. 41. (Firenze: Le Monnier, 1851.)

² The account of this veto is one of the few curious and interesting facts to be gleaned from that miserable specimen of book-making, the late Cardinal Wiseman’s personal ‘Recollections of the last Four Popes.’ As a source of history it is all but useless, and we observe with satisfaction that our Roman Catholic fellow Christians seem to eschew all reference to its pages.

of the two processes it was; but all agree in the main fact: namely, that this sovereign, who was animated with the purest intentions, put down the best remedy at that time known against small-pox. The immediate result was an increased number of deaths.

Della Genga (Leo XII.) died in 1829. He was succeeded by Cardinal Castiglione, who took the title of Pius VIII. Castiglione was a man of pure and exalted character; and if such be the *sole* and sufficient condition of fitness for the papal throne, he certainly possessed it. But, unfortunately, as had been the case with his predecessor, he was very aged and very sickly.¹ His first act was to place the direction of affairs in the hands of Cardinal Albini, who was with good reason reported to be the keenest opponent of all liberal ideas. Of his discretion in matters ecclesiastical a single sample must suffice. He announced his elevation in an encyclical condemning the liberty of the press, Bible societies, religious toleration, and civil marriage; *and this in a tone so violent that in France the Government did not dare to permit its publication.*² And yet, be it remembered, that Government was by many degrees the most favourable to the Church and the court of Rome that had existed in France for at least a century and a half; a Government zealous, even to the excess of imprudence, on behalf of many mediæval ideas of religious discipline. We leave it to our readers to imagine what must have been the *animus* of a document which seemed unduly violent in the eyes of the latest Bourbon sovereign of the direct line, the chivalrous and unfortunate Charles X.

Pius VIII. for the very brief space of his rule—not in all two years complete—directed his main political energy against secret societies. There are few Englishmen, whatever be their political creed, who will not agree with Döllinger, when he asserts that secret societies, however much to be deplored, are as necessary a consequence of the severe repression of opinion, as are inward maladies in the human body when external inflammation is violently driven backward from the skin. Given a thorough subjugation of the press, and a suspicious police lording it over a people dissatisfied with their condition, on the one side; a lively and intellectual population, capable of easily attaining in a genial climate the actual necessities of life, and peculiarly fond of social activity, on the other; and it needs no very sagacious prophet to discern the probable result, that these societies, *by their very nature, from their very secrecy*, should often mingle in one the worst and the best elements; and that the worst should frequently predominate

¹ Döllinger.

² Nouvelle Biographie Générale (Paris: Firmin Didot, 1862), *Art. Pie VIII.* A publication of excellent authority on points of French history.

is only too credible. But the mode in which the Papal authorities met the evil is highly characteristic. Instead of allowing a little more liberty of thought and action, they promoted the establishment of *rival* associations, voluntary but non-legal. The best known was *supposed* to consist of none but genuine supporters of the Holy Faith (*la Santa Fede*). Hence the name of *Sanfedisti* given to its members; a name which must occasionally recur in this paper. This new society was chiefly composed of the lowest and poorest classes; but it soon got beyond the control of the Government, and in some districts acted as its master.

The defenders of the Roman court assert, and not without foundation, that it rarely inflicts the punishment of death. But then it must be added, by way of counterpoise, that its power of imprisonment is employed in the most arbitrary manner; that unhealthy gaols are filled with men who, in other countries, would be permitted to go on bail; and that much demoralization necessarily ensues. Cardinal Morichini, and Luigi Maraviglia, the Governor of Faenza, have made the strongest possible representations on this subject. The latter speaks of men remaining a whole year without a hearing, without a process; men, perhaps, free from even the suspicion of crime, but nevertheless imprisoned *merely from precaution*! We refer to this feature at this point of our discussion, because it was either towards the close of Leo XII.'s reign, or the commencement of that of Pius VIII. that this too celebrated mission of Cardinal Rivarola to the Romagna in consequence of some political assassinations resulted in an extraordinary amount of imprisonments.¹ This Cardinal convicted capitally, but without carrying out the sentence of death, 30 nobles, 156 who either occupied land or were shopkeepers, 74 *employés*, and 38 soldiers.

Pius VIII. died in 1830. He was succeeded by Mauro Capellari, a Carmelite monk, under the title of Gregory XVI.

Well does the writer of these lines recollect the day in the autumn of 1844, when, in the basilica of St. Peter's, he obtained an excellent view of the form and features of this venerable Pontiff, who had then reigned for a period of nearly fourteen years. We are all in some degree physiognomists, and the impression made upon the mind of this spectator was highly favourable. It seemed to him then, it seems to him in the vividness of a clear remembrance now, to be an eminently *good* countenance.

Nor was this impression a mistaken one. Gregory XVI. *was* an exceedingly good man; and moreover a man of letters, well

¹ *Vide supra*, note to extract from Mr. Gladstone's Letters. For Morichini and Maraviglia, see Dollinger, p. 397.

trained both in scholarship and theology. But we have observed that Dr. Newman *appears* to insinuate—we may possibly have misunderstood him—that the possession of such gifts as these can be satisfactorily alleged against those who accuse the chief of a state of faults of government. Now the case of Gregory XVI. forms a kind of crucial test of the value of such arguments. We shall here have recourse to the evidence of a new witness, M. Charles Gouraud. M. Gouraud, it is to be observed, is a defender of the temporal power of the Popes, and a decided admirer of Pius IX. In a paper which appeared in the *Revue des deux Mondes*, on the first of January, 1852, we are presented with the following sketch of the character and of the reign of Gregory XVI. :—

‘An austere priest and consummate theologian, Gregory brought with him to the Pontifical throne none of the virtues of a temporal prince. Specially anxious for the heavenly interests with which he was charged, he never turned his eyes downward, either on the wants of his country or the miseries of his time. His government displayed all the characteristics, all the harshness, and all the vices of despotism. He left the singular memory of a naturally humane and enlightened man, whose policy had never known either pity or enlightenment.

‘Gregory XVI. bequeathed to his successor frightful distress, disorder, and embarrassment ; all the resources of the country either forestalled or paralyzed ; agriculture destroyed ; a naturally fertile soil condemned to sterility, by the concentration of properties in the hands of a few large proprietors, or of the religious corporations, whose sole care was to receive their revenues without the smallest idea of increasing them ; not a single agricultural society ; no model farm for the improvement of cattle ; the inhabitants dependent on foreign production and enterprise for the most necessary articles of consumption ; trade impoverished, limited, and offering nothing, or nearly nothing, for exchange ; no great manufactures ; smuggling, organized on a gigantic scale, defrauding the excise of more than half its revenue ; not a railroad or a telegraph ; the roads uncared for ; carriage of goods difficult and costly in the extreme ; *the taxes as numerous and as heavy as if the natural and artificial resources of the State had been admirably managed*, and at the same time ill-arranged, crushing the landed property, and, in several provinces, as odious in their nature and mode of exaction as in their amount ; accounts in confusion, or rather, not in existence. French administration under Napoleon had, during its stay in the Roman states (as in other countries where it had transient rule), restored the finances. When Pius VII. re-entered Rome, he found the revenues of his states superior to their expenditure. This equilibrium was nearly preserved until the latter years of Leo XII.’s reign ; but, under Pius VIII., and lastly under the pontiff lately deceased [Gregory XVI.], not only had the public debt increased, and the expenses annually overpassed the receipts, but there was, in fact, no longer a vestige of finance administration at home. The Pontifical Government not only gave the public no account of the operations of its budget, but it had ended by not giving any account thereof to itself. The budgets encroached on one another ; no one knew either the expenditure of the past year, or the receipts of the current one. The Government of Gregory XVI. had, in the matter of finance, fallen below the level of the Ottoman Empire under his contemporary Sultan Mahmoud ; and all its financial learning consisted

in having a bag, into which, with one hand, it poured its revenue, whilst with the other it drew it out for its expenditure. The public debt had risen to 32,000,000 of crowns (more than 200,000,000 of francs) [8,000,000*l.* sterling]; the annual deficit amounted to about half a million (2,500,000 francs) [100,000*l.*]. The army, whose maintenance was very costly, inspired little confidence, and did but little service. The Roman troops were few in number, ill-disciplined, ill-paid, and not very trustworthy; the Swiss regiments excellent, but detested by the native troops and by the people. The same disorder existed in law and police. No codes; *inequality of Pontifical subjects in the eye of the law*; innumerable exemptions and privileges for the prelature and nobility; the administration of justice slow, doubtful, and expensive; for criminal cases, permanent military commissions. The police, which was never weary of persecuting liberals, was powerless to guarantee the public safety; not merely the country, but even the towns themselves, were infested with bandits. Add to all this, the wretched civil condition of the immense majority of the population; little or no education for the children; no career for the youths. The army—the habit of employing mercenaries had rendered that odious; diplomacy, politics, administration, magistracy—all these were reserved for ecclesiastics alone. Add further, the thousands of persons suspected and publicly marked out as such, to whom even the most subaltern municipal offices were closed. Add also, two thousand persons exiled, proscribed, and condemned for political offences!—*Revue des deux Mondes*, xiii. 1852, pp. 36—38.

We have italicized in the above certain statements respecting finance and justice. This is done by us in order that the reader may compare them with the truly astonishing assertion made by Dr. Newman, at page 28 of this discourse; an assertion to which we shall be compelled again and again to recur.

‘The Roman people, too, under the sway of the Popes, at least *have had a very easy time of it*; but alas! that people is not sensible of this, or does not allow itself to keep it in mind.’

But it was not mainly on this score that we placed before our readers the words of M. Gouraud. We wish that they should ask themselves that one simple question—Does or does not this description (which might be corroborated, if necessary, by abundance of fresh testimony) exhibit the possibility of an excellent bishop being a thoroughly bad sovereign? What is possible in one case is possible in others; and we shall feel ourselves obliged to repeat this query, when we arrive at a more advanced stage of our inquiry.

But although we have much more to urge with reference to the reign of Gregory XVI., we may fitly pause here for a moment, on the ground that enough has been adduced to exhibit some of the leading points of difference between our point of view and that occupied by Dr. Newman.

He sees no road to the union of Christendom, save in a submission such as he himself has made to the Papacy. We, too, yearn for unity, but it is a unity of such a character as that looked for by the late King of Bavaria. He writes as if all

rulers of states would do well to stand towards the Roman See in some such attitude as does Francis Joseph, Emperor of Austria, King of Bohemia and Hungary. We say, with a speaker in 'Measure for Measure,' 'Heaven grant us *its* peace, but *not* the King of Hungary's.' He seems to think that institutions, which have wrought a good work in the world, perish by external violence and by the wickedness of men, in the flower of their golden prime. We think that they perish because their work is done; that, though force from without may oppress, it is the corruption from within that overthrows; whence arise new orders of things in the all-wise and loving providence of God. He appears to write as if the goodness of a king renders his people inexcusable, if they murmur. We believe that a man may be most exemplary in his private life, and yet exercise a rule which proves on inquiry to be execrably bad.

It is our intention to notice some of the details of Dr. Newman's discourse, as well as those broader features on which we find ourselves at variance with him. On some points we shall do little more than supply large and copious extracts from French and from Italian sources of information, and content ourselves with suggesting what seems to follow as the natural conclusion.

But we think it right in this place to acknowledge also what appear to us the strongest points on the side of the Papal rule, whether adduced by Dr. Newman or not. And here, although for convenience sake we speak in the plural number, it must specially be understood that this Review cannot be committed to the result of impressions which must almost inevitably differ considerably in the case of individual contributors to its pages.

The supporters of the temporal sway start with the prestige that this rule has now, in some shape or other, practically endured for more than one thousand years; and that, though frequently interrupted, it has been restored again and again, not merely by foreign force, but in many cases—most notably so in 1814—with the good-will of the Romans themselves. 'That which endures has a place in the designs of God;' and few calm and thoughtful students of history will deny that the entire system, of which the Papal temporalities form no small portion, has been a most potent and in many respects a most beneficial agent, not only in the culture of things spiritual, but likewise in the formation of modern civilization. A fair survey of the effects of that influence is still perhaps a desideratum in our modern literature, and possibly must for a season still be lacking. For the dis-

covery that Hume, Voltaire, Diderot, and Co. had been grievously unfair towards the mediæval Church has led to a reaction so violent, that many of our writers are being carried far beyond the generous but measured admissions of a Guizot, a Hallam, an Arnold, a Thierry, or a Palgrave. Strange to say, the most emphatic and unlimited praises of the religious system dominant in the Middle Ages are, at this moment, coming from the lips and pens of men of the Positivist school of thought, the admirers and disciples of M. Comte. We will cite one of its most recent utterances:—

‘For the first time in the history of the world, the moral law was separated from the civil law; the law of conscience and duty from the law or judicial ordinance and magisterial compulsion; the law persuading the will from the law compelling the action. The Church, wholly separate from and superior to the State, binding the feudal States of Europe into a vast Commonwealth, a spiritual democracy, where intellectual and moral force took precedence of birth, office, wealth, and regal power: such was the ideal partially realized between the tenth and thirteenth century. Partially realized, I say, for at no time was the separation between Church and State so perfect, as the theory of Catholicism indicated. Fully to have attained its high ends, the power of that Church should have been not less but greater. The Church in her best days was the safeguard of spiritual liberty against feudal oppression; but in its best days it was too weak for the task, and those days were far too short.’¹

If anything could add to the singularity of this somewhat (as we think) over-strained eulogy, it would be the circumstance that the passage forms part of a lecture delivered in the capital of a Presbyterianized country. It is obvious, indeed, to remark that what was desirable in the thirteenth century, may be very undesirable in the nineteenth. But the number of occasions on which the Pope has been welcomed back to Rome, after an absence of very different degrees of duration, must needs force thinking men to look in the face the possibility of an overthrow of the temporal power in the present day, resulting in a triumphant return for the Bishop of Rome. And then the further question will arise, whether, if the Pope could be got to accept any reasonable compromise, and to sanction in Italy things which have already been sanctioned in France and Belgium, it might not be better, in the long run, for the peace of Europe and the interests of Christianity, that Italy should, if possible, make terms with him.

Nor can we put out of sight an argument employed, indeed, by Dr. Newman, but urged several years since by the Marquis Massimo d’Azeglio, and recently referred to in connexion with

¹ ‘France under Richelieu and Colbert. By J. H. Bridges, M.B. late Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford.’ (Edinburgh, Edmonston and Douglas, 1866.) Mr. Froude is said by the newspapers to have recently delivered a lecture intensely eulogistic of the mediæval Church.

his honoured name by a paper which treats Italian questions with special force and knowledge—our contemporary the *Saturday Review*. We refer to the consideration whether, when the matter is viewed on the side of the Italian kingdom, Florence is not a far better capital than Rome could possibly be. When Azeglio first suggested Florence for the metropolis of the new kingdom, he was regarded as an amiable dreamer. The dream has been converted into a solid reality, and the wisdom of resting in the new capital is becoming a more widely-spread conviction.

Then, again (though these features are not alluded to by Dr. Newman), we wish, as honest penmen, to recognize again the beauty of some peculiarities of Rome, which have been before mentioned in this Review.¹ We like the outward decorum of the city. We admire the arrangement, though it may also have a dangerous side, whereby any poor man in Rome, who attends to his religious duties, as taught in that system, can always feel safe from the dread of starvation. Even the rules concerning medical students seem to us really intended for the good of their souls.

To return to the discourse before us. We have looked over it once more, and can only discover one portion which appears to call for any notice in this connexion. We refer to the ingenious parallel between the government of the Roman states under the Pope and the Theocracy of Israel in the time of the Judges. By all means let such weight as is due to this argument be assigned to it. Yet, after duly pondering it to the best of our ability, the question still recurs, Is it seriously intended by the defenders of the Papal temporalities that they ought to rest contented with the admission that the government of these states is probably inferior to that of most other European countries? In 1860, the only French prelate of striking literary ability, Mgr. Dupanloup, Bishop of Orleans, wrote a defence of the Papal sovereignty, which was pronounced by Pius IX. to be the best which had appeared. Now, Bishop Dupanloup entirely abjured the line of defence which seems to be shadowed forth in Dr. Newman's elaborate comparison. On the contrary, he maintained that the lands of the Church ought to be more prosperous and better governed than others: '*Si la perfection doit se rencontrer sur la terre quelque part, ce doit être dans les états de l'Eglise.*' The same prelate also frankly acknowledged that those 'who, under 'the pretence of dogmas, maintain that the Pope ought not to 'put his government in harmony with the exigencies of modern 'times, and the legitimate wishes of the people, declare thereby 'that the destruction of the Papal government is inevitable.'

¹ *Ubi supra*, No. for April, 1862, pp. 289, 290.

There are other portions of Dr. Newman's sermon, which, however interesting and really edifying in themselves, yet take us into regions beyond the reach of argument. Our meaning will be best understood if we consider one remarkable passage from an opposite point of view.

Let us suppose, then, for a moment that we were considering some statement of the sins and shortcomings of Great Britain; such, for example, as the powerful article published, some two years since, in the *Pall Mall Gazette*, under the title of 'The Decay of Pharisaism.' Let a Roman Catholic discuss with us the amount of truth contained in this scourging manifesto. He will probably end his remarks by saying, 'The cause lying at the root of all these evils is your religious isolation: submit to Rome, and your difficulties will be wonderfully lightened.' Now if, in the course of a rejoinder, we should say that it is not religious isolation, or any cognate cause, that is the source of our ills, but that they may be mainly resolved into the persistent malice of the rebellious archangel, what would be our opponent's reply? Surely of this sort, that we had changed the *venue*, and placed the entire question out of the reach of discussion. Of a like nature must be our reply, when, in terms of much force and beauty, the author of this discourse describes Satanic craft as the *fons et origo* of the Italian difficulty. He cannot find 'the sufficient explanation of the present confusion' (p. 31) in any merely human faults. Here people will differ. As Christians, we feel grateful to any writer who tries to impress upon our minds a sense of those agencies of the world unseen which most of us, even among those who admit their existence with the lips, are far too ready to forget. But it would be the merest hypocrisy for us to pretend that we can conscientiously accept this verdict. Not that we doubt for a moment—how, with the teaching of Holy Scripture and the Church before us, can we doubt?—but that the apostate angels would be found, if our eyes could pierce the veil, to be working grievous mischief everywhere, alike in Italy and in England. But the natural conflict between the Papacy and the forms and ideas of modern civilization, the facts which we have recounted, and those which we shall yet have to recount, go much further, in our judgment, towards the explanation of this confusion than Dr. Newman is willing to admit. In speaking thus, we by no means intend to imply that the faults lie wholly on one side. We do not suppose that the people of Rome and the Romagna, or of Italy at large, are all saints and sages, or that they have never been in any respect unreasonable. But, whatever may have been their faults, we still consider that they have been far more sinned against than sinning.

We quit the consideration of this discourse for a time, in order

that we may supply more evidence from the works at the head of this article.

When Pope Pius VII. was put in repossession of the states of the Church by the Congress of Vienna, Cardinal Consalvi commenced a *régime* very different from that experienced by the towns under Papal rule before the epoch of the French Revolution. These towns had previously possessed very considerable liberties, each being, in great measure, governed by its own municipality. That certain advantages had accrued from French domination was perceived and admitted by Consalvi: the excellent state of the finances showed this. But it was a grievous disappointment to these towns to discover that, in losing certain admitted benefits of French rule, they were not to gain back their ancient amount of freedom. The cardinal-secretary determined, in an unfortunate hour, to attempt the carrying out of the French system of centralization. But it is not every one who can bend the bow of Ulysses. French methods of governing needed for their success the organizing powers of French laity; and the Romagna, which had thus lost much and gained nothing, sank into one continuous chronic state of insurrection.

In the year 1846, one of those outbreaks occurred in the ancient city known in classic and ecclesiastical story as Ariminum, and to the readers of Dante as the place

‘ Su la marina, dove ’l Po discende
Per aver pace co’ seguaci sui.’

This insurrection in Rimini was on many accounts to be regretted and condemned; but the further question arises, In what manner was it put down, and how were the delinquents treated? These questions were discussed, in a moderately-sized pamphlet, by the Marquis Massimo d’Azeglio.

Azeglio, who was born at Turin, in 1798, had already distinguished himself, both in the realm of literature and of art. Several of his paintings, specially one called ‘The Origin of the House of Sforza,’ had won the highest praise from the lips of good judges. He had married the daughter of the illustrious Manzoni, author of ‘I Promessi Sposi;’ and had emulated the fame of his father-in-law by those beautiful tales of ‘Ettore Fieramosca,’ and of ‘Niccolo de’ Lapi,’ which were first, we believe, made known to the English public in the pages of this Review.

There are few living critics of whom it may not be with reason be asked, Who are you, that you should venture to enter into controversy with Dr. Newman? We are deeply conscious of the weight and force of the considerations implied in such a question: but thus much may be urged upon our behalf. *We* say to our readers, Throw on one side, if you will, as mere sur-

plusage, all reflections which are simply ours. Read only, if you choose, the evidence laid before you in the shape of extracts, and form your opinion for yourselves. If piety, genius, sincerity, learning, and power of expression have a claim on your attention, undoubtedly these gifts summon you to become listeners on the one side. We submit that they are all to be found on the other side likewise, as in the case of others among our witnesses, so pre-eminently in that of Massimo d'Azeglio. Further, without wishing to give needless offence, we must own that, despite Dr. Newman's protest on this score, there *does* seem to us to be a freedom of movement on the part of men brought up in a system which is rarely found in those who have become converts to it; and, even if this point of difference be waived, there still remains a balance, in the instance before us, on the side of a writer who had spent many of the best years of his life in Rome, as compared with one whose sojourn there has been comparatively short.

This pamphlet was dedicated to Count Cesare Balbo. It was entitled 'On the Recent Events in Romagna, Reflections by Massimo d'Azeglio' (*Degli ultimi casi di Romagna, Riflessioni di Massimo d'Azeglio*). Not having ever seen any portion of this work in an English dress, and knowing how small is the proportion of those among us who study Italian, we are about to transfer to our pages a very large portion of this *brochure*. Let not him who would study these questions be daunted at its length. Much as it must inevitably lose by translation, in respect of force and gracefulness, there remains, if we mistake not, an assemblage of those qualities which the Stagirite deemed to constitute the chief means towards conviction; namely, the sense of moral weight on the part of the speaker, the evocation of pathetic sentiments in the mind of the hearer, and, lastly, the influence of fair and persuasive argument.

'Before proceeding to prove my assertions [that the insurrections in the Romagna were ill-timed, injurious to their cause, and therefore blameable], I feel constrained to explain how much it has pained me to use that last adjective, and how I have only been able to compel myself to use it after long and grave deliberating.

'The raising of my voice to utter words of blame to men, my fellow-citizens, whom I do believe have been led into error, but who are very far from deserving the evil accusations of the official papers, who, on the contrary, possess the undeniable merit of having exercised that most difficult virtue, the virtue of sacrifice, and who have risked their lives, and all most dear to man, for what they believed would benefit their country: the grieving of *them*, now that their situation (sad enough before) is even worse, now that they are suffering, now that they eat the bitter bread of the vanquished and the exiled, costs me real pain, as it is my nature always to favour the conquered more than the conqueror, and also because I think there is no viler deed can be done on earth than to cast a stone at the fallen. But I feel in my conscience that it is no such act I am committing

in writing these lines—I feel that I am solely moved by the desire to say that which I believe is beneficial to our common cause, by the desire to say the truth, with all the moderation and impartiality that my soul is capable of. . . . I think, then, that these revolts, partial and local as they have ever been (except the 1821), are useless. . . . they waste the most vital elements of the Italian people; men of the bravest hearts, of the greatest energy, and highest intellect, are lost to us by them, are constrained either to abandon their country altogether, or to remain in it beneath the weight of an injurious pardon, being held as it were in quarantine and reduced to the most perfect inaction.

‘I believe that these miniature revolutions, though productive of heavy sorrow in the restricted districts where they occur, are hardly perceived out of Italy, and so have no effect on the supreme tribunal of public opinion, now spread over all the world; and would to God they *were only* unobserved, or even *only* blamed and condemned. But they are derided, scorned. They serve as a theme for slight newspaper articles, full either of patronizing pity, or of sardonic admonitions, which make the blood boil more than any abuse: and the foreign reader smiles and passes on: and the opinion that we are a helpless people, a people destitute of sound ideas, of any sort of political education, and incapable of the long and patient labour which alone can produce a nation’s regeneration, is confirmed and spread: that we are alike incapable of suffering or resisting, and therefore deserve our present position. And shall we then be so low fallen, that the misery, the tears, and the blood of Italy shall be but a subject for laughter? . . .

‘As the thread of my essay is unfolded, it appears even more and more clear (as I said in the first page), that *opportuneness* is everything in political affairs. . . . and that if I prove the movement at Rimini inopportune, I prove its injuriousness and blameability.

‘As I have begun with this arrangement of my subject (which is perhaps not quite useless for the orderly exposition of my ideas), I will adhere to it to the end: but now, when I am on the point of turning towards those who were the cause of the useless shedding of Italian blood, when I am on the point of asking them their right to do that, I repeat it, one thought causes my heart to ache, the idea that these my words may very likely reach the ears of those who are even now paying the cost of an error of judgment (I will not call it a crime or a sin) by enduring that most bitter of human miseries, exile: that words of mine, perhaps, may make more sorrowful the sorrowing vigils of the banished, of him who has offered as a holocaust to his country, the quiet converse of his fellow-citizens, of his native roof; all his home happiness, the love of mother, wife, children: of him, who voluntarily robbed himself of all these, and (along with his own life) threw them into the scale where our fate already trembled in the balance: of him who now listens for every breath that comes from his native Italy, hoping that, in return for so much sacrifice, one word may perhaps some time reach him of comfort, of sympathy, perhaps even of praise.

‘And I am to be the one to send into his ear (and, far worse, into his heart), words of blame!

‘Yes. I deem it useful, I deem it (for myself) even a debt of honour, and more than one Italian will think me right.

‘Not that I presumptuously think that I am the absolute interpreter of truth; but I believe, and I think I may believe, that I have the right to lay before others the results of my reflections: I believe it useful to provoke discussion; and my warmest wish is, that some mind, far higher and clearer than mine, may reply to this in writing, may point out my mistakes, and show us better and wiser resolutions: I would bless the hand

that would give us other thoughts, not perceived by me, but more calculated to benefit the cause of Italy.

‘But if the authors of the movement at Rimini have, under their sufferings, let indignation and impatience lead them to acts which must be considered untimely and injurious, and therefore blameable, are we therefore to condemn them altogether and absolutely?’

‘At this point I thank God that I have fulfilled the painful task of grieving the vanquished and the unhappy, and that now I may turn to the victor, to him who has no dungeon to endure, no exile’s misery; to him who is powerful, and enjoys every favour of fortune: and I feel now that my words come more freely, more confidently.’

‘But before I examine into the manner in which the Court of Rome has treated its subjects, specially those in the Romagnas; before any discussion of its acts, I would know whether discussion be possible; I mean, whether we are to argue on premisses held equally binding for both parties: so first, I inquire, whether there be but one Decalogue, one Holy Gospel, one only moral code, given alike to all men as a guide for their actions; or whether there are to be held to be two editions of the above said code, one for the use of princes, the other for their subjects; one for rulers, statesmen, and diplomatists; another for the multitude beneath their rule?’

‘I will myself venture to reply to this question, and will decide that the Court of Rome doubtless holds that there is only one code for all, ruled and rulers, strong and weak. But this is not all. Another matter remains to be settled; and this is, whether, to this moral code, to this rule (universally to be followed) the axiom may be applied, that every rule has its exception; or whether these rules of justice and humanity are not the only ones which *man never has a right on any pretext to disobey*. This query, also, I (anticipating the decision of the Romish Court) will answer, favourably to the latter assertion. Being agreed on these two points, . . . discussion becomes possible, and one only matter is left for investigation, that is, what consequences does the Court of Rome draw from these premisses, and what does (not I, who am as nothing) but what does the public opinion and judgment of the whole civilized world infer? . . .’

‘These arguments and instances seem to me to prove . . . that *injustice* is absolutely and inevitably condemned; and that no state reasons, no excuses of public utility, nor any other motive, can ever justify it.’

‘Such ideas as these seem so purely elementary, that my readers will marvel that I should give myself the inconvenience of writing them: and, certainly, it does seem like dreaming, to be forced to take up the subject in this manner from first principles, which would seem to need no demonstration, but to be able to be taken for granted.’

‘But how else can one begin a discussion with him, who, whilst he entitles himself (to the world) the “Announcer of Glad Tidings,” makes them so sorrowful to those most immediately confided to his care by God?—with him who is the guardian and teacher of the divine code of justice, love, and pardon, but who commits, or at least permits, injustice, converts love into hatred, and has never pardoned?—with him who preaches humility from a throne, charity whilst shutting his ears to every entreaty, and brotherly love by means of atrocious military commissions? If these men be asked, “In God’s name, do you believe in justice, or do you not?” “Do you, or do you not, believe what you preach?” they have no right to take it ill, and no one on earth will wonder at the questions.’

‘And these harsh words, be it observed, I do not write from any enmity to the Papacy, and I say this solemnly, before proceeding any further, lest my readers should be under any delusion. I venerate Christianity, I venerate Catholicism, and I trust earnestly that the religious unity of

Italy may never be disturbed—the last unity she possesses. Moreover, I have no dislike or aversion against the Court of Rome, from whom I never received the smallest annoyance, and, on the contrary, have enjoyed many favours. My words, however severe, are not expressive of the hatred of an enemy, but rather of the sorrow which rises in our heart for a friend whom we see bent on self-destruction.

‘I have accused the Papal government of injustice. Suppose it were to say to me—“What would you have me do?” I should make a reply alike unexpected by it or my reader: I should beg of it a favour that could scarce seem indiscreet: I should implore it, on behalf of its subjects, the grace of being a little more absolute, a little more despotic than it is now; or rather, I should say, to *be* a government both absolute and despotic, in *reality*—as now it only thinks it is. . . .

‘There are two ways of exercising approximately absolute power. The first consists in making others do what you are unable to do yourself, *i.e.*, by investing others with a portion of your own authority, and leaving them to exercise it at their discretion. . . . This mode is in use in Turkey, and even there it is diminishing as civilization increases; but it is not diminishing amongst Christians in some countries, and most especially in the Papal states. This is a mode, above all others, ruinous to the subjects, and full of peril to the prince, who does not rule really, and therefore has not the benefits of empire, but gets all the hatred and responsibilities of it; for where the men whom he has invested with power misuse it, the prince is necessarily accused of cruelty, if he does not correct them, and of folly if he does; as he thus confesses that he has not chosen his ministers well—contempt or hatred, one or the other, it is impossible but he should incur.

‘This happens every day under the Pontifical rule; and only to cite one instance out of thousands, I will mention a fact most recent, and which all will recollect. Not a year since, a bishop in the Papal states published an edict with some new regulations touching matrimony, with heavy penalties annexed for all who should disobey it. I was at Rome. The edict travelled from pocket to pocket, from *conversazione* to *conversazione*, and I cannot describe the laughter it occasioned. The government was compelled to annul it (after every effort to save the reputation of the bishop), as it was the maddest document in the world. But it may easily be imagined what effect such affairs as that have upon a government’s credit: and in the Roman state they are continually happening. . . .

‘There is a second way of exercising absolute power, the best and sole practicable way. . . .

‘This way is most simple, and consists in this: let the prince of his act and deed (by divine inspiration, if you like to have it so, for I will not quarrel about words), let him decide, once for all, what are his wishes and desires, and let him express those in so many laws and regulations, and say to his subjects, “*from the least to the greatest of you, all shall obey them equally.*” . . .

‘I ask now, can the Pope say he does this? I ask his subjects, whether it would not be far better for *them* if he could? I ask the Romagnols if they would not gladly obey good laws, or bad, if they were but settled, without exception of persons, equal for all, rather than be under the more arbitrary will of their *Monsignori*, legates, vice-legates, delegates, and what not? . . .

‘I have declared my determination to speak the truth without reticence, without passion, and I find myself compelled to praise Austria. Her code (except with respect to political offences, in which cases it is absolutely detestable), is alike for all, and the meanest porter may get justice against the greatest noble. . . .

* And I say that men will bear many, and even heavy evils, when they see that there is a certain, sure, and equal rule for all. Contented or discontented, they resign themselves. But they do never resign themselves to see (for example) in the case of two delinquents, the one absolved, the other condemned, for the same offence—to see the priest go free from the punishment which inexorably strikes the layman. They will never resign themselves to a life of perpetual suspicion, to an uncertainty of every moment, to the torturing and ceaseless doubt as to whether they may not be despoiled of their property, imprisoned, or arbitrarily injured in any possible way, without a chance of appeal, and without any stated law to defend them.

'Austria knows this well, and, alas, tries to make her own use of it . . . and if she has not succeeded in her attempt, it is, thanks to the generous nature of the Romagnols, to their national and deeply Italian spirit, which has induced them to continue to bear all their miseries patiently rather than annex themselves to the foreigner, to the greatest enemy of their native country: but, on the other side, it must be confessed that the Pontifical government has done all in its power to reduce them to that grievous step.

'To have a code (and by code I understand not merely laws, but certain and fixed institutions) is the first duty of every government, whatever may be its form; it is, therefore, the first duty of the Papal government; and if its subjects beg for this, they beg for what is just; and if the governments refuse it, they commit an iniquity.

'But if they have no law or settled order, general and equal for all; since they are compelled to live, I ought to say to struggle on as best they may, trying to defend themselves perpetually against the hundred authorities which attack them in every way (and which are mutually quarrelling among themselves at the same time), if these poor wretches had any way of raising their voice, and of being heard when their sufferings get beyond endurance, if there were a door that would open to them anywhere, or an ear that would listen!

I will now say a thing which will appear monstrous, impossible, in this year 1846; so he who knows not Rome will believe it a calumny.

The head of the Roman Church has no day of public audience like all other absolute monarchs. But this is nothing. If a subject of the Papal states begs for an interview with the Pope, it is never granted till he has formally promised not to mention any *business*!

Such a fact needs no comment, and those who do not believe it, are most welcome to verify it for themselves. And if some one should reply to me that it is allowable to present memorials, to appeal to the tribunals, to the governors, to the legates, to the secretaries of state, &c., I should thank that excellent man for his information, and I should also thank God on his behalf, that He had never sent him troubles that could show him by experience how much dependence can be placed on those resources.

'In short, either my accusations are calumnies (and in this case let them be proved such), or it is the truth, that he who preaches justice and is its highest guardian, is himself guilty of injustice, and that it is only reasonable to ask him whether there are two Gospels, two moral codes, or only one; whether he believes himself, what he preaches or not. . . . Whether he thinks it possible, in our days, to establish and maintain any authority whatever on the flagrant and perpetual denial of its principles; whether there is in this world any one man who has a right to act unrighteously against every other one; whether it is not too absurd to expect us all to endure this peacefully, and to resign ourselves to the infinite evils it produces. It is reasonable to say to him, "For the revoltings in Romagna,

for the deaths, the exiles, the tears of so many unhappy human beings, you are responsible. You will have to give an account before God, and not your trampled-down subjects. Their blood will fall back upon your head, their sorrows, their tears, will be judged at that tribunal which no crowns, sceptres, or tiaras ever yet reached, but only naked souls, not protected from the sword of Eternal Justice by any shield but that of their own innocence. Your works will be weighed in those incorruptible scales, where the lightest injury done to the meanest human creature will weigh more than all the thrones and crowns in the universe.

"Either what you teach of God's justice and His tremendous future judgments in another world is false (and then my words are vain, and you would do ill to mind them), or what you teach is true, and you believe it, and you believe that God will one day ask you to answer for your deeds, will say to you, '*I gave you a people, what did you do with them?*' And then tell me by what name you will call your rule over them, tell me how there is to be found any justification of your proceedings; tell me, for I for my part am utterly unable to discover or divine any."

"These are stern words, . . . but they are also words of grief, words of love rather than anger, for I see so large a portion of that Italy which I love above every other earthly thing, placed by you in the grievous alternative of either enduring all the misery you can inflict, or of rising in armed resistance, and so certainly falling into the hands either of your executioners or those of the foreigner.

"They are words forced from me by truth and justice, and if, after saying to the Romagnols, 'You have not known how to endure,' I did not say to their rulers at Rome, 'You have sinned grievously against them,' what name should I deserve?"

"My accusation against the Papal government, that it has never given its subjects any code by which they were to be judged, includes all others. But I have used words far too severe not to feel bound to show more in detail than I have yet done, that I have not spoken them without the fullest justification: to do this, I must enter more fully into this saddest subject. I must uncover the many wounds inflicted on those beautiful provinces which are as wretched as they are lovely, I must produce *facts*, and although this will make this little work longer than I could have wished, I cannot avoid it consistently with my own honour. . . .

"The general economic system of the Roman state, and its finances, are reduced to such a pitch that all Europe fully knows its utter absurdity and imminent ruin. . . .

"Its strictly prohibitive regulations fetter both importation and exportation, by exaggerated duties, . . . by foolish prohibitions, which, instead of favouring the nation's industry, favour the monopoly of a few, stop both labour and production, and encourage smuggling (that fertile source of all corruption and immorality), and are injurious to the government itself, as this maintains a class of men ever ready to join in any scheme of opposition.

"The effect of this system is to make all the subjects of the states pay much more than their real price for every article they consume, to the injury not only of their own interests, but also of those of the treasury itself, and to the profit of a few individuals. In a word, it impoverishes all to enrich a very few; and to heighten the absurdity of such a system, the taxes are all farmed (whilst in every well-ordered state public works are farmed, but all duties are administered on economic principles), so that the large majority of the consumers are losers, and impoverished by all the gains and riches of the tax farmers.

"Of anything by which the public wealth might be augmented, the

government will not hear one word ; it beholds in everything a plot, a rebellion, a danger, but it does not see the greatest and most inevitable danger of all : like a man, who should run away (looking behind him at it the while) from an insect, and not know that he is rushing towards a precipice.

'Rome has said : "I do not believe in railroads," and all Europe laughs at this profession of faith ; but the Pontifical subjects do not laugh.

'Their government opposes in every way everything which might cause some small improvement : allows no bank institutions (that might improve the public credit), except the Roman bank : no associations, either industrial or agricultural. . . . The agricultural proprietors, crushed beneath the weight of enormous taxes (and moreover having no outlets for their produce) are being hopelessly ruined. Trade may be said to have no existence at all, and the central state of Italy, seated on two seas . . . has two ports, Civit  Vecchia and Ancona, . . . in neither of which is a vessel ever seen save by chance some foreign steamboat and a few wretched fishing boats.

'A trifling incident happened to myself when in Ancona very recently. I wished to hire a boat by the hour, that I might sketch the town from the water. I asked a couple of boatmen how much they would take me for, and (accustomed to the extravagant demands of Genoa, Livorno, Naples, and other Italian ports) I expected to be asked at least a scudo an hour. The men asked "*due paoli*," and that with deprecating look and gestures, "*trusting I did not think them unreasonable*." They little thought, poor fellows, that pity made my heart bleed to hear their answer, for it revealed the misery and poverty of a whole people !

'But if the government, whilst it forbids its subjects not only to enrich, but even only to help themselves, at the same time prevented their being ruined, oppressed by exorbitant taxes : if it would but spend with moderation itself !

'The very opposite to this is so notoriously the case, that it would be a useless lengthening of these pages to prove it.

'Speaking generally, the worse the quality of any merchandise may be, the cheaper it may be bought. But this is not true of governments. The worse *they* are, the dearer their price. And the Pontifical subjects know this well for they have not merely to pay (as all must) for a government to rule them whatever that may cost, they also must blindly pay the bills of an improvident rule which is exhausting them ; they must maintain a perfect army of useless *employ s*. (Would that they were *only* useless !)

'They are compelled to pay exalted ministers enormous salaries, and these are usually foreigners, who fill places, none of which can be obtained by native citizens without entering Holy Orders, whether they have any vocation for the sacred ministry or not : the places which may be held by laymen being all so badly paid, that no man can get a decent maintenance from them.

'But of all the evils of the Papal government, the most grievous to the people is that of the Swiss mercenaries. I am not speaking of the Swiss guards of the Pontifical palace, who are too few to be of any importance ; I speak of the Swiss regiments, who offer to our eyes in these modern days the sorrowful spectacle of the old "*Free Companies*," grievous and strange in these days. . . .

'The Papal government has no idea what an accumulation of hatred (God grant, not of vengeance !) it is gathering up against itself, not merely in the people, but in the army, by keeping up this curse of foreign and mercenary forces. They would assuredly have been attacked (and dispersed) long since, by the Romagnols, but that these last are well aware that they are but the advanced guard of Austria, and that they would

vanish the instant she ceased to watch behind their shoulder. . . . The native troops, ill-paid, ragged, and actually often dressed only in the cast-off garments of these foreign mercenaries, thirst for revenge against them, as appears evidently from the constant quarrels between them. . . .

'The cost of these foreigners is incredible, their insatiability, their ceaseless demands on the government; and even more incredible is the folly of the government in satisfying their boundless greed. . . .

'Thus is the money expended which is extorted from the Papal subjects. But I proceed, for more remains to be told. If we had nothing worse than the Swiss! . . .

'There is another and far more wicked institution in the Romagnas, another dark and infamous power invisible to every eye, but which every citizen, in every place, and every moment of his existence, feels ever at his side, vigilant and ready to work him ill.

'The reader at these words utters doubtless the word "*Police*;" but the reader is wrong. I speak of a thing more evil than that; of an infamy that is newer, rarer, in fact which is altogether unknown in civilized nations. I speak of a thing whereof I dare not, will not, accuse the government, but which undeniably it is aware of, it knows of the existence of, and yet does not remove, from places where it (the government) is all-powerful.

'There is in the Romagnas a race of men, vile, obscure, of irregular and wicked lives, used to idleness, to drinking, to tavern riots, but who loudly shout out their fidelity to the Pope, to his government, to faith and religion, and by this boast keep themselves free from all restraint or law; deem all violence allowable (possibly, indeed, they deem it meritorious!) provided only it be exercised upon men of different opinions from theirs, which of course ends in meaning any one whom they may happen to dislike.

'This abominable tribe, profiting by the perpetual terrors in which the people live, combine in obscure *conventicole* (clubs, societies?) and there contrive imaginary conspiracies, delations, and worse than this, *vendette* and assassinations.

'The city and suburbs of Faenza are divided by a miserable and inveterate internal rivalry, probably a remnant of some ancient divisions. For the worn-out and disused party distinctions they have substituted those of "*Liberals*," for the city, and of "*Papalini*" for the suburbs. This last is peopled by men of brutal ferocity, ever ready for quarrels and bloodshed: it may be said to be the chief place of origin for all acts of violence, the principal nest of that infamous horde, who here (and similarly in the other cities of Romagna) provoke, strike, wound, and often kill (and this always safe from punishment) all those whom they please to call "*Liberals*," "*Freemasons*," or "*Carbonari*."

'Infinite numbers of cases have occurred from 1831 to this day, and are still daily happening.

'In 1831, during the Austrian occupation, a few peaceable citizens, returning late at night from some evening party, met some of these men, who first insulted them in words, then attacked them with sticks and knives. They were repelled several times by some Austrian officers, who although foreigners, although enemies, were indignant at such enormities, at the base connivance of the government, and could not bear to see quiet and unarmed men so ill-treated, but from mere humanity saw them safe out of the danger, and only left them at the doors of their own houses. . . .

'To think that in our times, now, whilst I write, all this is happening, (or may be happening) in a country governed specially in His Name of whom it is written, that "*He so loved mankind that He gave His life for them*," in the name of that law which tells us to forgive our brother seventy

times seven, i.e. always: only to reflect that this is no fable, no dream, no exaggeration of party spirit, but a thing which, unhappily for religion and humanity, is only too real and true; is a thought to make one doubt even of the sun's light, and to bring desolation to the heart.

'Like a drowning man, who catches at a straw, I try to believe that the Pontiff does not know that such things as the above are committed in his name. Does not know! Is that possible? I shrink from answering. But, at all events, if *he* does not, his ministers know it well—at least some of them. Words worthy of such men I will not pronounce, or soil my pen by writing; wherefore I add no syllable, but leave them to the execration of all honest men of every party and of every country.

'Let us leave these horrors: but, alas! I have to touch on some as thoroughly wrong, though not perhaps so deeply infamous.

'I allude to trials and to political judgments, entrusted to extraordinary "commissions," which are bound by no legal mode of procedure, and have unlimited authority to condemn. In these tribunals (veritable "*cut-throats*," as the French say), abominated by all civilized nations, instruments of princes' vengeance, not of justice; in these tribunals, I say, the same men are judges and accusers; there is no freedom of defence, no choice of a defender who is given by the tribunal and devoted to it: . . . moral (and one might truly say material) torture is employed; . . . opinions, thoughts, feelings, expressed in some hasty words, or in some imprudent writing, are punished with penalties surpassing all ideas of proportion or justice, even supposing the accused to be guilty.

'When one considers the moderation of the tribunals in civilized countries, of France, or England, or Belgium, their scrupulous and even timid anxiety on behalf of the accused, . . . when, for instance, one beholds Louis Napoleon set free after the attempt at Strasbourg (whereas had he been a subject of the Pope's, there would hardly have been gibbets enough found to hang him upon), and when one considers by whom those states are ruled, and who rules the Roman state: when one recollects that those states are styled contemptuously "*heretical*," and "*irreligious*;" that their institutions are called bad and perverting to the human mind, and that these (in the Roman state) are declared so excellent and holy; when we behold the effects of both, human reason would totter, had not God in His mercy placed in the human heart the faculty of knowing and loving the truth and justice, and of detesting lying and iniquity. . . .

'Experience has shown that the savages who consent to hold these tribunals are aware of the desires of those who place them there; they seek, and determine to find, guilt, not innocence; they know that every condemnation raises them in the esteem of their government, whilst every acquittal lowers them. They know that for *them* the steps to honour and rewards are the bodies of their victims, and that it is of little importance whether they be really guilty or innocent. Thanks to the press, the world is now well acquainted with the atrocities perpetrated by these men: the names of the most notorious of them stand marked by universal execration. . . . And after this are we still to see "*Special Commissions*?"

'The opposing and denouncing of such abominations would be a superfluity in any civilized country; it is, alas, no superfluity in Italy! I, who desire above every other thing to observe a scrupulous truthfulness, and who would not utter a falsehood to save a world, will relate things which I did not indeed actually see, but which on soundest reasons I hold to be true, and which also are held so by every one amongst us. If, notwithstanding all my care, I should happen to accuse unjustly, either an individual or the government itself, . . . the smallest, humblest, and weakest of mankind—if he can show me that I have spoken unjustly of him—shall have full reparation

from me, and whilst I retract the injustice I may have fallen into (unintentionally) concerning him, I shall thank him for having so served the cause of truth and equity. But the greatest and most powerful of living men shall not make me unsay one single syllable if I justly accused him.

‘In the summer and autumn of 1843, in Romagna, perpetual increasing vexations and extortions caused a slight emotion in the populations. . . . Some poor little traders and artisans fled to the mountains. . . . In Bologna there was great compassion felt for those poor creatures, as it was well known their act was caused by the intolerable arrangement of the taxes, but no agitation of any sort was shown in the city. This did not suit the police at all ; it being an old art of theirs to imagine, or even to instigate, demonstrations adverse to the government, that they might make their profit out of them. So they represented the state of affairs as a political agitation, and at once commenced prosecutions, domiciliary visits, imprisonments, without real guilt or any grounds of proof ; hence numbers fled, in terror of being suddenly imprisoned. Of course these had to join the former in the mountains. . . . The fear of seizure spread so much, that men of high position and of the first families in the city, feeling their lives and liberty in imminent danger, preferred to fly to those poor men, and to aid them with their means and advice to avoid the galleys or the gibbet.

‘Meantime, in Bologna, the Commissions condemned numbers to long imprisonments, and put to death seven or eight. Of the means used for proving any species of guilt nothing was known, trials and defences being alike secret and unknown. . . .

‘The Legation of Forlì, governed then by Cardinal Gizi (to whose humanity and generosity it is a happiness to bear testimony), offered no scope to the activity of the Commission ; the Cardinal’s mildness and moderation preserving perfect tranquillity.

‘In Ravenna, on the other hand, the Cardinal-Legate Massimi (a Roman prince, known and detested universally for his harshness and arrogance, who had excited the unbounded hatred of the citizens by his open and continued persecutions, by his arbitrary vexations and punishments) : in Ravenna the Commission thought its operations would be most successful, under the auspices and favour of the Cardinal, who was easily aroused to anger, to implacable vengeance, and stupid terrors.

‘The people having been exasperated by a succession of unjust and violent deeds, and their patience put to the severest proof, an event occurred which no provocation could make defensible, but which under such circumstances can assuredly cause no surprise. A Swiss and a carabineer, who had both been conspicuous for their acts of violence and cruelty, were killed ; and this gave the Commission an excuse for extending its action over the whole of the wretched Romagna.

‘This was in 1845. . . . Multitudes were imprisoned. The *supposed* opinions of any examinee were held sufficient for his incarceration. That this was the case, is proved by the infinity of *liberations* still taking place, after months, and in some cases even years, of imprisonment, undergone by persons whom the Commission itself perforce must admit, at last, to have been guiltless.

‘The physical tortures, the moral surprises, and other iniquitous means made use of to extort confessions or revelations, are a saddening and sorrowful history. . . .

‘In the most burning hours of day, on the dust-covered roads of Romagna, was seen slowly advancing a long file of carts, guarded by carabineers and *sbirri*, on which were bound the political *examinees* (*Inquisiti*) whom the Commission was moving from one dungeon to another.

Those were not men accustomed to hardships; they were refined persons of all ages, of all ranks, and the larger part of them innocent even in the eyes of the government. I leave the reader to imagine with what feelings they were seen to traverse the cities in that condition—dirty, dust-covered, burnt by the sun, bound, and treated as highway robbers. It may truly be said of him who uses such means as that to strike terror into a people, as brave and generous as are the Romagnols, that God has taken away his reason and blinded his eyes!

‘All this, however, was vain, as nothing could be extorted by tortures or sufferings from wretched people who told nothing merely because they knew nothing to tell. The judges, despairing, were continually hurrying from the dungeons to the Cardinal (so says one who was then in Bologna), telling him the impossibility of getting anything proved; and the Cardinal urged them to *spend*, to use every art and every effort to succeed. At last, failing wholly to find either conspiracy, plot, or political guilt, by putting together analogies of long-past events and present ones, doubtful evidence of unknown witnesses, and by mixing together smuggling and state offences, a trial was concocted, on which the Commission condemned two persons to death, and numbers to twenty, fifteen, and ten years of the galleys!

‘One noble and generous action came to console the universal suffering in that sad time. These Commissions always entrust the defence of the prisoners to some one devoted to themselves and the government. In those cases, it was given to a lawyer of Forlì, named Ulisse Pantoli, of well-known devotion to the Papal government. But he was too honest and truthful to lend his aid on such an occasion: on the contrary, he became the warm and active defender of the unhappy victims. . . .

‘The Commission and the Cardinal (enraged by this virtuous temerity) imprisoned him. . . .

‘The reader will be as weary of reading so much iniquity, as I am of writing it; but one last fact remains, and he and I must endure our weariness for the truth’s sake, which ought to be made known.

‘One of the prisoners accused of having a hand in the death of the carabineer had, by chance, slept in the country on the night of the homicide, and had also slept in the same room with a friar.

‘To prove his innocence, he produced the testimony of this friar, who declared that the thing was true; and who, for giving that evidence, was severely reprimanded, recalled to Rome, and imprisoned in a monastery! . . .

‘In such condition were the Legations, when, in the summer of this year (1846), the little troop of fugitives, who had taken refuge in the republic of San Marino, heard that that refuge was no longer to be permitted them. . . . The Pope vehemently threatened the little republic, which had no power to resist, and the exiles were nearly reduced to despair by scarcity and want. In this condition, they seemed to have hoped that in an armed struggle something might perchance occur to enable them to escape from the net in which they were caught. They marched towards Rimini. . . .

‘A French newspaper, *La Presse*, . . . has said that “the quiet attitude of the remainder of the Papal States during the revolt of Rimini proves that the Papal subjects are happy and contented.”

‘But the *Presse* is wrong. Be it known to Europe, that Romagna, and the rest of the Papal States, remained tranquil, not because they are satisfied with their present rulers, but because there is in those populations sufficient courage and patriotism to induce them to endure all their ills with patience, rather than run the risk, by resistance, of calling down

greater evils on their country—most especially that greatest of all evils, foreign intervention.

‘Let Europe also know that the revolt at Rimini was made by men who were reduced to not having one yard of earth whereon they could put their foot in safety—by men who could never be sure when they retired to rest that they would not be awoken in the middle of the night by *sbirri*—by men kept in ceaseless uncertainty as to both liberty and life; and every one is aware that, when brought to such a state as that, men will do and dare anything, in the hope of changing it, or getting out of it.

‘The official and paid papers published the most shameful and infamous falsehoods concerning the actions of the men of Rimini during their short rule—shameful and infamous, because he who is powerful ought to be content with his power, and ashamed to descend to fraud and lies. All the best citizens unite in witnessing that the insurgents observed the most perfect moderation and justice; and it is an atrocious calumny to say that they touched the money either of individuals or of the city.

‘Romagna, and all the remainder of the Pontifical States, remained tranquil; and their rulers might say, as was said in a similar case of Poland, “*L'ordre règne à Varsovie.*” But let them not reckon too much on that tranquillity. The Papal government will not obtain real and lasting tranquillity by means of its new tribunals of the *Sacra Consulta*, just introduced to do away with the unbearable scandal of the “Commissions,” but which in point of fact are precisely similar to those, both as regards their doings and the persons of whom they are composed. It will not obtain it by a system of terror, or by the imprisonments that are daily becoming more frequent in the Legations, although all those who had been concerned in the late disturbances had long since left the country. It will not obtain it by its brutal treatment of its political prisoners, whom it treats like robbers and assassins, and most cruelly chains together with such men, contrary to the custom of modern civilized nations; so that men of high character, who are respected for their talents, for their rank, for their irreproachable conduct,—who are regretted and desired, not merely by their own families, but by whole cities,—are now enduring the hourly contact of the vilest wretches in *Città Vecchia*, *S. Leo*, *Forte Urbano*, and *Città Castellana*; the greater number without any proof of guilt—some having, during long years of imprisonment, never as much as seen the face of an examiner or a judge. I only assert what is universally known. But it may obtain it by justice, by love, by pardon—all which it preaches, but never practises; it may obtain it by (for once) practising itself that Holy Law it undertakes to teach. Foreign arms—that is to say, Austrian intervention—keep it on foot, indeed, in a material and violent manner; but this only (like the mercenaries) shows that it has no kind of hold on the regard of its subjects; and, moreover, renders the pontifical government odious to the Italians, daily more anxious for independence, and seeing daily renewed that ancient sin of the Papacy, the calling in the arms of the foreigner to use them against Italians; whilst outside Italy, it is an evil sight to all good men, even to the most devoted Catholics, to see Austria, as it were, hold Romagna by the hair of her head, that the Pope may use her as he will. Hence it is, that not only Protestants and others who are opposed to Rome, but the very Catholics most devoted and attached to her, even the clergy themselves (except those who are bound by their private interest), have lost all respect for the temporal power of the Pope, and proclaim it dangerous to the Faith and to religion. . . .

‘We have seen that the government of the Papal states is injurious to the people; but it contains in itself a worse evil—*i.e.* a total inaptness and repugnance to any amelioration. . . . Some reforms were promised after

the events of 1831. That promise was not kept, and for that there is no defence; it only made more evident the need of effacing the primary blot of injustice, then made still darker by bad faith. . . .

‘But if the present order of things cannot be fundamentally changed . . . why, in the name of common sense, need Rome forbid her learned men to attend the annual Scientific Congresses? Why should she see a peril where even Austria herself sees none?’

‘Why not give up the disgraceful gains of the lottery? I know—because of financial reasons. But is it not too shameful a thing to behold the head of our religion holding open the door to a vice so corrupting and so dangerous, when all civilized nations have closed it?’¹ Would it not be a far greater gain, in every point of view, for Rome to restrict her expenditure, close her lottery, and thus to acquire some credit for acting consistently with those principles of morality and honesty which she professes to teach?

‘Why, also, does the Government oppose, either openly or underhand, every effort that may be made to improve the instruction and education of the people? I know, and will say at once: because in all those efforts it sees one vast design of the Liberals for changing the conditions of the State. But is it not too shameful that, whilst open war is waged against Aporti, his “Manual,” and his Schools, the Censure will permit “The Book of Art” [a book of dreams to aid in winning in the lottery], and the “Indovina Grillo” [another]. Truly this is a splendid moral education for a people! . . .

‘Rome dreads the passing intercourse of the foreigner. I know, too, that the foreigner sometimes brings corruption, and perhaps does this in Italy; and why? Because Italy is poor and weak. In many cities, and most of all in Rome, multitudes (having no other hope of helping themselves) look, it is true, to the visitor, and, in order to make heavy profits out of him, make themselves servile and abject before him. But let but the Italians be permitted free, open, and honourable means of earning their livelihood, and then see whether they will continue to be the vile slaves of the foreigners’ gold! I hear that very many foreigners visit France, Germany, &c.; but I never hear that they degrade or corrupt those nations.

‘To a people ignorant, feeble, and poverty-stricken, everything is poison. Let them freely use God’s gifts bestowed on them; do not deprive them of their powers (and with them of all sense of their own dignity); permit them to become rich, cultivated, and powerful; and you will have no need to fear foreigners, their corruption, or their influence.’

It may be asked whether there was no reply to this remarkable publication. Yes, there *was* a reply; and it is with real sorrow that we feel it to be a part of our duty to refer to it. The reply was this: *The government of Austria compelled the Grand Duke Leopold to expel Azeglio from Tuscany.* Now no act could have been more uncongenial to the temper of that prince. Leopold was naturally kind-hearted, generous, conciliatory. He was averse to any unnecessary interference with literary men; as has been shown in these pages, on a former occasion, with reference

¹ In Rome, on the Sunday, whilst all shops, cafés, hotels, &c. are shut, and even during the hours of divine service, the lottery offices alone have the privilege of remaining open.

to the Tuscan poet, Giuseppe Giusti. More than once he had ventured to withstand the political dictates of Austria. But there was a limit to his power; he could not always be resisting the swoop of the overshadowing wings and threatening talons of the double-headed eagle. On this occasion, with whatever reluctance, he yielded, and obeyed his master.

But the reply to the pamphlet was still incomplete. There was a lady, the daughter of Manzoni, who (as we remarked), had become, by marriage, the Marchioness Luisa d'Azeglio. A dutiful daughter, as well as an affectionate wife, she was wont at times to repair to Milan to solace the old age of her father. It is almost incredible, but it is nevertheless a simple historical fact, that Francis, Emperor of Austria, *banished this lady from Milan*. This from the lineal descendant of him who was called 'the living law'; the just and chivalrous Rodolph of Hapsburg!

This twofold reply had all the success that it deserved. From that moment the voice of Massimo d'Azeglio resounded through Italy: he acquired a political influence which he never lost. His advice to them—that they should abstain from ill-timed, isolated struggles; that they should cherish civil fortitude, and reserve war for opportunities of national emancipation; that above all they should look to Piedmont—was respectfully listened to, and in most quarters scrupulously followed.

We had earnestly desired to avoid all reference to Austria; because we are averse to any proceeding which may seem to savour of striking the fallen.¹ A preacher in her capital has, to his lasting honour, denounced as sufficient reason for the events of 1866, the immorality of the city of Vienna. The few in England who have studied the recital of the oppression exercised by Austria in Italy, naturally thought more of her rule in those provinces than any domestic guilt, and they said within themselves, as the echo of the guns of Sadowa resounded in their ears, '*Laissez passer la justice de Dieu.*'

A careful reading of the pages which we have just transferred from the pamphlet of Azeglio will supply some more evidence whereon to base a judgment concerning Dr. Newman's assertion:

¹ See Farini i. p. 14, and other authorities. We regard the expulsion of the Marchioness from Milan as the act of the Emperor Francis, because it is well known, as Mr. Grant-Duff observes, that 'he had concentrated in his hands the management, or mismanagement, of the whole of the Home Department and of the Police.' *Studies in European Politics*, p. 142. (Edinburgh: Edmonston and Douglas, 1866.)

² This declaration is, on the present writer's part, no *façon de parler*, no mere piece of rhetoric. Some months back he was preparing a pamphlet intended to exhibit the true character of the Austrian rule in Italy, which a distinguished London firm had kindly undertaken to publish. With the news of the cession of Venetia he threw down his pen.

'The Roman people, too, under the sway of the Popes, at least have had a very easy time of it.' But at this point we feel constrained to say a few words respecting the influence of Austria on the Papal government; because, however much we may regret it, it is impossible to do justice to the subject, if we pass by the consideration of that influence. To do so would be not only a wrong to Italy, but it would be a grievous injustice to the Papacy.

For no one can determine how much better in all respects the temporal government of the Papacy *might* have proved, had the Congress of Vienna done, as many even at the time desired, namely, erected a kingdom of Poland and a kingdom of Italy.¹ Dr. Newman, in his volume on 'The Office and Work of Universities,' published in 1856, made some remarks on the relation of Austria to the Roman See; but they were remarks of an off-hand character, little worthy, we must think, of so great a man. To read his flowing sentences, one might think that there had scarcely been any *very* serious complications between Austria and the Papacy since 1815. 'Austria,' says Dr. Newman, 'is a great and religious power; she inherits the prerogatives of the German Empire and the titles of the Cæsars. There must ever be relations of a very peculiar kind between the Holy See and the Holy Roman Empire.' With one part of this assertion we can entirely agree. We think that, during the last half-century, there *have* been 'relations of a *very* peculiar kind' between Rome and Vienna; and we proceed to offer some brief elucidations of our meaning.

Let us imagine a Roman Catholic student at Oscott, being summoned by a prelate of his own communion, strictly examined, with the aid of a legal assessor, respecting the merest trifles of conduct, entirely acquitted, and then addressed by the bishop in the following style:—'*Sir, I regret extremely—these are odious things—but what would you have?—what can one do?—FRANCE COMPELS US TO ACT THUS—the King of the Belgians sends us the notes—you see we cannot act otherwise—THEY ARE STRONGER THAN WE.*' Let us further suppose this student to be a member of an ancient and noble family, whose father was an ambassador at the Court of St. James's (Dr. Northcote might be able to form an opinion respecting the probable influence of this last-named element). Englishmen would think this a *very* peculiar kind of interference. It might even appear in our eyes—but then our notions are *so* narrow and insular—to be something like a grievance. Grievance or not, it is at any rate a *fact*, that a scene

¹ Eustace, in his 'Classical Tour,' made in 1816, prophetically regrets that this was not so arranged by the Congress. Eustace was a Roman Catholic priest, but of the old régime, and very English.

of this nature (substituting 'Austria' for 'France,' and 'Duke of Modena' for 'King of the Belgians') did actually occur at Rome, in 1820, between Monsignore (afterwards Cardinal) Bernetti, and the youthful Massimo d'Azeglio.¹

Again, during the entire period between 1815 and 1848, this 'great and religious power' not only required (which perhaps was natural) all the parish priests in Lombardy to take the oath of fealty to the Emperor of Austria, not only nominated all the bishops in that province, but further restricted these bishops from all intercourse with Rome, and even from addressing their own flocks without the previous censure of a subaltern employé.²

Again, 'the religious power' (it is fair to say in the person of the chief of the police) recommended an illustrious Milanese nobleman to attach himself to the *dansesuses* of the opera-house, rather than meddle with politics, on the ground that 'the Emperor loved young men, and wished them to be amused!'³

'What is the Pope in reality,' asked Torelli in 1846, 'but a subject of Austria?' (*Che è egli in realtà se non un suddito dell' Austria?*)⁴ Lest, however, Italian authorities may seem biassed, we will again cite the language of Döllinger:—

'That unhappy, hateful pressure which Austria imposed upon the entire Peninsular, was in reality the main cause why the value of the Papal see, as a moral bulwark to all Italy, became so very much obscured in the eyes of the nation. *The Roman Government itself groaned under this pressure, and yet was forced to strengthen and confirm it, by calling in the Austrian troops of occupation, and by the political helplessness that forced it to follow, in temporal and political affairs, the will of the Cabinet of Vienna.*'⁵

The following words, from the same author, have an almost prophetic sound; though in general political prophecy is by no means a strong point with Dr. Döllinger:—

'The first possibility is, that a new war breaking out, a victory of the Austrian arms should restore Austrian preponderance and the Papal dominion over the whole extent of the states of the Church. Whether such a turn of affairs is hoped for by many, I do not know; but what I do know is, that it is not wished by any intelligent friend of the Papal see. A permanent occupation of the country by Austrian troops, which would then become necessary, would render the Pope's situation worse, and his temporal power more unattainable.'⁶

Dr. Newman may, however, urge, as he has done in his 'Office of Universities,' that Austria under the rule of its youthful (and really, as we believe, most excellently-intentioned) Emperor,

¹ Authority: M. d'Azeglio himself, in 'La Politique et le Droit Chretien.'

² Authority: The religious and very Roman Cesare Cantù, in his 'Storia di Cento Anni,' vol. iii. p. 486.

³ Azeglio, *ubi supra*, pp. 78, 79.

⁴ Pensieri sull'Italia, quoted by Döllinger.

⁵ The Church and the Churches, p. 445.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 465.

repealed the Josephine laws. On that point, as regards Lombardy, we must again appeal to Massimo d'Azeglio:—

‘Let none say that the Concordat of 1855 has diminished this evil. The Concordat of 1855 was never permitted to be executed in the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom. And this ought to be fully known. . . . The sole privilege which the Lombardo-Venetian clergy seem to have acquired by that Concordat is, that on every appointment to a vacant benefice, the newly-appointed occupant pays to the Austrian Government a fee about equivalent to a whole year's income. . . . Certainly Austria, with the Josephine laws, . . . deserved the severity which armed the conscience of Christendom against her. But when as now [*in the Concordat of 1855*] she first, by this solemn act, concluded with Pius IX. (which in so many respects resembles the bygone systems that of old raised such implacable hostilities against Catholicism), arms the hands of the Church's enemies, and then herself contrives, by *interpretative instructions*, to make the Concordat a dead letter in so large a portion of the empire, thus leaving to Rome the whole odium of an act whereof she herself eludes the fulfilment, we are led to inquire whether the “service” of the present day be any better than the *outrage* of the past?’¹

Politically speaking, Austria, the minor Duchies, the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, and the Papacy were reputed to be friendly. And yet never was friendship more hollow or unsound. In 1848 the Dukes of Parma and Tuscany invited their subjects to join Piedmont in the patriotic attempt to drive the strangers out of Italy;² and Cardinal Antonelli loudly declared that there was no safety for the Papacy but in open and declared participation in a crusade against Austria.³ The ‘religious power’ was even reported to have announced that in the event of such participation she was prepared to withdraw all bishops in the empire from the *spiritual* authority of Rome; and this rumour, *mirabile dictu*, did not seem in the slightest degree to shock the consciences of the Ultramontane journals like the *Univers*. Naples, too, promised troops against Austria. But when was a Neapolitan Bourbon faithful to his word? These troops never came, and their absence, as much as any one thing, turned the scale against Charles Albert. But just before the fall of that monarchy, Francis II. offered Garibaldi the use of the Neapolitan fleet wherewith to attack Austria, on the condition of the kingdom of Naples being spared.⁴ But a reference to the events of 1848,

¹ La Politique et le Droit Chrétien.

² Cantù, *ubi supra*, and plenty of cognate authorities, French and English, as well as German and Italian.

³ *Rev. des deux Mondes*, tome xiii. for 1852, p. 55. (M. Gouraud's article.) See the documents as given by Farini, vol. ii. chap. 7.

⁴ (*Annuaire des deux Mondes*, for 1859–60). ‘The ministers of Francis II. gave a certain La Cecilia 1,200 ducats, and full powers to make the following proposals to Garibaldi for a treaty between him and the King of Naples.

‘1st. That Garibaldi should be granted a free passage through Puglia and the Abruzzi, to attack the Marches and Romagna. 2d.

and the still later ones of 1859, may well make us pause for a moment, for a new character had meantime appeared before the eyes of Europe.

The new character was a reforming Pontiff. The Conclave which sat on the occasion of the death of Pope Gregory XVI. in 1846, only lasted for the *very* unusually short space of three days. At the end of that time the electors, many of whom had feared undue influence from Austria, had elected, on June 16th, 1846, the Cardinal Mastai Farezzi, since known as Pope Pius the Ninth.

Waving the question, whether it be possible for those who are not members of the Church of Rome to form a fair judgment on the character of a Pope, and especially a Pope yet living, we submit to the judgment of others the following remarks concerning this Pontiff considered as a man, a theologian, and a temporal ruler.

As a man, he enjoys a reputation perhaps as admirable and unstained as ever was accorded to living person by the combined testimony of friend and foe. His antecedents were most excellent. The noble family from which he sprung was greatly respected. As a missionary in Italy in 1816, as secretary to the Legate, Monsignore Muzi, who went to Chili in 1823, as Governor of a Hospital in Rome, as Archbishop of Spoleto, and as Cardinal Bishop of Imola, he had displayed the most exemplary qualities.

Nor has he since belied that reputation. Pure, benevolent, economical, desirous of doing good to others, and personally un-revengeful, he has passed through grievous trials and disappointments with a marvellously unsullied fame, ever creating the impress upon others' minds of the presence of great piety, benignity, and sincerity. Even those least favourable to the system, political and ecclesiastical, which is represented in his

'2d. He should have full leave to levy recruits in the kingdom [of Naples].

'3d. He should be furnished with transports and supplies.

'4th. 50,000 soldiers and the Neapolitan fleet were to be placed at his disposal for the liberation of Venice! (The King of Naples was at this period in close alliance with the Emperor of Austria, and had just received a document from an Imperial Highness at Innsbruck to enable him to employ as many of the Austrian soldiers, whose term of service was complete, as he could induce to enlist.)

'5th. Garibaldi was to bind himself not to attack the Neapolitan mainland territory.'

The following note is appended in the *Annuaire*. 'This extraordinary episode cannot be denied; it is related in the greatest detail by M. La Cecilia himself, in a letter dated, "Potenza, Aug. 27," and published in the *Journal Officiel* of Naples, on the 10th of September. Messrs. Martino and Liborio Romano replied to that letter, and denied their personal responsibility; but M. Liborio Romano expressly allowed the correctness of the facts.'

person, are willing, for the most part, to pay the most ample tribute to the extraordinary excellence of the man.

Of Pius IX. as a theologian, we are not able to speak with equal confidence. He does not seem to be credited with the possession of the scientific knowledge of theology or the love of letters possessed by his immediate predecessor. But unless we are much misinformed, he has an intense belief in the spiritual authority of his office. Dr. Newman has recently said, that few Roman Catholics would go so far in the recognition of Papal authority as the present editor of the *Dublin Review*. We suspect that there is at least one man in Italy who goes quite as far; and that is the Pope himself. With such convictions of his own right to decide the most momentous problems in theology, it must be supposed that he regards appeals to antiquity as all but needless, if not positively treasonable; unless they shall be made for the express purpose of supporting a foregone conclusion. Experiments in the direction of freedom of thought have not prospered under the Pontificate of Pius IX. The Congress at Munich met with so little favour, that it has not been repeated; the Congress at Malines fared little better: the *Home and Foreign Review* has been silenced; the theologians of Louvaine have been frowned upon. In Rome itself, the organ of the Jesuits, the *Civiltà* (that particularly uncivil paper, as Passaglia terms it), is the accredited mouthpiece of the court.

Under such a régime it is not wonderful that we hear the repetition of those complaints made by Giacomo Leopardi in 1822,¹ of the utter repression of mental vigour in Rome. This complaint does not come from merely hostile quarters. Persons who have visited the city, with every desire to think favourably of all they saw and heard, employ language hardly less strong than that of Leopardi. With the splendid exception of the astronomer, Father Secchi, science is all but unrepresented in Rome. And just as there is no science, so too there is no literature. Books on archæology and a few local histories are all that can be had.² To suppose that, to a highly intellectual population, such repression is no grievance, is simply absurd. Then take the greatest names among philosophic theologians of our time in Italy: Ventura, Rosmini, Gioberti, Passaglia, Tosti; and you do not find *one* that has kept on thoroughly good terms with the court of Rome. And these breaches have occurred, be it observed, under the Pontificate of Pius IX.

But it is as a temporal ruler that we have here to consider Pope Pius. The questions which have been mooted concerning

¹ Epistolario, No. 152. (Firenze: Le Monnier, 1856, vol. i. p. 258.) We have given a great part of this letter in this Review in the article already referred to (p. 326).

² Dollinger, pp. 402, 444.

his merits and demerits in this point of view are extremely complex and difficult. It is easy to do him injustice : it is not easy to be fair. By all means let our sentences be read with watchfulness, and even with suspicion. We *desire* that this should be the case.

Dr. Newman speaks of the reigning Pontiff in the following terms :—

‘He is one whom to see is to love : one who overcomes even strangers, even enemies, by his very look and voice ; whose presence subdues, whose memory haunts even the sturdy, resolute mind of the English Protestant.’
—*Sermon*, p. 16.

We believe this to be strictly true. The latest manifestation of such a sentiment that has occurred to us came from the lips of a lady, a Scottish Presbyterian, who had been at Rome in 1864. ‘I do hope,’ said this lady, after employing terms calculated to justify the above-cited language ; ‘I do hope that they will not take his dominions from him.’ We had no opportunity of reply ; but our thoughts went back some two-and-twenty years—to the day when we had gazed upon Pope Gregory : and we considered that if the *personal* goodness of that Pontiff did not avail to save his states from the condition painted by M. Charles Gouraud ; so, too, it might be small consolation to the friends and parents of prisoners lying in Pontifical dungeons to be assured that Pius IX. is personally kind-hearted, and is utterly ignorant of the cruelty and injustice with which these victims have been treated. The importance of the subject must be our excuse for repetition on this head. We beg the reader to consider once more the following facts, though they have already been stated in another form :—

‘In strong and dark contrast with what was a characteristic of the Papal Government—with that mildness for which it was justly praised—has been the arbitrary power of imprisonment, filling the gaols with captives, for whom no one, as in other countries, would be permitted to go bail. Cardinal Morichini, in his Finance Report, expatiated upon the wretched state of the prisons, and the unavoidable demoralization of persons confined in them. Even in this matter, financial difficulties rendered it impossible to effect a comprehensive reform. *In the doleful times that have passed since 1848, there grew up a system of incarcerating masses of persons in unhealthy gaols, and from that system sprang up still greater rancour against the authorities.*’

Then, after citing from the Governor of Faenza the instances, already named, of persons dragged to prison on precaution, and adding that Governor’s own remarks, that ‘450 such cases have been pending for four or five years,’ and that ‘by such modes ‘of proceeding no love for princes can be implanted in the hearts ‘of the people,’ Dr. Döllinger adds :—

‘It is to be understood that such circumstances as these occurred without the slightest knowledge on the part of the Pope. *Had he been*

made acquainted with them, his own goodness of heart and love of justice would, most assuredly, have impelled him to oppose and put an end to them.¹

This last sentence suggests to our minds three questions. *Firstly*, What sort of *entourage* has Pius IX. around him, that he *cannot* hear of these things? *Secondly*, Are the subjects of a government bound to be content with a cruel *régime* because the head of the state has not the slightest knowledge of what is being done? *Thirdly*, are 'the *doleful times since 1848*' contemporaneous with a part of Dr. Newman's '*very easy time*'?

But it is necessary to go back in thought to the beginning of this Pontiff's reign, and to mark the beams of a dawn which seems to be ending in such storm and gloom. And here we think that any honest man will feel himself compelled to make very large admissions respecting the difficulties which beset the first steps of *Pio Nono*. If his immediate predecessors, the two Piuses, Leo, and, above all, Gregory, had *desired* to render the Papal throne untenable in the future, it is difficult to see how any men (not being by nature wicked and tyrannical) could have contrived to make matters much worse than they had become by the year 1846. In that year, Pius IX. entered upon an inheritance mortgaged, almost beyond precedent, not merely in respect of silver and gold, but of the more precious articles of a people's trust and love. The glad shout that hailed the return of Pius VII. in 1814 had long since died away, and in its stead was cherished a deep and rankling sense of disappointment; a sentiment possibly in some respects exaggerated and unreasonable, but, in the main, only too well founded.

The mere advent of a new ruler created a gleam of hope. Unknown as he was to the general public of Rome, Count Mastai Ferretti had on his side not only the advantage of his noble personal presence, but the fact that he was still in the prime of life. It was not long before he fanned into a fresh blaze the dying embers of the fire of loyalty.

An English politician has cast an air of lasting ridicule over the very phrase of the 'three courses.' We fear, however, that it is impossible to dispense with a phrase, which so often represents a solid fact. *Pio Nono* found the prisons in his dominions entirely full of political offenders; and he certainly had three courses open to his choice. Course *one* was simply to leave them there. Course *two*, to appoint a commission, which should select proper objects of mercy and set them free; at the same time reducing punishments in the case of all but the utterly hardened and incorrigible, who had combined real crime with political struggles. Course *three* was to proclaim a general amnesty. The first of these plans would have created an absolute despair, which in no

¹ Dollinger, *ubi supra*, p. 397.

short time must have been followed by the wildest outbursts of revolutionary excess. It may be doubted whether there was even a single cardinal of sane mind who would have taken on himself the responsibility of advising that matters should be left *in statu quo*. The *second* course would have been very feasible in any country which had been governed according to law. In England, France, or Prussia, the notes of judges and records of trials could have been appealed to, and a commission might speedily have advised that A, B, and C should be pardoned; D set free, but banished for two years; E detained a little longer, with hopes held out to him; and F retained for the present, as being to all appearance hopelessly incorrigible. Some 1800 years ago, Claudius Lysias rescued a prisoner from the hands of the Jews, and bade his accusers state distinctly before Felix and before Festus what their charges really were. Festus too proclaimed, that it was not 'the manner of the Romans to deliver any man to die, before that he which is accused have the accusers face to face, and have licence to answer for himself concerning the charges brought against him.'¹ But the *Christian* rulers of Rome and the Romagna had lost sight of these most excellent and righteous *heathen* rules. The cardinals had *not* thought it 'unreasonable to send a prisoner and not withal to specify the charges laid against him.' And how could they, with the slightest prospect of fairness, grant a partial amnesty? In the long list of those condemned (to take a single instance) by Cardinal Rivarola, who—save the Judge of all men—had the glimmer of an idea respecting the amount of guilt contracted by men whose sentences had been '*pronounced privately, at the simple will of the Cardinal, upon mere presumption that the parties belonged to the liberal sects;—and without any opportunity given to the accused for defence?*'²

Thus, this intermediate course, which in itself surely looks fair and wise, though possible elsewhere, was impossible in Rome. But we can well believe those writers who declare that a comprehensive amnesty was the step most grateful to the generous heart of the new Pontiff; nor do we think it in the least degree improbable that many of the prisoners then liberated may have since displayed signal ingratitude. Still the amnesty was a grand and noble act, nor can we perceive that subsequent results have ever proved that any other course would have proved more beneficial either to the people or to the Papal Government. Let those who censure it point out the plan of action which they would, under the circumstances, have recommended.

¹ Acts xxiii. 26—35; xxiv. 7 *et seq.*; xxv. 16, 27. The word 'crime,' in our present usage, answers less well to *εγκλημα* and *ατρία* than does 'charge.'

² Mr. Gladstone, as quoted above, p. 155.

The Pope was supposed, at this period, to have set much store on the advice of Father Ventura. The general drift of his actions marched towards a reconciliation with the spirit of temporal progress. His private charities were on a scale of the most princely munificence. He paid the debts of the prisoners incarcerated as debtors in the Capitol, gave away in dowries to poor maidens a sum equivalent to nearly 2,800*l*.; conceded far more liberty to the Jews than they had previously enjoyed; reduced the expenses of his own table and household; and suppressed pensions which had been unjustly bestowed. The deservedly popular Cardinal Gizi, whom many had desired to see Pope, was created Secretary of State, and under his able administration the material wants of the country received prompt and vigorous attention. Such attention was indeed deeply needed. Meanwhile the Pope did not forget the other side of his functions; and a letter addressed by him on June 14, 1847, to the heads of the religious orders, has been greatly praised.¹

But the inherent difficulties of the position which he occupied now began to make themselves felt. In 1831 a famous memorandum had been presented to the reigning Pontiff, Gregory XVI. by the great Powers of Europe (including Prussia, Russia, and England), recommending many improvements. But in 1847, the spectacle of a reforming Pope was far from agreeable to many of the *employés* who had served under Gregory and his Secretary Cardinal Lambruschini; far from agreeable to at least one of the great European Powers.

That Power, we need hardly say, was Austria. The feeling of the court of Vienna may be judged of by a brief extract from a letter afterwards (in July, 1849) presented to the British Parliament. In this letter our Ambassador, Lord Ponsonby, announces the *more* than readiness of Austria to assist the Papal Government, which it considered to be very weak. 'His Highness' [Prince Metternich], says Lord Ponsonby, 'used the following words *twice or thrice*: "The Emperor has determined 'not to lose his Italian possessions.'"'² Precisely so. It was in that quarter the one dominant sentiment.

A plot was formed in Rome to isolate the Pope from his new advisers. It was the work of the Sanfedisti. Its dimensions have probably been much exaggerated; and the complicity of Austria, which is still thoroughly believed in by many, must in our judgment be pronounced *not proven*.³ The plot, such as it

¹ For the assertions made in this paragraph, see the *Nouv. Biog. Gén.* art. *Pie IX.*; and compare Farini, Döllinger, and the newspapers of that date.

² Letter given by Farini, vol. i. p. 230, and Mr. Gladstone's note.

³ The *Nouv. Biog. Gén.* believes in this complicity. But French writers are possibly a little prejudiced against Austria. Farini's very temperate comments tend the other way.

was, came to nothing, but the provincial towns had meanwhile resolved to keep with rejoicings the anniversary of the amnesty. These rejoicings seem to have been in some places slightly noisy and tumultuous; and on the 17th July, 1847, the Austrians, on this shallow pretext, took the insulting step of marching into and taking possession of the town of Ferrara. The Cardinal Legate of Ferrara, Ciacchi, published protests of great force and dignity against this act of usurpation.

And now drew on that crisis which so forcibly displayed to the mind of Italy and of all Europe the serious difficulties which inevitably surround the throne of a Pontiff-King. Whatsoever in Italy was tender in devotion, whatsoever was lofty in genius, whatsoever was noble with the nobleness of long descent, with the loftier nobleness of inborn spirit, or with both combined; whatsoever was fanned with the love of freedom and the breath of hope,—all from Alps to sea had long been chanting, sometimes lowly sometimes loudly, the one chorus: 'Away with the stranger:' '*fuori il straniero.*'

For this end had poets sung, and statesmen planned, and mothers counted as little the lives of their children, and patriots resigned the amusements of social intercourse and the prospects of peaceful life, and been consigned to the dungeons of Spielberg. Men who differed in much else at least were agreed in this. They might be in politics federatists, monarchists, or republicans; in religion ultramontane or sceptical; but they were bent on seeing as its own mistress, untrodden by the step of a foreign soldiery,

'Il bel paese,

Dov' il sì suona, e il mare circonda e l'Alpi."

Those who disbelieve us may be asked to name one single writer of genius who took the other side. At present, passing by the long list of poets or secular writers, we will only mention three who are in spiritual matters specially pro-papal; namely, Cesare Cantù, Cesare Balbo, and the Benedictine monk Luigi Tosti. For Cantù let his '*Storia di Cento Anni*' speak.² For Balbo it is enough to observe that he boasts that no less than *eleven* of his name and family fought sword in hand against Radetzky at the disastrous conflict of Novara. The burning words of Tosti were cited in March, 1866, from the University pulpit at Oxford; and if nothing else in the preacher's discourse fixed the attention of his audience, these words at least certainly did.

The seizure of Ferrara and the protest of Ciacchi produced a prodigious effect upon the public mind. And now what was to follow on the part of a sovereign who also claimed to be an *Episcopus Episcoporum*? No candid mind will venture to assert

¹ A passage bearing on this subject will be found in our number for April 1862, p. 341.

² Messina 1864.

that the answer to this question is a simple or an easy one. That, in his heart of hearts, *Pio Nono* loved his native land; that he would have been most thankful to see every Austrian soldier withdrawn across the Alps, there can be little doubt. He even advised the Emperor of Austria not to insist on a rule which was against the will and conscience of the governed. Austria, of course, paid as much attention as she usually has done to good advice from her truest friends. Meanwhile there broke out at Paris, on February 10, 1848, the revolution which drove King Louis Philippe from his throne.

Troops went forth from Rome with the Pope's blessing, which *virtually*, though not *professedly*, aided the anti-Austrian cause, if only in this way: that they set other Italian regiments at liberty to act against Radetzky. But the Pope rejected Antonelli's advice, and refused to declare war against Austria. History will probably honour him for this refusal; and for our own part we most certainly are not prepared to blame him. But the refusal caused an outbreak, which ended in the shameful assassination of Rossi, and the flight of the Pontiff to Gaeta, on the 24th of November, 1848.

We cannot but think that those have reason on their side who maintain that, if flight was a necessity, Civit  Vecchia, being in his own dominions, would have proved a far better place. He would have been equally safe, and far less under foreign influence. As matters stood, Pius IX. was surrounded at Gaeta with a retrograde set of Neapolitans and of foreign ambassadors. *From that date, the reforming Pope became a reactionary Pope.* The man who had tried to make terms with modern civilization became the decided opponent of that spirit which at first he had fostered and helped to spread abroad.

We have wished to proclaim ungrudgingly the convictions of the goodness of the *man*. With the *theologian* we are, of course, unable to sympathise; nor do we at all imagine that his school of divinity will triumph even within the pale of his own communion. But as regards the sovereign our impression is—of course, we *may* be prejudiced and mistaken—that Pius IX. does *not* possess the gifts which constitute the statesman. After trying to make all allowance for the *damnosa h reditas* to which he succeeded, and for the extraordinary difficulties of his position, we are unable to discern in his conduct any *single faint* trace of those large and comprehensive views, which are naturally associated in our minds with such memories as those of a Hildebrand and an Innocent III. But we have been bestowing on our readers far too much of our own. It is high time to return to the evidence of others.

One result of the Pope's acceptance of the hospitality of Gaeta

is thought to have been this: that he could never again open his lips respecting any wrong-doings committed in the kingdom of the Two Sicilies. Whatever might be the breaches of good faith towards the people on the part of their rulers, whatever the severity of political punishments, whatever the ecclesiastical abuses, there was one quarter from which King Ferdinand and his son, Francis II., were safe. No syllable of remonstrance was likely to come, *none ever did come*, from the lips of the chief Bishop of Italy. At this point we shall introduce a few passages concerning Sicily from a little publication which ought to have been included in our list, the '*Elemosina e Ricchezza*'¹ of Father Filippo Bartolommeo. This writer was for some time one of the delegates for the promotion of education among the lower classes in Sicily. His theology is intensely Roman; indeed, we shall presently refer to one of his tracts which is specially directed against Protestantism.

'This Christian and excellent institution [he is alluding to infant schools] which has long been widely spread among all civilized nations, was till 1860 only hoped for, by all the educated classes in the ex-kingdom of the Two Sicilies. The immorality or the foolish policy of the extinct Government had always prevented this hope from being realized. The Jesuits also, under various pretexts, co-operated with the various Governments of Italy (then so dismembered), and consisting in reality only of Austrian provinces. The Jesuits co-operated with all these Governments in opposing insurmountable obstacles to the unity and independence of Italy, to the inevitable and successive development of the faculties of the human mind, to all progress, to human perfectibility, to the universal and true opinion that it is God's will that this shall be realized, and they blamed, condemned, and resisted, by their preachings, by their books, by their intrigues, and by their manœuvres, infant schools and asylums, mendicity refuges, institutions of public benevolence, prison systems, savings banks, popular education, steamboats, and railroads. . . .

'Popular education (let us honestly confess it) *existed not*, either in the convictions, the desires, the habits, or the practice of the greater part of the Neapolitan, Sicilian, or *Roman* provinces. These fallen Governments (who, on the contrary, dreaded it as the greatest enemy to their despotism) had always opposed it, after the fashion of barbarian sovereigns, by the wretched pay they allowed the masters, by the bad systems and ignorant teachers they provided, and by the worthless books they put into the hands of the children. . . .

'It is a fact long since equally well known to all people, that formerly in Sicily, in the ex-kingdom of Naples, in the ex-Pontifical states (wherein the wealth of the many episcopal sees, and of the numerous monasteries, passed all bounds), there is not a single infant school, not a day or Sunday school, not an orphanage, whether for boys or girls, not a mendicants' refuge, not an asylum for poor girls in danger of temptation from their poverty, or for the fallen who repent; not a reformatory for boys, after or before they have incurred punishment—in a word, not one single institution for the prevention or cure, the lessening or correcting, of any species of vice or misfortune, which is supported either wholly, or half, or even

¹ Messina, 1864.

only a third, or a quarter, by any of the rich episcopal prebends, or by the vast possessions of the Cloistered Societies. . . .

‘Within a space of thirty years, the diocese of Messina was governed by four successive archbishops, whom the Bourbons rewarded with that dignity (and with its prebendal income of 7,000 ounces annually, beside the heavy fees from new canons, new curés, new archpriests, and new abbesses of thirteen monasteries, and all the ordinary *Cancellaria* [Diocesan] fees) . . . for the supreme merit of having been born sons of princely, ducal, or other titled houses. Neither I, nor any of my excellent brethren the clergy of Messina, nor the people of that metropolis, or of the diocese, ever heard the voice of our most noble pastors utter one single sermon or homily, or pronounce one syllable of religious instruction. Two of them could not even understand the text of the Bible, nor did they possess as much as a copy of it, or even a translation. . . . Innumerable, and of every order and of every colour, are the cloistered proprietors of both sexes. The lands of the feminine monastics form a very large proportion of the ecclesiastical property in Sicily. All these live in ease and comfort; many who belong to the wealthiest monasteries lead a life of luxury. . . . In none of their churches and basilicas, though placed in the most populous parts of the country, is there ever heard (on the Sunday even) the voice of a monk giving a brief sermon, or a simple explanation of religious doctrine. . . . The clerical and priestly portion of them pass their time singing in choir; the lay members in collecting those alms which, according to Jesus Christ, would be much better bestowed on the orphan, the widow, and the sick—on all who are unable to labour. . . .

‘It is by no means my desire to declare war to monachism and the religious societies, or to proclaim them useless or hurtful to the civil community, in the same way or on the same grounds on which this is done by the profound philosopher or the learned economist. I look at these institutions solely in their religious aspect, and I have endeavoured to prove that the episcopate, as well as the cloister, should not regard themselves as proprietors, but as administrators, of the goods of the poor, and that in Sicily they have not fulfilled their duty of aiding, instructing, and civilizing the unhappy classes among our people. I know also that the type, the ideal of a monk, of a friar, as exemplified in those holy founders, is not to be found in our day among the many individuals composing the so great variety of our cloistered orders, and that the monasteries and the convents are not (as they were in their beginnings) the resort of learned excellent persons of mortified life.’

We commend these remarks to those who marvel at the existence of anti-monastic feeling in Italy and Sicily

The following is from his preamble to the ‘Discorso contra il Protestantismo.’ It is specially addressed to the clergy of Messina and of other Italian provinces. It corroborates what we have just affirmed; namely, the change which passed over the spirit of Pope Pius after the flight to Gaeta. That he should have been disappointed was natural; but this sudden and complete revulsion of opinion, this determination to break with all the ideas which he had cherished, and to ban all that he had heretofore blessed, is precisely one of those changes which is often seen in the career of an impulsive, feverish, and irresolute mind, and precisely what is *not* seen in the history and development of a really kingly and commanding one. For this is no

case of a man being led onwards by a supposed logical necessity to conclusions which he did not originally perceive ; on the contrary, it is the intellectual, unheroic process of tying up premisses and conclusions into one bundle of fagots for the burning :—

‘ Pius IX. was, as every one knows, the initiator of the Italian revolution of 1849, the object of which was the liberty and independence of the nation ; but afterwards, yielding to the suggestions of the Roman Court, he contradicted himself, and became, by his authority, by his actions, and by secret intrigues, its most determined opponent. . . . If the reformed sects shall take root in this [Messina] and in other of the great cities of Italy, and from them gradually extend to the lesser towns, the responsibility of that great evil will lie wholly on the clerical party, which so obstinately opposes itself to the most legitimate desires, to the progress in civilization, and to the *autonomy* of the country. If it will persist in its stolid opposition, if it will continue unscrupulously to confound the rights of God with those of Cæsar, and maintain the union, in the person of the Pontiff, of the priesthood and the empire, this strange new doctrine and its anomalous teaching will sooner or later (I foresee with sorrow) be followed by the Italian nation for mere peace and quietness’ sake.

‘ The establishment of a great national Church, ruled, as in Russia, Prussia, Sweden, Denmark, and Greece, by the sovereign, will be inevitable. The chief obstacle hitherto to the effecting of this [*attuazione*] has been the long-suffering of Victor Emmanuel, the deep catholicity of the House of Savoy. . . .

‘ It is superfluous for me to explain that I am now considering the Papacy in the purity of its Divine institution, and not as in great degree turned from the fulfilment of its religious duties by the burden and pomp of its worldly kingdom, which was wholly man’s work, and so, like all other human institutions, has a beginning, a development, a decline, and an end. Emperors and kings lavished honours and rich fiefs on the episcopate, and placed above the immortal tiara of the great priest and first of bishops the fading earthly crown, in order to lessen and control the freedom and independence of the Church, subdue by favours the dreaded moral power of the Pope, make him an accomplice in their policy, and their own equal in despotism.

‘ For eight hundred years the Church, strong in her moral strength only, and in her invincible power of preaching the Gospel, triumphed over all the persecutions raised against her by the powers of hell, advanced and spread over the whole world, and reached the summit of her greatness and prosperity. . . . During that long period of eight hundred years, the clergy never once conceived the idea of a temporal dominion, nor, amidst all the subtle intellects Catholicism boasted, was there found one who stolidly (not to say heretically) taught that the liberty and independence of the Church could have no guarantee but in a sceptre and royal crown for her head. . . .

‘ That saintly Gregory (whom schism itself, and heresy and unbelief, reverence) never surrounded himself with soldiers and armed men, with *sbirri*, jailors, executioners, and brigands ; he never thundered anathemas against a noble people, struggling to regain their just rights, trampled on by a cruel tyranny ; he never invoked the secular power to reduce that people to slavery by intrigues and deceptions ; he never sat amid a tribe of astute and greedy courtiers and diplomatists, the ceaseless watchers of the thoughts, and dictators of the actions, of a Pope-king ; but his delight was to divide his bread with the poor, to soothe the sorrows of the wretched, and, as a loving father, to address salutary admonishing to

peoples and kings; and these last bent their heads and hearts reverently before the holiness and wisdom of the humble successor of the Apostles. Compare those eight centuries of the Pope's spiritual rule with those which followed, when religious power and worldly were confounded in one and the same person, and against all right and justice each one was alternately used to support the other; you will behold Italy a prey to dissension, blood-stained, spoiled, oppressed, by foreign arms; the little Pontifical state semi-barbarous, superstitious, crushed beneath the rule of a clerical caste with no instruction, who, from their celibate state, and also from their being frequently foreigners, were alike devoid of family ties and of any regard for the country.

The silence of Pope Pius respecting any wrong doings in Sicily is adduced by M. Forcade as one of two instances in which the possession of temporal power does not appear to have furthered spiritual independence, but rather to have weakened it. The other case is that of Gregory XVI. That Pontiff (who afterwards, to his undying honour, so grandly rebuked the Emperor Nicholas) sought the aid of Austria to put down an insurrection in the Marches and in Romagna. But Austria, in order to effect this, was obliged to come to terms with Russia; and Russia was at that moment (1831) actively engaged against Poland. Pope Gregory consequently resigned all idea of favouring Poland, and some millions of Uniates were lost to the Roman Church. It is to be observed that Polish writers, though ardently Roman, seldom display much interest in the temporalities. They have had another disappointment lately from the reigning Pontiff. Unwilling, it would seem, to break with Alexander II., who is understood to be a defender of the temporalities, Pius IX. is believed to have clipped his sentences, and to have complained only of the wrong done to the Roman Catholic clergy in Poland.

On the occasion of the return from Gaeta, the vengeance of the Papal Government was displayed in a most unworthy manner, and had to be checked by the French authorities. It may be said that the Pope did not know of these things. That is very possible. There is scarcely any degree of ignorance of what goes on around him, of which we cannot conceive him to be capable. But when youths who (wrongly and foolishly enough) have celebrated with fireworks the anniversary of the Republic are condemned to *twenty years of the galleys*, and when the disuse of tobacco is also punished by the galleys,¹ on the ground that the abstainers had conspired to renounce the practice of smoking, in order to diminish the revenue and annoy the Government, that Government must, as a whole, take the responsibility of its own acts, and be content that its chief should suffer for the faults

¹ Farini: Letter to Mr. Gladstone at the end of vol. iv. of the History. The French authorities, as will be seen, entirely confirm Farini's statements.

of those beneath him. Pius IX. chose to exclude from power, and from all weight in the counsels of the Court, the wisest and most temperate among the cardinals, namely, Amat, Bofondo, Ciacchi, Marini, Orioli, and Soglia.¹ He could not plead the excuse, which is often justly urged on behalf of a constitutional sovereign, that certain counsellors were forced upon him. In homely but expressive phrase, in this matter at least, he made his own bed and he must lie upon it.

We have passed by the subject of the Roman republic and the rule of Mazzini.² In like manner, as only indirectly bearing upon the subject here being discussed, we shall say nothing of the theological questions (in themselves deeply interesting and important) which were treated during the Pope's exile. It is however curious to observe, that on at least two separate occasions after his return in 1850, a *theological* manifesto was made public, because certain *political* events had taken place. The latest case was that of the Encyclical, which was brought out when the convention between France and Italy was made known.

We have not space to say more of the period between 1850-1856, than that its character, as has been observed, was intensely reactionary. The public lottery, condemned by former Pontiffs as an irreligious mode of raising revenue, remained (and still remains) in force. The censure of the press became more arbitrary than ever; that censure which in years gone by had permitted the publication of the virtually atheistic dialogues of Leopardi, and which in our days has been rigorously exercised against the Christian but anti-governmental writings of Reali and Passaglia.

We shall now submit to the reader several pages from the *Annuaire des deux Mondes* of the years 1856-1858. If we have anywhere omitted to specify the pages, the reader who may desire to verify our citations will easily find them in the *Annuaire* for the year herein specified, under the head of *L'Italie or Les États Romains*.

1856.—Brigandage.

'The country round Rome is so far from having ceased (as was affirmed) to be the classic land of brigandage, that, quite lately, the Countess Tattini, cousin to the Emperor Napoleon III., was attacked, and held in captivity for four hours, with her husband and children, by a troop of brigands, in her Castle of Quaderna, which was given up to pillage. M. Rayneval himself (French Ambassador at Rome) had an audacious robbery committed in his own palace.'—1856-7, p. 260, *note*.

¹ Farini, vol. iv. p. 316.

² Our sentiments on this subject have, however, been given at some length in our number for April, 1862, pp. 269-271 (text and notes). We mention this, lest we should appear to be dishonestly evading any portion of the subject.

1857.—Non-fulfilment of the seven ameliorations promised in 1849 by a *motu proprio* of the Pope, although the governors of the provinces unanimously pronounced their fulfilment might now be ventured on with perfect safety.

‘It is none the less averred that, in his wisdom, the holy Pontiff invariably repelled all the combinations which were offered to his acceptance to favour the execution of the reforms. He alleged foreign occupation, the state of siege, the abnormal situation of the country, in proof of the impossibility of proceeding in a regular manner. It was vain to show him that material order being ensured, by the presence of both French and Austrian troops, no danger could possibly arise from the application of the law. . . . The sovereign’s will had to be obeyed, and the electoral right conceded to Roman citizens in 1849 adjourned till 1860 at the soonest.’—*Ibid.* p. 261.

‘On terminating its session the Consultà remitted to the Government a memorial pointing out the reforms considered desirable by its members. None of these “memorials” even obtained any reply. The Pope, it is true, named a Commission of Cardinals to examine them; but the two commissioners who were least opposed to any reforms, Cardinals Marini and Morrichini, gave in their resignation, and the Commission is now reduced to Cardinal Antonelli, Secretary of State, Gavelli, President of the Consultà, and Gazzeri, who is eighty-five years old. . . . It is to be regretted that, on his restoration, Pius IX. permitted the formation of a Council of Censure, to inquire into the conduct of the *employés* during the revolution. Many hundreds of those unhappy subalterns were deprived of their situations for having taken an oath to the Republic, which they could not have refused without bringing their families into misery. . . . Other harsh measures also appear, very little conformable to the amnesty. By an edict of July 30, 1855, the punishment of the *wooden horse* was introduced again. On the 20th of May, 1851, the Tribunal of the Sacra Consultà, presided over by Monsignore Antonio Sibilia, condemned a silk mercer, named Pietro Encoli, aged thirty-four, for the crime of having prevented a comrade’s smoking, from a spirit of political opposition, to twenty years of irons! which he is still undergoing. Other condemnations to irons, or flogging, had quite as slight causes.’—*Ibid.* pp. 263, 264.

1857.—The famous journey of the Pontiff through his states, described in some quarters as *un véritable triomphe*.

‘On the 4th of May, 1857, the Sovereign Pontiff left Rome to make a journey of some length through his dominions. He successively visited Assisi, Perugia, and Macerata, on his way to Bologna, where his arrival was the more impatiently looked for, as the population hoped to obtain from his presence some alleviation of the sufferings of the country. Crowds flocked to meet him on his passage, as they do to see all princes; but the enthusiasm which should have been excited in Catholic subjects by the appearance of the Father of Christianity was checked by political discontent. It was evident to what a degree the temporal prince injured the Pope in the heart of the Roman States, when Pius IX. visited such towns as Florence and Modena, where he was merely the father of the faithful. At Perugia were mingled with acclamations of the sovereign, cries of “Bread and the Statute!” At Bologna (where he arrived on the 9th of June), it is undeniable that, in spite of the intimidation exercised by Austrian bayonets, hisses were twice heard. Besides incessant acts of brigandage (which had not been stopped even by the execution of the brigand chief Lazzarini a few days before), the Bolognese had scarcely recovered the excitement aroused amongst them by a serious dissension

between Cardinal Viale, Archbishop of Bologna, and Monsignor Amici, the civil governor of the city. The cardinal, having directed the holding of a mission of fifteen days, had ordered all the theatres to be closed for that period, and nothing less than the firm and persistent opposition of Monsignor Amici had availed to induce him to renounce that project.'—*Ibid*, 1857-8, p. 258.

'Even the official reception that the Pope received, although everywhere respectful and proper, was not of the enthusiastic and brilliant character that he had a right to expect. It is maintained that the high clergy had sent a word of command (*mot d'ordre*) from Rome, and that (well recollecting the events of 1844) they had insisted that all those who depended on them should abstain from too warm demonstrations, lest they should inveigle the Pontiff into fresh concessions. On the other hand, Cardinal Antonelli, dreading from the lay population demonstrations in a very opposite direction, had forbidden any meetings of the Municipal Councils in the towns the Pope was to pass through, and officially desired that no excessive expenditure should be incurred in receiving him. He found it useless, after that, to send a secret circular, recommending the *Gonfalonieri* to omit nothing which might render the reception of the sovereign splendid in every respect. The *Gonfalonieri*, thus placed between contradictory directions, the more willingly adhered to the first ones, inasmuch as, not being allowed to convene the Councils of which they were presidents, they saw that they would be compelled themselves alone to fix the amount to be expended, a proceeding not very legal, and very compromising to their responsibility.'—*Ibid*, p. 259.

'In the end, the Cardinal Secretary of State, despite all these precautions, failed in his efforts to prevent all political manifestations. Unable to use their Municipal Councils as their organs, the principal inhabitants of the chief towns met spontaneously and expressed their desires in addresses, which they consigned to the *Gonfalonieri*, with a request that they would present them to the Sovereign Pontiff. Bologna, the second city in the State, boldly took the initiative. In the most becoming and moderate language, the address declared that had the Municipal Council been convened, it would have charged its president to express to the Holy Father its homage, and, at the same time, its sorrow at the evils under which the country was suffering, and its prayer for their amendment. . . . At the foot of this address were the greatest names in the country, and amongst them that of Count Zucchini, Councillor of State.

'The principal places, such as Cesena, Forlì, Ferrara, Faenza, Ravenna, and others beside, followed the example of Bologna. The Ravenna address deserves especial mention for its clearness and precision. Covered by forty signatures of the principal inhabitants (amongst whom were fifteen municipal councillors who had been appointed by Government), it pointed out the permanent opposition between the tendencies of the Government, and the just and liberal aspirations of the people. . . .

'And, as if this unanimous manifestation as to the political tendencies of the Pontifical Government were not enough, each body in the state held it as a point of honour to present to Pío IX. its own special complaints. Thus at Bologna, the advocates and the Council of the Faculty of Advocates, . . . and the Chamber of Commerce, . . . even the students, to the number of 250.

'But it was not enough to draw up addresses; it was necessary to get them placed before the eyes of the Pontiff, and there was the difficulty. They had reckoned on the *Gonfalonieri*, but if the signers were comparatively safe, from mere numbers, it might be compromising for the first magistrate in each town to put himself forward alone. . . . They tried to

ascertain whether the Pope would receive these addresses, and on learning that Pio IX. would not have them officially presented to him, because he wished to preserve his initiative in the good that was to be done, and not seem to act on compulsion, they contrived to have them in a *non-formal* manner (*officieusement*) laid before him. So a circular from Cardinal Antonelli, forbidding the *Gonfalonieri* to receive in future any address, came too late. To confess the truth, the newspapers which defend the Pontifical policy took advantage of the *via media* that had been adopted to assert that no addresses had been presented!! It was found necessary, in order to silence them, for the principal subscribers of the addresses to have them published in the liberal papers of Piedmont: even then the most furious defenders of the Holy See persisted in denying the authenticity of the documents so published. Then the names of those who had signed one or two of the petitions were published: the effect produced by that divulging of the greatest names among the citizens at last caused all discussion to cease: it was wished, at all events, to avoid the additional sensation and scandal that would have been produced, by the publication of the names appended to all the remaining addresses. . . . An energetic letter from Signor Giovacchino Pepoli, grandson by his mother of King Murat, and an inhabitant of Bologna, bitterly reproached the senator (mayor) Davia, for not having *officially* presented the address in favour of reform to the Sovereign Pontiff. Still later (September 30), when at last, on the Pope's re-entering Rome, the Municipal Council of Bologna was again permitted to assemble, the *Signori* Marsili, Bevilacqua, Malvezzi, and others, complained to the Senator that he had not convened the Council for a discussion as to the expenditure to be caused by the Pontiff's stay. Signor Davia was forced, in self-defence, to produce the circular from Cardinal Antonelli, formally prohibiting their meeting.

'On the Pope's re-entry into Rome, Cardinal Antonelli, by a proclamation, invited the Romans to manifest their joy. On his side, Pius IX. insisted that the 7,000 *scudi*, voted for public rejoicings, should be distributed to the poor. Also he brought a piece of good news, namely, that the Austrian occupation, which till then had cost the Roman states two millions of francs (80,000*l.*) annually, would be henceforth defrayed by Austria. But the Roman people were very questionably satisfied at this concession. They had expected the entire evacuation of the two towns. . . . The real sentiments of the Romans were not long in showing themselves. That ardent population was not willing to let other cities have alone the honour of raising their voice in favour of liberal institutions. An address was speedily drawn up, and covered with numerous signatures. From prudence, and in a spirit of moderation, the subscribers asked for no political reforms, but merely for civil ameliorations, amongst these a code which should abolish exceptional tribunals.

'The Pontifical police got wind of this petition while it was being circulated for signature. It used intimidations, made domiciliary searches and arrests. Several persons, amongst whom was the brother of the police assessor, Dandini, were handed over to justice on the accusation of having signed the petition. And, if the arrests were not more numerous, it is due to the municipal secretary, Vannutelli, who, in the absence of the senator, and under threat of dismissal if he did not reveal the names of the subscribers, refused to know anything of them or to receive them, so long as he had not a formal order from the municipal magistrates. The signatures were therefore deposited with M. Migliorati, Sardinian *chargé d'affaires*, and thus saved from the police; a most necessary measure, at a moment when the police were arresting all known subscribers, and even those who were only suspected. . . .

'A short time after, the Pope held a Sacred Consistory (September 25). He then pronounced an allocution in Latin, spoke of his journey, and seemed extremely pleased with it. He avoided all mention of the economic or political condition of the provinces he had visited, and only alluded to the petitions he had received to observe that they only concerned the special and local needs and trade. In so speaking, he only meant such petitions as had been *officially* laid before him; as for political and administrative petitions, which (as we have shown) had been non-formally (*officieusement*)¹ placed in his hands, he judged it best to pass them over in silence.'—*Ibid.* p. 264 (tome viii).

In 1859 broke out the war between France and Austria. Into the causes and into the progress of that war we have no need to enter. The mere mention of the battles of Magenta and Solferino, and of the peace of Villafranca, will sufficiently remind our readers of certain leading incidents in that short but decisive campaign. What it is to our purpose to observe is, that the war compelled Austria to withdraw her garrisons from the Romagna, and that thereupon, immediately, one hundred and twenty-one deputies, of whom one-half were nobles, voted UNANIMOUSLY for annexation to Piedmont.²

Now the defenders point (we grant, not unnaturally, for men who are very hard-pressed to find even the shadow of an argument) to the difficulties of the British government in Ireland. To deny the seriousness of those difficulties, to pretend that there have been, or that there are at present, no wrongs and grievances, would be absolutely childish, and only worthy of a member of the *most* reactionary clique of cardinals. But at present we must dismiss the allusion to Ireland with the remark, that when the one hundred and five deputies (or Members of Parliament, as we call them) who represent Ireland, vote unanimously for severance from Great Britain, it will then be high time for the British nation to consider with seriousness the propriety of such separation. Meanwhile, we can only express a hope that no Irish secretary will treat Cork or Wexford as Cardinal Antonelli treated Bologna and Ravenna; and that no Lord-Lieutenant will enjoy such 'a Cadmean victory' as the *véritable triomphe* gained by the journey of the Sovereign Pontiff in the year 1857.

The Papal court has, as a rule, adopted the plan of recognizing *de facto* governments. When the Spanish colonies revolted from Spain, they were duly acknowledged to be independent, and had bishops sent to them. When (in 1830) Belgium, after only fifteen years' trial, broke away from Holland, Roman Catholics helped strenuously in the creation of the breach, and no one heard any whisper of disapprobation from Rome. In 1848,

¹ '*Officieusement*,' as distinguished from '*officiellement*.'

² Döllinger, pp. 436, 437.

Pius, the reforming Pope, had recommended an emperor, the Emperor of Austria, to give up the Lombardo-Venetian provinces, and not to attempt to govern them against 'the will and conscience of the inhabitants.' In 1859, Pius, the reactionary Pope, received from an emperor, the Emperor of the French, a letter, saying: 'That the Legations could now only be retained in 'obedience to the Papal See by a prolonged military occupation: 'and that this could give rise only to a continual state of rancour, 'discomfort, and fear.'¹ He, therefore, recommended (as he had once done in his earlier day, when an exile in Italy) the cession of these provinces.

Roman Catholic divines, if we are not mistaken, justify the summoning of foreign aid in cases where there is intolerable oppression, failure of all constitutional means of redress, and (which bears upon the cardinal virtue of prudence) a reasonable chance of success. The two last conditions the Romagna certainly possessed; how far the amount of oppression they had borne could be pronounced intolerable is no doubt a fair and open question. There can, however, we think, be little doubt but that it was *far greater* than had been undergone by Belgium or by the Spanish provinces in South America.

It is right to say that Dr. Döllinger, whose admissions are so large and from whom we have quoted so copiously, is on this point as indignant against the Italians as any one. We differ from him with regret, but it must be observed—it has struck several others besides us—that this great, learned, and powerful thinker is still *Germanorum Germanissimus*, and possessed with a spirit of very considerable contempt for the Italian mind, and an intense distrust of Italian statesmanship. Here, for the moment, we part company. We cannot read the narrative of Azeglio or Farini, or his own admirable summary, and say that these provinces have suffered nothing. We cannot look at the facts of recent history or read the manifestoes of Pepoli, of Ricasoli, or Boncompagni, and pretend to discover why the first King of the Belgians was justifiable and Victor Emmanuel only the fit subject of a *quasi*-excommunication.

Dr. Newman, of course, goes in this matter to the full as far as Dr. Döllinger. He appears to draw a distinction between the case of the Romagna, 'the northern portion of the Pope's states,' which (he admits) 'threw off his authority;' and the case of Umbria and the Marches. After paying great attention to the evidence, we must aver that we are unable to perceive any very broad line of demarcation between the two cases. It would require whole pages, if we were to go into the evidence with any

¹ *Moniteur*, 11th January, 1860. Cit. ap. Döllinger, p. 437.

degree of fulness. But, although it may be true that the agricultural population of the more southern districts was less anti-papal (we mean, of course, politically) than the Romagna, yet we should like to know *what single town* did *not* favour the Italian side? That it is a real hardship, for a minority to be compelled to give way, is most undeniable. But this is only what happens everywhere; and we must repeat our conviction that the whole question is to be judged, as it would be judged in reference to the dominions of any other sovereign, as for example the King of the Netherlands in 1830.

Sir John Simeon, as is well known, thought that the advice of Napoleon III. was good, and had better be followed. For this act of boldness (the more remarkable, no doubt, as coming from one who has changed his religion) he was at the last general election vehemently opposed by Dr. Ward. This last gentleman thought it better to side with a singularly anti-Roman candidate than to support a co-religionist, who had ventured to express such sentiments. And yet the *non possumus* has not always been the Papal creed in this respect. Not only have the city of Avignon and the Comté Venaissin been resigned to France, but at the treaty of Tolentino the line of demarcation was drawn far less favourably for the Pope than it was in 1814. Whether Dr. Newman is in any degree now inclined to accept Sir John Simeon's view, we do not pretend to judge. We will give his words, and leave this point to the reader:—

'Past outrages such as these are never to be forgotten, but still they are not the occasion, nor do they give the matter, of our present prayers. . . . I understand, then, that the exact object of our prayers is, that the territory still his should not be violently taken from him, as have been those larger portions of the dominions of which I have already spoken.'—*Sermon*, pp. 35, 36.

Before, however, returning to our citations from the *Annuaire*, we would beg a very special attention to the following admission, which seems to us a most important one, when it is considered from whom it comes:—

'Not that I would deny that *there are sincere Catholics so dissatisfied with things as they are in Italy, as they are in Rome, that they are brought to think that no social change can be for the worse.*'—*Ibid.* p. 30.

As for the Roman Catholics generally, we are astonished at their apathy. They employ the most tremendous language, and contribute next to nothing. They claim to be 200 millions. Let us suppose that 150 millions are too poor to give one farthing more than they do give. This would leave 50 millions of contributors to a fund for making up the loss from the severed provinces. If each gave annually one franc for this end, the Pope's revenue would be 50,000,000 francs, or 2,000,000*l.* sterling.

We pass by the question of monasteries, as it would demand an article by itself. At present we will only ask : 1. Do monasteries, which have done their duty, fall unregretted? 2. What is their real condition in Italy and in Sicily? 3. Is Italy worse in this respect than Spain, Portugal, France, Austria?

We return to our citations.

1858-9.—Conduct of the Italian Government in the Romagnas. Conduct of the *Papal troops at Perugia*.

‘The Government in the Romagnas made the most moderate and honourable use of their powers, especially in the immediate assumption of as much of the debt of the Pontifical Government as was connected with the freed provinces. But not the less for this were they attacked with most odious calumnies by the official press. [N.B.—This was in the interval of Romagnol self-government.]

‘The Abbess of the Benedictine Convent at Verrucchio, and the Bishop of Rimini, each wrote personally to the official journals, to protest that they had never been subjected to the slightest violence. . . .

‘The Pope (lastly) begged the faithful to pray “that those misguided men might be led to weep, not over lying and imaginary massacres at Perugia, but over their own blindness and sins.”—*Annuaire*, tome ix. p. 282.

‘In reply to that, M. Tiberio Berardi devoted himself entirely to the task of carefully verifying the statistics of those events. He sent to many papers (in free countries) the most exact details; numbers, names, ages, sex, of the persons killed by the Papal troops [in Perugia] *after capitulation*; he even omitted all those who preferred silence to any mention of their sufferings, and also all who were but slightly wounded.’—*Ibid*.

‘The numbers were, eighteen men and four women killed; five men and two women wounded. For this performance Signor Berardi (with six others) was condemned to death; but they were happily saved by being absent.’—*Ibid*.

‘We will only (further) mention a disturbance at the University of Rome. This was caused by an address expressive of devotion to the Holy See, wherein had been surreptitiously inserted the names of several persons who had expressly refused to sign it. The indignation aroused hereby was so great that several of the students had to be expelled, the rector dismissed, and the University closed.’—*Ibid*. tome x. p. 432.

1861-2.—Character of the Papal regiments as given by the French commander, General Goyon.

‘It is true that General Goyon . . . showed no more deference towards the Pope’s soldiers. Their excesses sometimes compelled the French authorities to protest; and the inhabitants of the provinces, remaining under the Holy See, complained sorely of their official defenders. One, indeed, of their own officers, Major Piccioni, in an order of the day, published at San Gregorio on the 17th January, was forced to reproach his soldiers severely; to reprove them for “their drunkenness, their bestiality, their slanderous and immoral conversations.” He added that “they did not always respect even the House of God.” These excesses obliged General Goyon to send French troops to Frosinore and several other places. . . . And it was to pay such troops as those that faithful Catholics were sending considerable subsidies!’—*Ibid*. tome xi. p. 231.

Attack of the Pope on civilization. Things which he did and which he did not see in his dominions.

‘Pius IX. in the Consistory of March 18th, 1861, attacked civilization in general. . . . Solicited at that meeting by the French, Bavarian, and

Austrian prelates to leave Rome, he refused on the score of his age and increasing infirmities, and of a certain sense of duty, which impelled him not merely to remain in the capital, but defend it, and induced him to preside in person over gun practices. Whatever may be thought of these military preparations, whose powerlessness is so evident to unprejudiced eyes, it might well be regretted that Pius IX. did not pay visits to his prisons as well as to the camp at Tor-di-Valle; he would then have seen with his own eyes the abuses which had at that very time just been revealed to Europe, in a lamentable report by M. Pepoli, Royal Commissioner for the Marches and Umbria; the delations, floggings, madness, long intervals intervening between condemnation and punishment, the most deplorable hygienic conditions, the immoral coupling together of common criminals and political *détenus*. Such was the sombre picture drawn by M. Pepoli, and which the Papal Government affected utter disregard of, *because it came from an enemy.*—*Ibid.* pp. 231, 232.

Charges against the Italian army.

‘In a speech on that occasion [a secret consistory for naming various Cardinals], Pius IX. had alluded to the reports so industriously circulated by the anti-Italian party, of acts of ferocity and brutality committed by the Italian troops. Five priests at Teramo (it was asserted) had been torn from the altar, and (with their pontifical robes still upon them) had been beaten till the blood flowed. Canon Fabri, secretary to Bishop Milella, had been shot. The former of these two assertions had already been publicly contradicted by the Archdeacon, twelve canons, and four parish priests (*curés*) of Teramo, and the second by the *curé* Spinozzi, who had never left the Bishop’s side.—(See his letters, 25 and 26 Sept.)—*This one example will suffice to show to what extent the Pope is duped by the interested and most untrustworthy assertions of those about him.*’

The following is curious.

1862-3.—Events consequent on the death of the King of Portugal.

‘The Holy See was not always so successful, even with Catholic Governments. . . . The death of the young King of Portugal had been officially announced to the Vatican by M. d’Alte, resident Minister of that Power, who had demanded, on behalf of his dead master, the honours usually rendered by the Church to deceased monarchs. This request, addressed to the Pope himself, was sharply refused for the reason of Dom Pedro’s having died out of communion with the Church. It will in fact be recollected that he had consented to the secularization of the property of the convents of nuns, and that some persecution, of the very slightest and most inoffensive character, had been undergone by some French Sisters of Charity at Lisbon. M. d’Alte had recourse to Cardinal Antonelli, hoping to find him more conciliatory than the Sovereign Pontiff; but the Cardinal Secretary of State declared he was incompetent to meddle with an affair which concerned religion more than politics. After exhausting all attempts at conciliation, M. d’Alte demanded his passports, received them with some astonishment, and left Rome; but when it was discovered at Rome, that in his turn the Nuncio residing at Lisbon would have to quit Portugal, the Vatican understood that some concessions must be made, unless it desired to break successively with all the Catholic states. . . . The Pope consented to announce the death of Dom Pedro (of which he had refused hitherto to take any notice), and to appoint a day for the funeral honours usually paid at Rome to departed sovereigns.’

We have purposely laid on one side a large quantity of similar material. We have also abstained from any appeal to Atto Vanucci’s powerful book the ‘Martyrs of Italy,’ because

we have no desire to employ evidence which, however carefully got up by a learned man, is, from the very nature of the work, not calm nor unimpassioned. And though we feel it to be almost unfair, we reserve at present the long letter of Canon Reali, which is lying by us translated for use.

It will be a change if we now invite the reader to study for himself some passages from the pamphlets of Perfetti, Giorgini, and Passaglia. We are by no means certain that these able and high-toned writers prove their case. Possibly, as Caleb Balderstone was determined to assign all losses of the house of Ravenswood to the great fire at Wolf's Craig, so these distinguished men may be unconsciously inclined to make the Papal temporalities responsible for everything. But we give these extracts, because, after all, it is far more important that our readers should know what such men are thinking, than linger over any lucubrations from our pen.

If in the following passages from Perfetti's '*Ricordi di Roma*' a grain of satire be apparent, it is not the thousands who admire Dr. Newman who can justly quarrel with such an element, or deny its compatibility with piety and earnestness. Perhaps some persons may recognize the truth of the following sketches of the English and the French traveller in Rome, and of those whom he meets:—

'The foreigner who arrives at Rome sees scarcely a single Roman, and makes no effort to see them. His first desire is to see the ruins, the museums, the churches, the functions: next he visits the archæologists, the artists, persons who usually are alike careless and ignorant of present events. If he be rich and gentleman-like, he knows the cardinals and the prelates; and they show themselves to him full of affability, of politeness, of kindness, and of a sort of senile excellence that reminds you of your father, and of your departed grand-parent. All are ready to bestow upon him that benediction of the aged which can harm no one. Our Englishman (every foreigner who spends money at Rome, is called an Englishman) is quite touched, and feels himself impelled to love them, and seek to see them again: and behold his love becomes admiration. Those excellent old men and their youthful attendants are not monks of the desert, but persons full of prudence, toleration, and wit: they touch you just where you like to be touched, they admire English freedom, Russian power, but they fall into the arms of the generous French.

'Tea comes, they "are keeping a fast day, but had thought of cream and sweetmeats for their foreign guest;" the amiable heretic will receive from Monsignore (before he can even ask) tickets for all the Holy Father's functions in Holy Week. The cardinals and the prelates take good care to cause no scandal, and also not to be scandalized by any earthly thing.

'The foreigner, if he had been ever so suspicious at first, changes his mind, and decides that they are the best set of people he ever saw in his life. . .

'But beside the cardinals and prelates, our Englishman will know some of the lay aristocracy, rich and thoughtless, speaking a sort of half-Italian half-French; even more cosmopolite than the priests, and more desirous to know what is the present fashion in matter of horses and dress, than to know anything of their own city; allured and confessed by the Jesuits—who rule them in everything, and flatter them like so many cardinals. There is nothing of firmness, nothing of perseverance in these princes. After those prudent

priests and those noble fools, our foreigner has the lower grades of society. He sees perhaps citizens, if you choose to call them so, but only as shopkeepers, lodging-house letters, and such like. The best thing he can think of those persons is, that they are only foreigners like himself, as indeed a large proportion of them are. In his pride at the intellectual, moral, and political elevation of his own people, he despises all those Romans and Romanesques, and easily decides that their priests are even too good for such as them. Envy of our ancient greatness makes him exult at our modern degradation, as Leopardi observed. The foreigners pay us to be what we are, what matters it to them what has made us such? The priests rule us as we ought to be ruled for the diversion of those who come to pay us. . . . To the foreigner, what matters the corrupting of the people, when that people's rulers set out a feast for him? . . . Perchance, if pride be silent in him, perchance he may feel sympathy for the struggles of those who think it hard to be thus for ever playing a part; but it is a passing sympathy, and soon fades.

‘But even this compassion is not felt by the *Neo-Catholic* travellers, who usually (I may observe parenthetically) are Frenchmen. The *Neo-Catholic* may be a priest or a layman, a revolutionist or a pure medievalist. The revolutionist is a troublesome guest, discontented and noisy, who speedily either departs or gets converted. The latter is by far the more probable if he falls into the hands of the Jesuits. . . . The non-revolutionary layman is even more egotistic than the Englishman, and tells you openly that he came to Rome to dream (*pour rêver*). He is enchanted at its desert-like appearance, enamoured of the fearful rags that ask him for alms, and goes into ecstasy if a friar by chance salutes him in the street. The instant he reaches his hotel he sets about his reception by the Holy Father; ever after, he can speak of nothing else but, “*notre Saint Père qui m’a distingué*.” (Our Holy Father who so specially noticed me.) If he sees a cardinal, he instantly snatches off his hat and cries, *Ah Monseigneur!* The Romanesque, who scents him out at the first sight of him, takes care always to call him ‘*Monsieur le Marquis*,’ . . . and the conceited Frenchman swallows the fief. For the rest, he always talks liberalism, only not for Rome: Rome must remain what she is, for the interests of France, but above all, *pour la vie spirituelle de Monsieur le Marquis et de Madame sa femme*. If you bewail the miserable condition of the Roman Campagna—he says, it is most perfect for hunting foxes . . . and he laments . . . or rather did lament a year or two ago, the loss of the excitement of brigandage.’

The next passage is from the same writer; but it is taken from the more serious work named at the head of this article:—

‘It is a grievous sight, and one which should afflict every Christian man, to see the Roman Court and its partisans misusing religion for the support of temporal interests; but it is a sore thing, and one which causes horror, to see that such an abuse is not a scandal to every conscience. On the contrary, he is proclaimed an enemy to the Church who objects to violence; a Machiavellian, he who is indignant at the mixture of sacred things and secular; a wolf, he who refuses to let himself be devoured: on the contrary, he is a lamb who desires to devour; a good Catholic, he who is an enemy of Italy; a saint and a hero, he who fights among brigands in Naples! Who does not sorrow over such a state of things so inexplicable at first sight? To whom does it not bring a presentiment of indescribable disasters for the Catholic Church? And meanwhile those upon whom the responsibility lies, care for nothing but present interests, and appear not even to perceive the real situation of things. . . . To crown all the excesses of clerical teaching, there has arisen the new *papolatria*. Faith is made to consist in a vaporous mysticism, and the Pope is become the Church. The new council is composed of the editors of the *Monde*, the *Arménia*, and the *Civiltà Cattolica*. There existed in Italy,

whilst the Italians were struggling to regain their lost political freedom, bishops who dared to suspend all clergy who wished for the independence and unity of their country; and those bishops had the hypocritical baseness to declare to those clergy that they had loved their country like Him who, going to Golgotha, lamented that He could not gather under His wings all the children of Israel. Yes, those bishops had the hypocritical baseness to declare that they had an absolute unlimited right to suspend whomsoever they pleased, of the lower clergy, without assigning to them any cause whatever.

‘When the guarantee of non-removability for the judicial magistrate is recognized by the liberal legislative ordinances of the State, will it be endured that in the legislative ordinances of the Church, whence liberty is banished, there should be gradually introduced the Oriental notion that the priest shall be removable from his office at the good pleasure of the bishop? And let it not be feared that the concurrence of the people in the government of the Church will produce religious fanaticism, since, to speak only of the principal matter, the elections [of bishops], the power of election may be confided solely to men of mature age, not easily deceived or led into excesses. I also consider that it would be well if the government (whilst restoring to the faithful their rights) were to insist on some qualifications for eligibility,—amongst others, that the candidates should have studied in the national universities. So far from suppressing the faculty of theology in the universities, it would be very desirable that Catholic theology should by their means be supplied with all that scientific apparatus of which Protestantism makes so much use. *The decay of theological studies in the Catholic countries of Europe is a notorious fact*; and who is not aware what a great assistance learning is to true piety and wise moderation? Whereas ignorance is ever extravagant and full of fanaticism; the most learned priests are usually the most favourable to civilization. Do you believe that if we had now amongst us the Muratori, the Spedalieri, the Fontanas, the Genovesi, and the Gerdils, *the Italian clergy would be so unjust towards Italy*, would be so easily manageable by the Cagliani and the De Mérodes? By little and little, amongst Catholics, the seminaries have become the sole institution for the education of the priests; and *what can be expected from the seminaries, when they are multiplied till they are as numerous, or more so, than the dioceses?* And as though it were not enough that philosophic and theological studies should have so decayed in the seminaries, there is already begun (and it is unavoidable but that it should continue, so long as the present condition of our clergy shall last) a considerable discrepancy between the study of the humanities and of the elementary sciences followed by the youthful clergy and those of the laity. The seminary seems invented on purpose to make of the young priest a foreigner among his own people; priests are made nearly in the same way that Mamelukes were in Egypt: if the laity retakes its legitimate share of authority in the Church, I have no hesitation in saying that the seminaries will be either abolished, or at least profoundly modified.’—P. 43.

‘One of the gravest faults of the Catholic clergy within these last centuries has been the withdrawal of the Bible from the hands of the people. The Protestant populations, in the opinion of impartial witnesses, are more religious than Catholic ones, thanks to their continual study of the Bible, and yet they only possess scattered and meagre fragments of truth. In the Catholic populations religious feeling is overlaid and well-nigh annihilated, or lost in the flood of superstitions. There is nothing more opposed and inimical to the true spirit of Christianity than superstition; scarcely even heresy. Heresy destroys itself, but superstition destroys religion. Christ was vehement and indignant against the Pharisees, who had placed themselves on Moses’ seat, chiefly because they had encouraged and permitted the growth of superstition amongst the people: and how many Pharisees would He find

now? Let us return to the Bible, to the Gospel; let us all study deeply the perfect holiness of our Redeemer; He is the pattern by which we are to shape our course; He, who is at the same time a pattern, human and divine. Ah, it is only because we no longer study the Life of Jesus Christ that men are found who dare to draw comparisons between the sufferings of the Just One who died to save the human race, and the regrets of a Pope who has lost a throne! How can one who is ignorant of the Life of Jesus Christ comprehend the histories of the martyrs? And it is from this it comes, that a French bishop has profaned that Name, blessed in heaven, to honour those who by dread of arms, by dread of haughty threats, in African garb, fought against a nation which had never injured them; fought with a people whom their brothers had supported on the fields of Magenta and Solferino. The excesses of *papolatria* have perhaps been permitted by God in these days in order to recall us all, pastors and flocks, and before all the highest of all, to the exercise of sincere humility and Christian charity. . . . I have inquired of all those Christians, to whom what is seen and felt is but as it were a shadow, of those Christians who in the life which is passing away thought only of the life which endures, I have asked them by what path they had attained to Jesus Christ and peace. Some pointed to the Bible, some spoke of the traditions preserved in the writings of the Fathers, some repeated, with the mystic in his simplicity, *Via Crucis via lucis*; but scarcely one mentioned the priest, and if he did, that priest had reached the truth by the same paths. The official clergy, the high clergy, had had but the slightest and most insignificant share in those truly supernatural conversions, in those conversions which can in fact be explained only by having recourse to God's grace.

'This is a most serious fact; the priest no longer converts: I speak of true and real conversions, of manly conversions such as were effected by Paul or John, or by the catechist of Alexandria. The modern priest no longer appeals to the nobler faculties of the human soul, but to sensibility and fantasy. The modern priest is no longer fitted to heal the soul's sicknesses, to say to the leprous, *Arise and walk*; he is only sufficient for the cure of fanciful persons, for whom religion is only variety of sentiment, a something which excites the imagination, a romantic reminiscence, an easy superstition, a resource, like many others, against the weariness of idleness. Look at the devotional books published in these days, from the "*Via Facile del Paradiso*" (Easy Path to Paradise) and the "*Arte di guadagnarlo*" (How to find it), down to the little religious tale or novelette: and call to mind the clerical eloquence of the present day, so showy and vain: and as superlative in manner as it is wretched in matter. Read, in one of the few weighty books written by a Catholic pen in these recent times, "*Les Pouvoirs constitutifs de l'Eglise*, par Bordas Dumoulins," to what extravagances the thoughtlessness of some prelates has carried them, and one would be driven to blaspheme, if there were not the excuse of ignorance.'

Our next quotations shall be from Filalete—that is to say, as we cannot doubt, Passaglia. The principles asserted in them are weighty and important; but it must be owned that their application is far from easy:—

'Father Taparelli (Sag. Teor. n. 680), demonstrating that a dispossessed prince, whose return to his throne has become morally impossible, has lost his right to the fealty of his subjects, remarks: "If that prince were to address his former subjects thus: 'I have the right to make your happiness, but I have not the power: you have the right to be happy, but you cannot hope it from me; give up your happiness in order to preserve to me my right to

make you happy : ' what reasoning would that be, or rather what want of reason ? '—P. 42.

"Following these principles, the truth of what Count Montalembert wrote in his pamphlet "*Pie IX. et la France*," cannot be denied : "We have never considered it necessary to profess the dogma of the indestructibility of power, to believe in the exclusive right of princes over peoples, to look on the destinies of nations as indissolubly bound to certain dynasties, or to a certain order of succession. On the contrary, it is quite allowable to hold, and as for myself, I ever have held the doctrine which the majority of the European states, Sweden, England, Portugal, Holland, Belgium, and Greece, have consecrated by their example, the doctrine, that is, *of the necessity of the people's consent to the government that rules them*. But there is a vast difference between this doctrine and the revolutionary dogma that this consent, once directly or implicitly given, may be perpetually questioned or withdrawn, without the gravest cause,"—P. 44.

'But the conduct of the Roman Court, from its flight to Gaeta to the present time, has done away with the necessity of considering this question, it being useless to discuss the merits of an event which is henceforth doubly impossible, since the Pontiff, by determinedly resisting both the counsels and the wishes of his people, has sufficiently evinced his intention not to reform the State, and even if now he were willing, it would be late, as reforms granted on compulsion lose their salutary efficacy, and justly cause the fear that on the first opportunity they will be withdrawn.

'It will be said, "But experience is against you, since, despite that so much boasted public opinion to those fundamental articles of the laws, we have seen, and still see, the Church spoiled of her rights." And I say, in reply, that, on the contrary, both contemporary history and that of the past is entirely with me. I do not deny the facts, but I explain them by two observations. 1st. It is a common fact in history, that when two parties in a society dispute the field, it never happens that they keep within the limits of moderate defence ; but once the victory is gained, the conquering party will be juster and more generous towards the vanquished. 2dly. The Italian populations were not educated for freedom, and cannot be fitted for it but by time and the experience of their own mistakes. Thus it is that there are formed in the minds of a people those true and moderate principles of freedom which constitute public opinion the guardian of the rights of each individual. From these two considerations I conclude that the annoyances undergone by some clergy in Italy have had these two general causes, *i.e.* the opposition of clerical party to the Italian movement, and the inexperience of the mass of Italians in the career of freedom.'—P. 60.

From Giorgini, a layman, well known to the readers of '*Giusti*,' we will only give a single passage :—

'It will be said that the one thing has nothing whatever to do with the other ; that the evil does not proceed from the two qualities being united in the Bishop of Rome, but from the error of those who, blinded by passion, are unable to distinguish between them. Granting this ; is this distinction so easy that every one is able to make it ? I will confine myself to the narration of a recent occurrence. In 1848, it was said that the Austrian bishops threatened to withdraw from the obedience of the Pope, if the Pope persisted in the war against Austria, and that, precisely on account of that threat, the Pope did withdraw from that war. I do not know whether the report was true ; but I do know that it was said and believed at the time, and that the clerical journals related it without the slightest expression of disapproval, not seeing anything blameable in that shocking threat, which, from a war declared against Austria (that is, from an act of the sovereign, an act purely political),

derived a motive for refusing obedience to the Pontiff. The Liberals, therefore, it appears, are not the only people who are unable to make this distinction; there are prelates and *monsignori* who were not able to make it. *Let us not have two weights and two measures.* If, to save Rome from religious schism, the Pope did well to make a political schism, ought he not to do something to check this, I will not say Protestantism, but most certainly infidelity, *nothing-ism, which is making such fearful progress in the capital itself of the whole Catholic world?*

One only shall be given from the remarkable volume of Boncompagni. It bears upon the title of Dr. Newman's sermon, which stands thus: 'The Pope and the Revolution.' Now, as logicians tell us, words often *connote* a great deal more than they *denote*. The change that passed over Italy during the last eighteen, and specially during the last nine years, is, beyond all doubt, a revolution; and yet we think that Dr. Newman's choice tends, though it may not be intentionally, *ad augendam invidiam*. The word 'revolution' has been apt, ever since 1793, to suggest to the British mind the execution of a king, the overthrow of Christianity, the Reign of Terror. This, and a great deal more, is what, in many minds, the term *connotes*:—

'I have never felt so proud of being an Italian as when I saw that our revolution, begun in 1846, and developed after 1859 (that great revolution which has involved an immense change of the whole condition of our country), progressed without ever being overcome by the passions which have in most instances misled the judgment of other nations placed in similar difficulties. I would not have the prevalence of *pretophobia* diminish this glory of Italy. . . . Italy, in this respect, has been placed in an exceptional position. The first origin of her revolution goes back to 1843, when Vincenzo Gioberti and Cesare Balbo, followed by Massimo d'Azeglio, began to write on political matters. And by that word revolution, I do not understand either tumult or sedition: I understand a substantial change in the ordinances of a state, without reference to the forms in which it is produced. The essential difference between states under despotic lordship and those under a free government consists in the fact that the former repel, whilst the latter admit, free discussion of political affairs. This is the great power of our times; and wherever it has opened a way for itself, none can prevent its becoming master of the field. For this reason, when Charles Albert gave a benignant toleration (which in those days, and in that constitution of the state, was equivalent to protection) to the "Primato d'Italia," and the "Prolegomeni" of Gioberti, to Cesare Balbo's "Speranze d'Italia," and Massimo d'Azeglio's "Ultimi Casi di Romagna," he inaugurated a reform far greater than those for which the multitude, four years later, applauded him so enthusiastically. In the writings which gave the first impulse to the Italian revolution, there was no indication of passion or prejudices hostile to the Church. Few Catholics were more zealous than Vincenzo Gioberti and Cesare Balbo. And Massimo d'Azeglio (the first Italian of this century who made a formal act of opposition to the temporal government of the Pope, without having to go into exile) was ever reverent to the power of the keys. . . . But the applause with which the whole nation greeted them [Pius IX.'s amnesty and reforms] proves how earnestly it desired to proceed along its path of progress in harmony with the Papacy, proves how alien it was from all passions and prejudices hostile to the Church. Times were considerably altered in 1859, when the Romagnas withdrew themselves from the temporal government of the Pontiff, even before

they were completely freed from Austrian troops, the sole force whereon that government had stood. The country was left entirely to itself, with no government sufficiently strong to repress the excesses of a multitude most inimical to the clerical *régime*: many, indeed, had prophesied that there would be a murdering of priests. The quietness with which everything went on was a striking proof of the conciliatory spirit that animated the Italian revolution; devoid of the passions and prejudices which had been aroused by revolutions elsewhere. . . . To that open discussion I leave my speech. Accustomed to be ranked by the Catholic *party* among the enemies of the Church, I shall not be the least surprised if the *pretofobi* put me among the *clericals*.'

We owe a deep apology to the reader, whose patience we may have wearied, for the crude and inartistic manner in which these pages have been thrown together. We shall not, however, detain him for a much longer time.

Dr. Newman tells us that there are more Roman Catholics who are loyal and energetic, in word and deed, in England than in Italy. Neither the author of the 'Apologia,' nor M. de Montalembert (witness his recent eulogy) will deny that there are also many earnest Christians in England, who are *not* Roman Catholics. Well, then, does not all this tend to show that the entire system on which Italy has been managed for the last half-century—nay, for the last three hundred years—is one tremendous mistake? Spain is the only country that has had a similar *régime*, and what at this moment is the state of Spain?

We are deeply conscious that this paper must, after all, be to a considerable extent an *ex parte* statement. Not only our prepossession, but likewise our very sources of information, have been, in a great degree, one-sided; and yet we have tried to read with care and thoughtfulness some of the defences.

There is, for instance, Archbishop Manning's sermon, 'The Temporal Power of the Pope.' Of all that is said concerning Dr. Manning's unworldliness, loftiness of character, personal fascination, and zeal for what he believes to be the truth, we make no question whatever; but we must frankly aver that in the only three controversial pamphlets of his that we have read (this and two former ones on a different subject) he seemed to us like a man speaking on subjects which he had not really studied, to an audience which he felt sure had not studied, and would not study them. We may, some day, if we can find leisure, try to point out what seem to us the weaknesses which render detailed examination of it unnecessary. To have classed it with Dr. Newman's sermon, as a text-book for our commentary, would, in our judgment, have been unjust to Dr. Newman.

Then there are the French defenders of the temporalities. Some years since we studied with much care the arguments of MM. Guizot, de Falloux, de Montalembert, and de Broglie. Always excepting the last-named, there is displayed by most

of these authors one characteristic that is a mistake, and another that is intolerable. The mistake is, the belief that the priest in France and the priest in Italy are the same person, and occupy precisely the same position. On this head let M. Charles de Mazade speak:—

‘For the last sixty years, whoever on the other side of the Alps opened his heart to a patriotic hope became of necessity a liberal, and whoever opened his mind to a liberal idea was unavoidably made a patriot. Hence has arisen a feeling which is, so to speak, only the natural and bitter consequence of the two others, and which is perhaps the most striking feature of public life in the Peninsula [Italy]. I refer to the almost universal, profound, and rooted antipathy to priestly government and to the temporal power which is only priestly government concentrated, raised to its highest pitch. This antipathy beyond all doubt reigns from the one end of the Peninsula to the other in all classes who are connected with political life, and is perhaps heavier in the former Pontifical provinces than anywhere. It will be recollected, that in 1860 it required the intervention of the French troops to retain, under the Pope’s sway, Viterbo, which had spontaneously voted its own annexation to the kingdom of Italy. That was very easily explained. What, in point of fact, did that temporal power or that priestly government represent in the eyes of Italians? They only saw in it politically, an invariable obstacle to all national independence, an interested ally for Austria, an ally of foreign rule raised on the ruins of Italy, and covering, as it were, with the sanction of religion all the most intolerable reactionary movements. Antipathy to clerical preponderance is thus become one of the forms of hatred to the foreigner. And the feeling has been the more intense and bitter, because mingled with deception in the remembrance of the early acts of Pius IX.

‘But this is not all. This antipathy to priestly government has indeed another cause; it is also caused by that abuse of clerical influences which has for so long a period and in a manner legally altered, denaturalized, and oppressed civil life beyond the Alps. It is easy in France to be liberal, tolerant, or (to speak more correctly) just, towards the Church. The French clergy have been born in a society fashioned by the revolution, and have known no other. They are under the influence of a whole body of laws, which limit their action and confine them to their purely religious duties. If they quit that sphere they are immediately watched and suspected. Quite the opposite is the case in Italy, the country of ancient clerical rule: there, the priest interferes in everything, penetrates into the heart of families, arranges private interests: nothing is done without his opinion. He holds simple souls, who are pretty numerous, by means of the sacraments, or of all sorts of superstitions, and the *esprits forts* by fear. As for civil law, in the old Pontifical states for instance, I do not know where it was; Rossi searched for it one day without discovering it, although he had been Professor of Jurisprudence at Bologna, and even Dean of the Faculty of Jurisprudence at Paris: it consisted in fact of priestly power, sometimes punishing the breaking of a fast, exercised by means of a minute and simply despotic inquisition, and most frequently placing spiritual authority at the service of political. And when we consider that the ecclesiastical organization of Italy at the present day, comprehends (not including the territories still subject to the Pope) two hundred and thirty dioceses for twenty-two millions of men, and that in addition to these there are all the religious bodies of every kind, we see what must be the irritating nature of a power which possesses at the same time both spiritual and temporal means of action. The Bishop of Orleans and Cardinal Bonnechose, and many others, have often said very hard things of the Italians. I should much like to ask either of those prelates,

what he would say if he were desired to hand a report of the confessions received in his diocese to the Emperor next time he passed through Orleans or Rouen. That, however, is what has been taking place in Italy. On the day of Victor Emmanuel's first entry into the kingdom of Naples, amidst all the usual commonplace felicitations between one government and another, he received a curious confidential communication. An ecclesiastical dignitary approached him, and requested, in a low voice, to be told to whom henceforth the report of confessions was to be transmitted. Victor Emmanuel listened without much comprehending what was said to him: he had to ask an explanation a few minutes later, and was disgusted at the communication.¹ There was the reason why King Ferdinand multiplied bishoprics in his dominions. He wanted auxiliaries.

'There were suspicions at Rome of some such thing; there were disquietudes every time requests for new bishoprics arrived from Naples; but in the end they were not refused.

'The hatred and aversion which such a situation has produced towards priestly government can scarcely be conceived . . . and it reaches straight to the temporal sovereignty of the Pope, as to the source of the evil, as to the supreme visible expression of the inundating clerical preponderance in civil life. . . .

'This hatred of the temporal power of the Church, this demand for civil emancipation, is therefore a patent fact, I venture to say an unavoidable invincible necessity, on the other side the Alps: but let no one mistake it, it is only hatred of the temporalities; it is not hatred of the priest because he is a priest, nor of the Roman Pontiff as the head of religion. . . . The antipathy of the Italians stops where clerical government stops, and religion begins. And their own practical good sense undertakes to make the distinction.'—*Revue des deux Mondes* for December 1, 1866 (pp. 735, 736).

The intolerable feature is their almost avowed disregard of all interest in the happiness of the Italians. Indignant at the fact, we have tried to consider what palliations might be made for the writers. We called to mind that they were Frenchmen, that the *amour propre* of the nation was excessive, and that they had long cherished a sort of traditional jealousy of Italy; and, therefore, because we regarded this as a foreign sentiment, it was matter of deep regret to us to find it referred to by an English writer with apparent complacency. Speaking of the city of Rome, Dr. Newman says—

'It is the religious centre of millions all over the earth, *who care nothing for the Romans who happen to live there*, and much for the martyred Apostles who have so long lain buried there.'—*Sermon*, p. 44.

'Who care nothing for the Romans who happen to live there'! But is this right? Is it the teaching of that John Henry Newman, who, in striking verse, in yet more striking prose, taught us of old to ponder so deeply on 'The Individuality of the Soul'? And surely 'the Romans who happen to live there' *have* souls; and though it is perfectly intelligible that men

¹ We wish to state most explicitly that we reserve our acceptance of this terrible story until further proof has reached us, and that we earnestly trust that it is false.

should make *some* sacrifice for the good of others, yet venal officials and lawless decisions can hardly be a necessity for the good of other people's religion. Dr. Newman says, indeed, that the Romans are a singularly stiff-necked generation, and he proves his position from the language of S. Bernard. But was that great doctor a prophet? *Must* the Romans of our day be regarded as so ungovernable, because their ancestors were such, when most nations were such, in a rude time seven hundred years ago. 'The people in the Papal states are not,' says Döllinger, 'judging of them by those endowments which they possess in common with other Italians, difficult to govern. . . . Human nature in the Papal states is not different from what it is in all other parts of the world.'

What Christian but must desire and pray that the Great Head of the Church would overrule—not as *we* might wish or expect, but according to that which He, in His infinite wisdom, knows to be best for Christendom—the events that are passing before our eyes. A soldier poet, who died fighting for Italy, uttered the following strains, some twenty years ago:—

'The Church shall reign resplendent
But of earth's trammels free,
And gentle, and similar to
The Heaven she unlocks :
And bravely, etherially,
She shall smile on Liberty.

'Herself renewing and the humble
Earlier virtues re-assuming ;
She shall win back wondrously
When she is Spirit, the members
Now sever'd from her, and "one"
again
She shall embrace all peoples.'

'Starà la Chiesa splendida
Ma vergine di terra
E mansueta e simile
Al Cielo che disserra :
Ed animoso etereo
Sorriso a Libertà.

'Di sè s'innovi, e l'umili
Virtù primiere assembri ;
Ripiglierà mirabile
Quando fia Spirto, i membri
Da lei divisi, ed unica

Le genti abbraccerà.'¹

Solemnly and humbly, in such wise as Christ shall will it, we say to this prophecy, *Amen*.

And here, perhaps, our remarks would naturally come to a close, but that we find it impossible to avoid expressing the regret with which we take up any controversy that brings us into conflict with Dr. Newman. It is not the mere fear of proving *infelix . . . atque impar congressus Achilli* ; for a good cause, and the powerful aid of religious and richly-gifted auxiliaries, may go far towards placing the merest stripling on a level with the giant. But it is impossible for us to forget that this Review is in some sense the offspring of that movement, which for so many years had John Henry Newman for its *coryphæus*. Among the pupils

¹ Poems of Alessandra Poerio. (Firenze : Le Monnier, 1852.)

in that school there must be those who will well-nigh—perhaps in some cases, wholly and altogether—transfer the solemn words he employs respecting Thomas Scott, and speak of him as the writer, ‘to whom (humanly speaking) they almost owe their soul.’ There will be thousands more who recognize (to repeat words published by us some twelve years since) ‘those marvellous ‘gifts of head and heart which erst held them as if spell-bound ‘and enthralled, imparted to them fresh views of life, taught ‘them much concerning themselves, much concerning the world ‘around them, still more concerning the world unseen,—knowledge that cannot perish, thoughts that must abide with them ‘their whole life long, lessons of whose teacher they cannot but ‘think, when, with good Bishop Andrewes, they thank their ‘Maker for all who have benefited them by their writings.’¹

Nor will it lessen their gratitude if they consider, as many well may, how much too (in a lower sphere of excellence) they have learnt as regards power of expression from the greatest living master of English prose. Many a one, probably, amongst us, if he has ever had the good fortune to be praised for beauty of diction, might be tempted to say to Dr. Newman, as the great Florentine says to Virgil,—

‘Tu se’ lo mio maestro, e’l mio autore :
Tu se’ solo colui da cu’ io tolsi
Lo bello stile, che m’ha fatto onore.’

Not in these pages will be found any sympathy with the attack which drew upon its author that overthrow, than which the history of literature tells of few so swift, so terrible, so complete. On the contrary, we have read with deep satisfaction and delight, the many tributes of the British press to Dr. Newman’s worth, more especially that most beautiful one by Professor Shairp in our contemporary, the *North British Review*; and the striking passages in *Macmillan’s Magazine*, which sound almost like the language of apology.

But neither respect, nor admiration, nor gratitude for past services, ought to suffer us to pass in silence a publication which seems to us calculated, however unintentionally, to mislead the public mind. As Plato said of Homer, ‘a man must not be honoured before the truth;’ as Aristotle said in turn of Plato, that ‘where both are dear, it is righteous to give truth the preference;’ even so would we now strive to feel, and we would fain repeat with them, ἀλλ’ οὐ γὰρ πρό γε τῆς ἀληθείας τιμητέος ἀνὴρ . . . ἀμφοῖν γὰρ ὄντοιν φίλοι, ὅσιον προτιμᾶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν.²

¹ *Christian Remembrancer* for January, 1855.

² Plato, *De Repub.* Lib. x. p. 595, c. Aristot. *Eth. Nicomach.* Lib. i. cap. 6.

And, in our judgment, this discourse, despite its many beauties and comparative moderation, yet does not, as a whole, set forth the truth. We are far from denying that there is a case to be made out on behalf of the Papal temporalities, or from thinking that our Roman Catholic fellow-Christians can be blamed for employing all fair means for their preservation. It is likewise very possible, as we have already admitted, that some Italian writers, both among deceased historians and living critics, may have fastened too exclusively on the Papal royalty as the one sole cause of many evils which they deplore; may have overlooked the services which it has wrought for Europe in the earlier Middle Age; and the splendour and protection which its possession has, at certain epochs, won for Italy. On our dissent from Dr. Newman's estimate of the spiritual authority of the Pope we do not dwell: that feature of the case has often been discussed in this Review, and, as our title proclaims, it is not our present theme. But we certainly do conceive it possible that a 'Papa Angelico' might arise, who should fulfil the theories put forth by the ablest defenders of the temporalities,—Dupanloup, Guizot, Döllinger; who should set forth an example of states well-governed and in harmony with all the really good features of modern civilization.

But at present such theories look like the merest day-dreams. As regards the dispossessed minor sovereigns, French advisers (M. Guizot amongst them) recommended the Italians to wait and see whether the Dukes of Parma, Modena, and Lucca would not mend their ways. 'In that case,' replied Passaglia, 'we should have had to wait until the day after the general resurrection of the flesh.' We beseech our readers to consider—not what *we* have said, but what has been laid before them in the shape of extracts, and thence to form their own opinion as to the length of time that the inhabitants of the Romagna might have had to wait, if they had trusted to petitions and remonstrances alone. Now Dr. Newman's discourse is calculated to impress upon the mind of those who heard it, or of those who read it, that all the wrong-doing is on one side only. Its very title, as has been observed, may convey a false impression; the concluding words of its appendix declare that the occupation of Umbria and the Marches was 'the old Fable of the Wolf and the Lamb.' Let our readers judge of the fitness of this comparison.

There are those among the members of Reformed communions, who practically, though sometimes half-unconsciously, address us in a spirit of this kind: 'Be charitable to Wesleyans, to Presbyterians, to Baptists, in a word, to all "who profess and call themselves" Protestants; but do not, as you value "peace and a good name, exhibit any tenderness or charity to-

‘wards members of the Greek and Roman Churches, because if ‘you do, you are wrong.’ Everywhere, we trust, and at all times, and at all risks, shall we earnestly repudiate these narrow and most unchristian sentiments. We are members of a Church which teaches her children to pray to Christ for deliverance ‘from *all* uncharitableness;’ and a tacit limitation of this petition in any direction is, to our minds, most foolish and most culpable. If any portion of our own remarks (for the writers of passages quoted, having been summoned as witnesses, must be mainly answerable for themselves) shall be thought by impartial judges to sin against charity, we shall sincerely regret the fault. But beyond this we cannot go. For all that is oppressive and unjust, for all that is sophistical or unworthy, we desire to cherish a righteous scorn and hatred: nor can we abate one iota of such feelings, because the agents of that which merits the severest reprobation may happen to be the bearers of titles which indicate a high, or even the highest, place in an ecclesiastical hierarchy.

If, which we do not anticipate, any opponents should think it worth while to indite a formal reply to this disquisition, there will be plenty to plead the cause of John Henry Newman, plenty to demand justice for Pope Pius IX. We rejoice to think it. But there are others also for whom we demand justice. We sue for it on behalf of that great nation, from which we in England have received so much; to which, until of late years, we have repaid so little: the nation whose missionaries in the earlier Middle Ages wrought so well for our improvement, spiritual and temporal; the nation which gave us the light of her schools of law at Bologna and Amalfi, and of her school of medicine at Salerno; the nation which led the van in painting, in sculpture, in music; which nurtured the founders of modern literature, such as a Dante and a Petrarch, whence our own Chaucer, Shakespeare, and Milton drew their stores; the nation which adorned the sphere of physical science with the great names of Galileo and Torricelli, Volta and Galvani.

We ask for that nation, that it be judged with calmness, and with fairness, by the side of other peoples. Let there be taken into account all that it has suffered during the last half-century, and let its conduct beneath those sufferings be judged accordingly. Let its soldiers, its statesmen, its sovereign, be weighed with those of other nations. Let that Royal House, which, in its long line, has never yet produced a cruel or cowardly ruler, be fairly measured with Hapsburg, Bourbon, or Nassau. Let other premiers be placed side by side with Ricasoli. Let there be left—Italy may cheerfully leave it—to the judgment of an age, when prejudices and passions shall have died away, the

history of that resurrection of a free and united country, a country so rich in the virtues, the trials, the patience, and self-denial of every class, so comparatively free from those stains of blood and crime, which too often mar the splendour of triumphs in themselves the most beneficent.

But if there be a Christian bishop who keeps two weights and measures, who accepts the organic statutes passed at Paris, and condemns similar laws when enacted at Turin; who can resign, without a protest, all claims to the Venaissin and to Avignon, but cannot possibly make any terms respecting the Romagnas; who has never been known to utter one syllable of blame against the crimes committed by the Neapolitan Bourbons, but fulminates a *quasi* excommunication against the head of the house of Savoy; who allows the rite of civil marriage in Belgium and in France, and denounces the self-same thing in Italy; and who, when great principles are at stake, treats free speech in ecclesiastics on the temporalities, as one of the most heinous theological offences; who, when all-important principles are being striven for, can find pleasure in the babyish and impotent delight of calling a great realm 'the *sub-Alpine* kingdom;' and who utterly condemns, in 1866, that which he blessed in 1848, —then, from the judgment of such a prelate, that nation must appeal to the moral sense of Christendom, nay, to a higher authority than any upon earth, even to Him whose vicar, in a special sense, that prelate claims to be. 'The righteous Lord loveth righteousness: His countenance will behold the thing that is just.'

- ART. VI.—1. *Norwich Church Congress*, 1865. Authentic Report.
 2. *York Church Congress*, 1866. Various Reports.
 3. *Bishop of London's Charge*, 1866.
 4. *The Law of Ritualism*. By the Right Rev. J. H. HOPKINS, Bishop of Vermont. New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1866.

THE York Church Congress—sixth of the series—has followed those of Cambridge, Oxford, Manchester, Bristol, and Norwich to the region of past history, so we may make it the standing-point from which to survey some incidents of the Church of England at home. Two years ago, in speaking of the Manchester and Bristol Congresses, we pointed out that the real success of the movement would be tested in 1865 by the results of the Norwich gathering. At that time we were not without our apprehensions. The Bishop, himself a resident, was, at the first, confessedly not a very enthusiastic convert to the notion; Norwich Cathedral was not among the foremost in that reformation which is spreading from minster to minster over the land; and the occurrence of some difficulties in the chosen residence of Father Ignatius was not a wholly visionary anticipation. The die, however, had been cast, and in due time the event came off. All influences proved propitious. The Bishop of Norwich, resolved on being a fair, developed into a hearty, president. The Chapter, represented by a Canon of eminent practical ability and energy, was a thoughtful and generous host. Mr. Lyne was absent: good humour was predominant. The papers and discussions were of sterling quality; and finally, the Congress-book, admirably brought out by Mr. Hinds Howell—who as organizing secretary had won golden opinions—stood in brilliant contrast to the scandalously ill-edited, or rather unedited, volume which professed to be the record of the Bristol meeting. But above all merits the Norwich gathering carried with itself the ratification of Church Congresses as accepted by the Church of England in its corporate and dignified aspect. The presidency of the Bishop of Oxford at Oxford signified the secured allegiance of one bishop. When the Bishop of Manchester accepted the chair of the congress which was held in his cathedral city, and the dean and chapter opened the cathedral to the initiatory service, the recognition, as far as that diocese went, was made good. A similar recognition at Bristol was a fresh point gained. But at Norwich something more was achieved than securing the countenance of a fourth presiding bishop and a third dean and

chapter. In a spiritual aspect the great united communion in the cathedral (when the bishop celebrated) was to be noted with a white mark ; but in a constitutional point of view this congress was witness to another change in the upward direction betokening success. At Manchester and Bristol the preachers had been deans—deans of renown, indeed, and pulpit power, but yet deans : at Norwich an archbishop was called in to be the preacher, and it was no secret that this was in preparation for himself taking the chair at the next gathering. To the recluse this might seem a small matter ; but to any one who has cared to study the episcopal thermometer, and to master the freemasonry of caution by which a prelacy, appointed for the most diverse of reasons, under different influences and by different prime-ministers, contrive to keep the peace towards each other, the appearance of the Archbishop in the pulpit of the solemn minster of York, preaching to the great church-concourse, after the public Eucharist, was the symbol of the hierarchy descending from the now-imperilled fortresses of class exclusiveness and throwing themselves upon the free zeal, not of a promiscuous herd of dissidents, but of congregated churchmen confederate in the unity of order and church-communion.

The formal recognition which had been so marked at Norwich was still more pronounced at York. The President was the Metropolitan and Diocesan of the province and the city in which the Congress met—the preacher, the Metropolitan of all England,—while the united worship which the Cathedral, through its corporation, offered, was an embodiment of catholic feeling, such as we make bold to say no cathedral of England has presented, for we would rather not attempt to guess how long. On the first morning there was a plain early Communion, the Dean celebrating, which was crowded. The great matins service, at which the Archbishop of Canterbury preached, was heralded by a procession winding from the chapter-house and through the nave, in which, after a long file of surpliced choristers, and choirmen, and cathedral clergy, and then of Archdeacons and Deans (invited in virtue of their dignity to take their part in it), were a dozen Bishops of England, Ireland, the Colonies, and the American States ; and after them the Archbishop of York, who came supported by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Primus of Scotland. On the whole eighteen bishops and archbishops, three times as many as at any previous one, were present at the Congress ; but three of these were not in time for the procession. We dwell on this incident, not because we are weak enough to think that processions could regenerate the world or purify the Church, but because the possibility, and still more the actuality, of such a spectacle, viewed both in its ceremonial and its practical aspects, as what it was

and wherefore it came to be, is a landmark of Church progress which we should not forget to set up for the guidance of the future annalist.

The Archbishop of Canterbury's sermon was the best composition of his which we have ever heard. He had evidently appreciated the breadth of the occasion, and had prepared, not the elaboration of some specific topic, but that which approached, though of course rid of the monitory element, to a Charge, not, as usually, to his own diocese, but to the entire communion of which he is senior Bishop. The discourse did not attempt high flights of rhetoric, but it was impressive from its simple clearness and the manly good sense with which the preacher talked of things by their own names instead of beating about for oratorical amplifications. On preceding occasions, the special and official worship of the Congress as a whole, ended with the sermon. At York, on the contrary, the Dean and Chapter both for the second and third days of the Congress converted the usual ten o'clock matins into an early choral communion, at which the Dean was celebrant. Some 400 communicants availed themselves of this privilege each time, in addition to those who were present at various celebrations in different parish churches. On these occasions the clergy who took part, either in the music or as assistants in the distribution, left the usual stalls and were ranged antiphonally in the sanctuary, so the choir became practically a nave crowded with devout communicants. To conclude, on the night of that Friday, which was in fact, though not in form, a fourth Congress day, a densely thronged evening service was held in the nave of York Minster, at which the hearty singing of hundreds of voices testified that in one city, at all events, the cathedral, its ways and its privileges, are at last known and prized by the people. At this service an impressive sermon was preached by the Bishop of North Carolina.

It is not beyond our scope to notice that, within a few days of the close of the Congress, its selected preacher, the Archbishop of Canterbury, was again before the world as the chief functionary in another notable ecclesiastical ceremony, when he laid the first stone of the Cathedral at Inverness, for the diocese of that bishop of Moray and Ross, who, as Primus of Scotland, was walking by his side in the York procession. Gratifying in itself as the incident was, and useful to the cause of Church progress generally, it has acquired greater importance, and has had its utility enhanced, by the silly outcry which the *Times* was misguided enough to raise against it, and unscrupulous enough to jumble with the hubbub which it was then beginning to stir up against the new 'ritualism.' So coarsely and ignorantly was the attack made, that the hand of the assailant stood revealed

as one who, except in the *Times* and in his own conventicle, was but little accepted as a prophet: and whose own civil position in London was obviously the exact counterpart of that which he refused to tolerate in Bishop Eden at Inverness. Accordingly, the *Times*, for once, found itself alone against the world, with only the *Record* to cheer it on; while every paper of the most discordant views which valued consistency, applauded the action of the Archbishop, and as many thousands heard of Inverness Cathedral as hundreds might have done had the description of its stone-laying been confined to the religious press.

The business of the York Congress was, as in preceding years, conducted partly in a central hall, and partly in rooms used for sectional meetings. At Norwich, the Gothic arches of S. Andrews' Hall, in which the gathering took place, greatly augmented the artistic effect of the *coup d'œil*, otherwise its acoustic properties were very bad. At York, strange to say, no room existed large enough for the purpose, and so a wooden Congress-hall with galleries was erected close to the minster. Picturesque in itself, this structure wore really an ecclesiastical aspect from the series of the armorial bearings of all the sees in Great Britain and its dependencies with which the gallery fronts were adorned.

Of the Archbishop of York's initiatory speech we need not speak at length. It was very able and judicious, but it was rather devoted to ensuring the good conduct and success of the Congress in itself (which on the whole it quite succeeded in doing), than addressed to the Church at large, beyond and after the meeting. One passage, however, there was of general value, which was remarkably applauded, that in which the Archbishop broadly laid down the Church's right to convocational representation.

Both before and after the Congress, some persons, who are not the most absolute representatives of the Church peaceable, have been depreciating the York Congress for the alleged incompleteness of the list of subjects treated there, and the method of their treatment. We shall best test the importance due to this charge by examining the elements of the discussions in comparison with those of previous years. We have taken the trouble to tabulate the various subjects handled at the four Non-university Congresses, not distinguishing between those which were treated in full session, and those which were awarded to sections, and where more than one distinct topic was set down for the same session, entering each separately. Of course the managers of each Congress adopted its own nomenclature. But judging for ourselves as to the subjects which were absolutely or approximately identical, we find 34 sections of the Ecclesiastical Encyclopædia travelled over during those 12 days

of 4 years. At Manchester, 16 several topics were handled, 20 at Bristol, 11 at Norwich, and 15 at York. 3 of them in different terms appear at all the occasions, 3 more at three out of the four, 13 at two, while 15 make a single appearance. The questions which have excited sufficient attention to recur virtually on every occasion are :—

1.—M. Church Extension. B. Parochial Subdivision, Organization, and Action; Collegiate Churches in great towns. N. Duty of Church to Home Population. Y. Diocesan and Parochial Organization.

2.—M. B. and N. Church Music. Y. Hymnody.

3.—M. Supply of Ministers; and especially native Ministers for Colonial and Missionary Churches. B. Foreign Missions and supply of Missionary Candidates. N. The Duty of the Church towards the Heathen. Y. Colonial Church and Foreign Missions.

In the second class was one topic which lasted on from 1863 to 1865, and then was dropped at York.

1.—M. Progress of the Church in Ireland. B. Mutual Relations of the Church in England and Ireland. N. Position of Church in Ireland :—

While there were two which appeared on all the occasions, except the Norwich Congress.

2.—M. Lay Co-operation. B. Home Missions and Lay Agency. Y. Lay Agency; and

3.—M. Ruridecanal Meetings, Diocesan Synods, and Convocation. B. Synods of the Church. Rural Deans and Decanal Chaplains. [Noted at B. as separate subjects.] Y. Diocesan Synods in relation to Convocation and Parliament.

Of matters which only come twice up, we find at Manchester and Bristol :—

1.—M. Church Architecture. B. Church Architecture and Decoration.

2.—M. Free and Open Churches. The Offertory. B. Free and Open Churches.

3.—M. Augmentation of small Livings, and Tithe Redemption. B. Augmentation of small Livings.

Three that appeared at Manchester, and then slumbered till they were revived at York :—

4.—M. Management of a large Parish. Y. Best Method of attaching the Poor to the Church of England.

5.—M. Parochial Mission Women. Y. Ministration of Women.

6.—M. Day and Sunday Schools. Y. Sunday Schools and Catechizing.

Bristol and Norwich monopolise :—

7.—B. Increase of the Episcopate. N. Division of Sees.

8.—B. Revised Code and Church Training-colleges. N. Education of Poor in relation to Church and State.

Bristol and York have one common topic :—

9.—B. Social Hindrances to the Spread of Christianity.
Y. Social Condition and Recreations of Working Classes.

Next come a cluster of subjects which have come into prominence at Norwich and York :—

10.—N. Court of Final Appeal. Y. Ecclesiastical Courts.

11.—N. Cathedrals and Capitular Bodies. Y. Cathedrals—their Work and Influence.

12.—N. Duty of Church towards Foreign Christians. Y. The Condition of the Churches of Western Europe.

13.—N. Adaptation of Preaching to Present Times. Y. Dogmatic Teaching from the Pulpit.

Of once handled subjects Manchester gives us :—

1.—Supply and Training of Ministers.

2.—Clergy Discipline.

3.—Growth of Church in Lancashire.

4.—Law of the Colonial Church.

Bristol :—

5.—Dilapidations.

6.—Education of the Clergy.

7.—Systematic Cultivation of English Composition, Reading and Speaking.

8.—Associations for Aiding Poor and Disabled Clergy, and their Widows.

9.—Church Finance.

10.—Middle-class Education and Bristol Diocesan Model Schools.

11.—Adult Education and Night Schools.

12.—Church in the Workhouses.

Norwich only gives :—

13.—Spirit in which the Researches of Learning and Science should be applied to the Bible.

York has :—

14.—The Sunday Question.

15.—Church Rates.

It will be seen that the three subjects which held their own through the full four years, have been the great questions of the Church at home in its parochial aspect, and of the Colonial Church in connexion, more or less, with foreign missions, together with that special phase of outward worship which has such fascination in different ways, both for high and low, namely Church hymnody, dealt with either in regard to its music or its words. Of those that were protracted through the first three con-

gresses, the Irish Church, after producing a very unseemly squabble at Manchester, thanks to Dr. M'Neile's characteristic bitterness against the Romanists, was handled with peculiar ability and elevation of tone, both at Bristol and Norwich. It was, therefore, well not to risk a breakdown at York, by the fourth appearance of a fully-worked topic. Norwich, on the other hand, was noticeable for omitting the cognate questions of lay-agency and of synodical action, which were well handled at the other gatherings. The introduction of this discussion at York is no weak answer to the charge of shirking brought against that Congress. Our attention, as we turn to topics which only appeared twice, is drawn to the fact, that both at Manchester and Bristol, 'Church Architecture' ('and Adornment' being added on the second occasion) and 'Free and open Churches' (in the former were coupled with the 'Offertory') are prominent topics; while in the remaining Congresses they totally disappear. Thus at the two earlier assemblies the ecclesiological phase of the Church movement received due attention, while in 1865 and 1866 it slipped out. We fancy that we need not go far for the reason of this difference. Since the Bristol Congress the so-called 'ritual' movement had made head, and had indeed appeared at Norwich and York, in the form of an exhibition, and at the latter city also as a simultaneous and separatist congress, while upon both occasions the formidable Association which fights the Free Church question with so much fierceness also held a rival gathering at the same time and place as the regular Congress. The consequence is that, at all events, between 1864 and 1867, the Church movement, in its ecclesiological aspect, will have become apparently separated from the main current of congressional deliberation, and turned into somewhat turbulent and rapid by-channels.* Some people may hail this as the emancipation of honest opinion, for which we ought to thank the ultra-ritualists and the Manchester Free Church men. To this we cannot subscribe, while, at the same time, we decline to identify ourselves with the caution which avoided the examination of those topics, rather than allow that open discussion, by moderate men, of such of the incidents connected with them as would not involve the most thorny points of existing controversy. At the same time, it is fair to notice that the question of 'Cathedrals,' which makes its appearance in 1865 and 1866, is, to a considerable extent, cognate with the general subject of the grandeur of worship: on both occasions the ablest paper was that of the Dean of Ely. This subject, too, was heralded in 1864 by a paper and discussion on the collegiate system in large towns, as contrasted with the mainly parochial organization, a consideration professing affinities with that of the due nature and use of those most important

collegiate churches which contain a bishop's *cathedra*. The increase of the Episcopate was omitted at Manchester, but it had been handled at both of the University Congresses, and was again taken up both at Bristol and Norwich, so that its omission at York was not much to be wondered at, although, as it was so very practical a topic, and as the one Congress in which it had been passed over was the previous one in the Northern province, we think it might as well have been entertained. As it was, its omission created some disappointment, and elicited independent meetings during Congress days.

The topic of 'Ministration of Women' is an omission in the two middle Congresses, but it had been well worked at Oxford, and we hail its re-appearance at York. A somewhat remarkable group of subjects came exclusively before the two latter Congresses. We have already mentioned 'Cathedrals.' The appearance at Norwich of the 'Court of Final Appeal,' and at York of 'Ecclesiastical Courts,' is sufficiently explained by the Colenso case and Lord Westbury's infamous judgment. 'Foreign Christians' and the 'Churches of Western Europe' re-echo subjects which have most gravely agitated thought at home. The adaptation, dealt with at Norwich, of 'Preaching' to present times, and the consideration given to dogmatic teaching from the pulpit at York, were the congruous counterblast to the flippant religious talk of the age. While the masterly treatment of the latter topic by two Irish dignitaries, in the eloquent and sustained argument of the Dean of Emly, and the perhaps even more eloquent and epigrammatic, if not so closely reasoned, speech of the Dean of Cork, placed this session in conspicuous prominence solely from the quality of the oratory which it elicited, and the speciality of its having proceeded from a portion of the Church of which English churchmen are perhaps too apt to ask, Can any good come out of it?

Perhaps we ought to have grouped with the first-named of these subjects that session of the Norwich gathering which was pre-eminently the event of the Congress of 1865,—the one whose key-note was 'the spirit in which the researches of learning and science should be applied to the Bible.' Dr. Pusey's Essay, deep as anything which he has ever written, more lucid than many of his previous writings, was the paper *par excellence* of that morning; a paper which must have comforted many persons, by giving them a rational yet faithful solution of difficulties with which they may hitherto have been sorely troubled; while, perhaps, it also relieved in a lower sense some others who, having themselves reached the same conclusion, found that Dr. Pusey's broad ægis was raised to shield them from imputations of irreverence from more timid brethren. The tacit con-

sent of the Christian *orbis terrarum*, Catholic and Protestant alike, has in our own lifetime ratified the concordance of revelation and of true science by the recognition of the fact that the days of creation were periods of uncertain, it may be of practically incomprehensible, time. A fresh series of scientific facts has much more recently evolved bewildering difficulties in the literal maintenance of those very few thousand years during which the human race has hitherto been supposed to have existed. A little reflection was sufficient to show that no doctrine of the faith, no incident of scriptural history, was at stake in the discussion of the merely arithmetical computation of the probable duration of the human race. In fact, the more years we concede to the events of the Genesis, the easier we made it to conceive that the human race in all its diversity, ranging from European to Tasmanian, sprung from a single couple (the one great ethnological fact which has a theological value), and therefore that

‘Adam vetus quod polluit
Adam novus restituit.’

Still, in face of Dr. Colenso, pious people might well not like to be the first to make this acknowledgment. It was accordingly true wisdom and true courage in Dr. Pusey to come forward, in behalf of all the orthodox, and offer the admission. One fact, which he worked with much power, was conclusive, that by comparison with the genealogies of the Old Testament the consecutive fourteens of the first chapter of S. Matthew were confessedly arranged, for reasons which we cannot grasp, in their symmetrical succession by the omission of actual links.

It might at first sight seem surprising that ‘Clergy-discipline’ and the ‘Law of the Colonial Church’ having been taken up at Manchester should afterwards have been dropped—but in fact analogous questions have been discussed at later dates, though we would not quite group the previous subjects as equivalents with any later discussion. The growth of the Church in Lancashire was a local specialty like which we wish there had been more on other occasions. The only similar topic which we can discover is the paper on the Bristol Diocesan Trade School. The practical character of the remaining once-introduced topics at the Bristol Congress, which we need not again recite, is a feature to be noted. The consideration of the relation of learning and science to the Bible was the only solitary topic which distinguished Norwich, while the ‘Sunday question’ and ‘Church Rates,’ which are alone recorded against the York Congress in this class, were not its most felicitous elements.

An extempore feature was introduced into the York gathering by the invitation from the Working Men’s Association for the

Congress to meet and address it. In consequence, the Congress Hall was crowded with workmen, accompanied with their wives, who were successively addressed by chosen speakers, such as the Archbishop of York and the Dean of Cork. The attention of the hearers was exemplary, and the speeches of a decidedly good quality. All we wished for was, that there should have been a little more distinct allusion to the Church as such, if only as a social organization. When the working men ask a Church gathering, as such, to address them, the time had surely come to show them inoffensively and tolerantly, but still boldly, that the Church, as such, was in every way an institution which was of great benefit to themselves, and of which they would feel the loss were it to be removed. As it was, many of the speeches would have been nearly as appropriate at a Wesleyan or Baptist Congress.

Upon the whole we should say that the Manchester Congress was characterised in its choice of subjects by a bold, though rather unsystematic, grasp of large questions; that of Bristol by the desire to realize practical points; Norwich by a well-balanced system of carefully adjusted topics; and York by business-like caution. After all, however, the bill of fare in any case, like that of many a Corporation feast, is more truly comprehended by the retrospective inquirer than the bewildered participant. As we have shown, the feature of the York Congress which will stamp it with individuality, was the fulness of the recognition which it won from the Church itself in its established dignity. As three days cannot cover every thing, it was worth making the list of subjects which secured the Primate of All England as preacher in York Minster, less than five years after the first little Congress gathered at Cambridge in King's College Hall.

We have called attention to the discussion on the ministration of women. Not many weeks after the discussion, the Bishop of London's Charge, recognising the need and the work of Sisters of Mercy, *eo nomine*, was delivered.

Time was, and not long ago, when Roman Catholics were supposed to have a monopoly of Sisters of Mercy: when Protestants all held that women might work as true Sisters of Mercy (and thank God they can), one by one, from their own homes, visiting amongst the poor and desolate in their own neighbourhood; but that the system of our Church forbade any organization for a combined effort to use the services of women. The fearful emergency of the Crimean war dispelled this theory. Other efforts were doubtless being made before, but that melancholy time changed public opinion. The heroic spirit who stood forth to guide, and those no less brave who seconded her efforts, told the world that English Churchwomen were ready to combine, where combination was needed, for any great Christian work; and our hospitals will probably always henceforward bear more and more, the better they are administered, the impress of that great example. Now I should be false to all good

feeling if I did not publicly testify to the great help which London received, during the late appalling sickness, from the self-denying efforts of Christian women—some acting alone, on the impulse of their own individual generous nature, some living in communities, of which it is the common bond to be ready, for Christ's sake, to tend the poor at whatever risk. . . . But no doubt those Christian women who work in communities are still viewed, by the great majority of the clergy, with considerable suspicion. Would to God they would abstain from all practices which make these suspicions reasonable! The number of sisterhoods of the Church of England throughout the country is very great. The deaconesses who form themselves on the model of the Protestant Institution of Kaiserswerth are, so far as I can ascertain, as yet comparatively few. The time has, I think, come, when the clergy generally and the heads of the Church must enter fully into the question how the help of Christian women living in community, and holding themselves ready to act amongst the sick and poor, is to be best arranged. We have amongst us a large body earnestly desirous of giving themselves to such work. . . . If family duties are overlooked, God's blessing can never be expected on any efforts which we may make for His Church. Every community, therefore, of sisters or deaconesses ought to consist of persons who have fully satisfied all family obligations. Again all who enter such communities must be at full liberty to leave them so soon as the leadings of God's providence point to another sphere of Christian duty. Hence all vows of continuing in the community, actually taken or mentally implied, are wrong. Again, the rules of the community must be simple and carefully guarded, so as to check all imperiousness in the higher, and all unworthy and unchristian servile submission in the lower, members. Again, great care must be taken to guard against morbid religious feelings and opinions, which all experience shows such communities have a tendency to foster.

These are the words of a non-High-Church Bishop, won, unwillingly it may be at first to his convictions, by the pleadings of practical necessity; every thing therefore that he says in approbation is doubly valuable, while his warnings deserve respect, as the original criticism of an acute bystander. Anxious as we are to attain the general recognition of woman's united action under religious rule, in works of religion and mercy within the Church of England, we feel bound to call attention to the difficulties about organizing the system under which female societies can act, when the constitution has, on the one hand, to avoid any occult love of spiritual power, and on the other to beware of that romanticism which is apt either to colour the joint action of men and women, even when it is of the purest and most sacred character, or else to permeate the inner daily life of the Sisterhood itself. Accordingly we commend these remarks of the Bishop of London, not to the acceptance, but to the calm consideration, of all who are actively engaged in the development of sisterhoods. On one point we do not hesitate to declare our adhesion to his warnings. So long as the Church of England so emphatically ignores, and the spirit of religious people throughout the land is so unmistakeably opposed to vows, it is suicidal in policy and indefensible in principle, to underlay the recognised constitution of sisterhoods with any clandestine obligation

of vows, imposed by the stronger upon the weaker side. Between the *disciplina arcana*, which must be maintained by the imposer over the taker of the vow, and the conflicting external manifestations of spontaneous partnership which would have to be kept up by the Sisterhood to the uninitiated world, those must be feminine minds of the stoutest stuff which would not occasionally be led to feel that the path of straightforward duty within the community was rough and narrow.

It would be cowardice to take leave of the York Congress without referring to a very vigorous force of irregular volunteers who chose that city as the scene, and the Congress days as the time, of their operations. The exhibition of Ecclesiastical Art held in the spacious brick mansion of some Yorkshire magnate of the eighteenth century, with its attendant lectures and discussions, was the sequel of a similar appendage to the Norwich Congress. This year's display was, however, larger and more varied than that of its precursor; while archæology supplemented the array of modern chasubles in use, or for sale, with contributions of which not the least important were the Westminster copes, lent by the Dean and Chapter of the Abbey; while the papers and discussions, which were a novel incident, were carefully reported in the newspapers. As we have hinted already, the growth of the 'Ritual' movement may have had something to do with the absence of ecclesiology from the more recent congresses. At first sight, the new ceremonial seemed, from its York manifestation, to be carrying the day before it. It had, since the report, on the whole favourable, of the Committee of the Lower House of Convocation, gone on with only a little outside complaint of clerical coteries, and its bold display on the occasion was like a triumphal rejoicing. In the few weeks, however, that have intervened, the British lion has fairly been lashed up into a perturbation which, whether the result of genuine deep feeling, or of the strong desire to catch at some counter-excitement to banish the disagreeable images of Bright and Beales, cannot assuredly be dismissed with contempt by any one who desires to see the revival of Catholic principles in the worship, as well as in the doctrine, of the Church of England guarded from molestation during this season of popular agitation.

We hardly need say that we have never admitted the claims which the chiefs of the new ceremonial pertinaciously urge, to be accepted as the leaders of the High Church movement. They may be right or wrong, wise or unwise, scholars or sciolists; but the allegiance they have a right to is only that which they may win for themselves by the truthfulness, wisdom, and honesty of their principles, while their errors are not to be charged upon that great school of thought and those teachers of practice who during

the last thirty-four years have conducted the Church revival, through many moving accidents, to its present level of success. At the outset, we protest against the term 'ritual' as the accepted definition of their peculiarities, and against their naming themselves as the distinctive 'ritualists,' not only because the word 'ritual' as meaning 'ceremonial' is a mistake, but because, in the exclusive sense in which it is used by these new ceremonialists, it involves something like a repudiation of those multitudinous labours of love—in recasting Church arrangements, and developing choral services and reverential Eucharists—which have, for nearly thirty years, taxed the intellects and gladdened the hearts of so many loyal children of the Church.

Upon the abstract points at issue we desire to speak plainly. We never had any doubt that the Rubric of 1662, in its natural and unsophistical meaning, legalized neither more nor less than the vestments ordered in the First Prayer-book of Edward VI.—viz. a white alb, plain, with a vestment or cope, for the priest who celebrates Holy Communion, and an alb with tunicle for his assistants.

The opinions of the nine counsel consulted by the English Church Union, accordingly, sound to us as confirmatory rather of the candour of the Chief Baron, the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, the Queen's Advocate, the Attorney-General of Lancaster, and their companions, than as dicta which tell us anything of which we were previously ignorant. They certainly do not help us to understand the greatest of mysteries—the contrary opinion of Lord Justice Cairns and Sir Roundell Palmer. That these vestments are in themselves popish has always seemed to us a ridiculous calumny, seeing not only that vestments are of universal use in the Eastern Church, which is so antagonistic to Rome, but that in its Western form the chasuble is the prescribed vesture of the Lutheran communities of Sweden, Norway,¹ and Denmark. It stands in this respect in the same

¹ Mr. Forester, in his interesting 'Travels in Norway,' published in 1850, describes a Sunday which he passed in the summer of 1848, at the village of Lillehammer, when he was present at the celebration of the Holy Communion according to the Norwegian cereinonial. 'The priest having returned to the altar, the precentor invested him, over the surplice, with a rich vestment or cope [chasuble] of crimson satin, embroidered with a broad cross of silver tissue before and behind.' Mr. Forester adds in a note, 'I had seen them of velvet with gold embroidery, but the colour was invariably crimson.' Of course, his journey having been made in summer, he is not a witness as to, e.g. the Lenten colour. Further on he explains that wafer bread is used, while his own summing-up of the whole question—that of an educated and right-minded, but apparently not peculiarly theological English traveller of eighteen years back, when even S. Barnabas was still non-existent—is:—'As to the assumption of an additional and peculiar vestment in the celebration of the Eucharist, I believe the *cope* is recognised, and has been in use in our own Church since the Reformation.' (The italics are the author's) 'The use of the wafer, instead of leavened bread, is surely a matter of little importance; perhaps

category as the altar crucifix and lighted candles, which are of obligation in the 'Evangelical Church' of Prussia. As a matter of propriety, we quite agree with the Bishop of Oxford in his late Charge, that a distinctive dress for the celebrant at the Eucharist is seemly and desirable. Having said all this, not as a concession, but as the expression of convictions which we held years before the recent excitement, we may be allowed, without suspicion, to express our grave apprehensions at the results to which the authors of that excitement may lead the Church of England—results which ought to be as much objects of dread to them as to ourselves. These are not times in which the immutability and irrefragability of any statutable enactment—such as the rubric is in its secular aspect—can safely be assumed by any party as its vantage-ground for straining the application of that enactment, to its utmost legal limit, in the teeth of persons who bear no goodwill to the enactment in itself, and who know that constitutionally the same power which enacted can also repeal. Vestments legal, yet dormant, may not be a satisfactory condition of things to the man who desires to feel them on his own back; but vestments abrogated, and for the time to come illegal and irrecoverable, would be still less pleasant in his eyes. Moreover, we cannot blind ourselves to the suspicion that the inquiry which has been so peremptorily forced upon us may, after all, establish the fact that, excepting for the three earliest years of reformed vernacular worship, during which the First Prayer-

it is more consonant to the usage of the primitive Church and the original institution of the Sacrament.' It is obvious all through the long description from which we have taken these brief extracts, that any question of the validity of Norwegian orders had never occurred to Mr. Forester, while he confounded the cope and the chasuble. We can give a no less explicit account of the ceremonial of Sweden, a country which, it will be remembered—although since the treaty of Vienna under the same personal sovereign as Norway—has for centuries had an antagonistic political, and a distinct religious history (with the advantage to Sweden of a presumably valid episcopal succession). The *Ecclesiologist* for February, 1852, contains a letter by Mr. G. J. R. Gordon, for some time *chargé d'affaires* at Stockholm, and now minister at Stuttgard, describing the organization and ceremonies of the Swedish Church, in which we read: 'The priest is vested in chasuble and albe, on the former of which, consisting of rich velvet or brocaded silk, (and, if of the former, generally red, except in Lenten time, when it is invariably black, with plain embroidery,) is embroidered, on the back, a plain Latin cross, ordinarily occupying the whole length and breadth of the vestment; whilst on the front is commonly embroidered a large glory, with a triangle, and the sacred name, in Hebrew letters, within it,—also of gold or silver work, according to the season. Beneath this chasuble is worn the albe, of white linen, with a broad embroidered and vandyked, or fine lace collar, and sleeves tightened at the wrist, being bound round the waist with a netted blue silk girdle or sash, and having round the bottom a fringe of broad embroidery or lace. These vestments are put on over the cloth, cassock-like coat worn by the Swedish clergy, and in which, together with the neck-bands, they are bound always to appear. Swedish episcopal vestments are of far greater splendour (including rich mitre, cope, pastoral staff, and pectoral cross). The rich vestments just described are worn only at the celebration of the Holy Communion.'

book was in use, the ruling rubric of that Book has never received a more than partial interpretation, even by those prelates and clergy of Elizabeth, James I., and Charles I.'s reigns, who pushed to the furthest their own ideas of ceremonial grandeur. It must not be forgotten that the *continuous* formal existence of the non-Roman Church of England dates only from Elizabeth. The First Book contained a certain ceremonial, essentially and unhesitatingly 'Anglo-Catholic;' but in the same reign of the same boy, within a space of time to be measured by any one who will take the trouble of thinking what he was about three years ago, and of realising that it was three years since, it was replaced by another Prayer-book, edited under strongly adverse influences, while both books were equally, in another brief space, submerged by Mary's revival of the old system, which, good or bad in itself, had the *prestige* of far many more years than both the antagonist new rituals could together boast of weeks. It is accordingly but common-sense to own that it was *tabula rasa* at Elizabeth's accession, and that the actual force of the First Book, contrasted with its moral value, must be measured by the degree to which we can prove that it has been revived by Elizabethan and post-Elizabethan enactments. We believe that the person who duly considered these facts would have to acknowledge that, while copes have been, with more or less frequency, worn as Eucharistic vesture from the days of Queen Elizabeth to these of Queen Victoria, at whose coronation we, with our own eyes, saw the Archbishop of Canterbury celebrating in one, attended by the acting Dean of Westminster, also so vested, no undoubted instance after the time of Edward VI. of the use of a chasuble—however (as we believe it to be) rubrically and statutably legal—could be established. In fact, we suspect that, in the eyes of the seventeenth-century ceremonialist, the word 'vestment' had lost its technical meaning of *chasuble*, and was concluded to be an alternative or expletive expression for 'cope,' the special Eucharistic garb in which Andrewes and Laud, Wren and Cosin, were wont to brave the profane scoffs of the Brownists.

We do not assert, neither do we deny, that if a compromise had been offered, or asked for, or could now be effected, which should secure the unquestioned revival of the cope *simpliciter*, as the celebrant's dress alternative, and equally favoured with the surplice and hood, it might not be well, under existing circumstances, to close with it as 'the distinctive Eucharistic 'vesture' of the Anglican Church. We shall not be tempted to discuss the possibility of such an arrangement even from recollecting that a writer of eminence in the new 'ritualistic' school has put his name to the assertion that proof exists that in sundry English pre-Reformational Churches the cope was

the priest's mass dress. We only point out to the men of unflinching precedent, what might be the result in *non*-Puritan hands of the enquiry which they have been working so very hard to precipitate.

There are, however, other results, which no dread of ill-omened words ought to lead us to suppress, if happily we may, by pointing them out, urge any enthusiastic worshipper of a single idea, viewed from a single stand-point, to a wider comprehension of the symptoms of the age. The result might very likely be to place the settlement of the question not in the hands of the non-Puritans, but of the Puritans, who dislike from antagonistic partisan proclivities—or else of the Latitudinarians, who dislike from generic antipathy—both sacramental doctrine in itself, and of course also the external manifestations which exist on account of and in furtherance of that doctrine. Omit a symbolical rite, and you go far to obliterate the popular apprehension of the doctrine of which that rite is the symbol. It would be still more probable that these two classes of thinkers, finding that for the moment they had a common immediate object, would patch up an armistice and unite their forces to crush forms which are alike obnoxious to solifidianism and to pantheism. Would the people who belong to these two classes, and to whom any special Eucharistic vesture is especially offensive, agree to legalize and popularize the cope because their antagonists claim both cope and chasuble? Would they, with so fair an opportunity offered to them of meddling, be satisfied to leave the English service still capable of all the ceremonial amplification which it now receives, in so many churches where the introduction of vestments has never been thought of? They would have on their side all that peculiar strong feeling—not unmixed with a subtle, but deep-rooted pride—which makes the average Englishman always suspicious of the other Englishman who appears in some dress which he does not see his own way to put on. The surplice has indeed weathered its Symplegades, but after how many storms let the memories, on the one side, of Cartwright and Prynne, and on the other, of Laud and Charles, testify. Cope and chasuble, on the contrary, have not been fought and practically won on the many battle-fields which have shaped the Church of England, but rather the contrary, and so those who desire to establish them will have to begin at the same beginning, at which the wearers of the surplice found themselves in the sixteenth century, without the certainty of the same result, if Exeter Hall and the *Pall Mall Gazette* should unite forces to their destruction.

But some of our gravest apprehensions of the result of the so-called 'ritual' movement, proceed from another cause than fear

for the result of a conflict between the world and the *bond fide* advocates of the full Prayer-book. We have made good our assertion that the attempt to revive the *summum jus* of the rubric—not so much from an abstract love of conformity for conformity's own sake, as from a liking for the things which that conformity would introduce—while abstractedly defensible, may practically be very impolitic, and provocative of great mischief on the side most disagreeable to its promoters; viz. on that of the retrenchment of advantages which have already been after an arduous struggle conceded to, and peacefully enjoyed by, the believers in sacramental worship, under a condition of things which has virtually compromised the personal adornment of the men for the embellishment of the fabric, and the regulation of the service. Such a policy, if it is to be pursued at all, must be done under the guidance of the greatest self-restraint, and the most patient caution. In proportion as the object is to reach nothing short of the absolute limit, the obligation must be imperative on the honest reformer not to transgress that limit. To be impolitic is a dangerous position to find oneself in. To be both impolitic and a trespasser into the fields where the law runneth not, is indeed perilous. Here, then, a new element enters into the consideration of the question as it is presented to us by the extreme wing of those who desire to confine the term 'ritual' to the ceremonies which they themselves specially patronize. We have begun by saying that as honest men we can personally, irrespective of questions either of policy as to their re-adoption or of intervening usage, give no other interpretation of those ornaments of the ministers, which were in the Church of England by authority of Parliament in the second year of Edward VI. and are therefore still legal by the Act of Uniformity of Charles II. of which our present Prayer-book is a part, than that of their being the much canvassed vestments. The nine counsel say the same thing. But the extreme ritualists cut the legal ground away from their own feet when they argue, as we have seen them do, with a pertinacity worthy of a more tenable cause, that this reference to the authority of Parliament in a particular year does not imply a certain book set up by a certain act of that year, but all the collective mass of antecedent usages which that book was in great measure intended to regulate and simplify. We are not now entering on the much wider question of the virtual allowance of that which is not specifically forbidden. We are merely pointing out the impolicy of the attempt to distort what to all plain comprehension is a leading instance of specific enactment involving specific limitation, into the recognition of a principle which without such limitation could not be worked as

part of the existing English system. The rashness of the proceeding is all the greater when the law which they are discrediting gives them specifically so much of that which they are seeking to obtain. We need go no further than this opinion of the same counsel for an instance of the spirit in which the English legal mind in its most friendly mood would deal with the question of virtual permission, by comparing on the one hand the consideration (irrespective of the results which they reached) which these eminent lawyers gave to the questions of wafer-bread, the mixed chalice, and of hymn-singing, and on the other the impatience with which they gave their voice against the legality of incense.

We are, of course, when we say all this, speaking as Anglicans, as men who live under the Prayer-book of 1662, and whose great ambition is to make that Prayer-book, to a far higher degree than it yet is, the living rule of Christian conversation within the land. We have not the illogical national vanity to say that all perfection is concluded within that service-book. We have on a former occasion stated points on which we should gladly improve it; and we could now—but will not—name others. But, in face of what it might have been in 1690, or at any moment during the eighteenth century, or even if compiled by the 'old orthodox' of the generation just passed away, or by any set of men in our own time, except that set which is most unlikely to have had the exclusive manipulation of the work confided to it, it is a priceless jewel. Touch it, and it will probably be spoilt—keep it, and the hope remains and grows that its legitimate resources will be further and further developed.

Plainly, then, we must state that some ultra-members of the extreme 'ritualists' have worked themselves out of the attitude of conservators of the Prayer-book as the palladium of our national Catholicity, into that of men whose feelings towards the book are identical with those of Mr. W. G. Ward towards the Thirty-nine Articles, viz. that of regarding it as malleable material which, by a series of 'non-natural' manipulations, they could work into forms unthought of by its compilers, but pleasurable to themselves. We seek, of course, the representation of extreme 'ritual' in the second edition of the '*Directorium Anglicanum*;' and there, mixed up in inextricable complication with the revived ceremonial of the First Prayer-book of Edward VI., we find a series of usages which claim our assent, not because they were ordered or allowed in the ruling rubric, or in any other one, but because, in the private opinion of some of those who have brought that rubric into vogue again, they are Catholic and congruous. Of these

we need only for example mention (not as the strongest case, but as one which is now prominently before the public) the revival, not of the sweet smell of incense, but of the overt gesture of incensing, as an integral element of the Communion Service and of other offices, which has just been declared to be illegal by the same consensus of eminent lawyers—who have allowed the vestments—with an emphasis of negation as trenchant as that of the affirmation with which they accept chasuble, cope, alb, and tunicle, because they stand written in that rubric, which is silent upon thuribles and frankincense.

We lay a strong intentional stress upon the overt gesture of incensing as contrasted with the combustion of incense, for there is a wide distinction between the two ideas, which the ultra-ceremonialists have somehow overlooked in their arguments. Incense, they urge, was a prominent element in the Jewish ritual; but it was found there as a sweet-smelling savour offered to God, and not as a lustration, so to speak, of the officiating ministers. To take up another very different line of defence, incense was occasionally burnt in the chapels of our prelates, and in some churches, and probably cathedrals, during the first century after the Reformation. But that incense, as it is quite clear, was burnt upon a kind of standing brazier, and its ministration was not a running accompaniment of the Communion Service. To come from the higher to the lower class of arguments, incense has an obvious practical value in all rooms, whether secular or religious, which happen to be stuffy: but then this incense need not be swung in a censer. Conformity to pre-Reformational usage is of course an argument of another kind; and from the standing point of the ritualists has its value in accounting for their practice of incensing. But we were purposely regarding the question apart from such considerations. The most complete example of the way in which 'incensing' can be attached without assimilation to the Anglican ritual, even as founded on the prescriptions of 1549, may be found in the way in which the new school amplifies the Rubric of Evening Prayer, which enacts: 'Then shall be said or sung the Psalms in order as they are appointed, then a lesson of the Old Testament as is appointed. And after that Magnificat (or the song of the Blessed Virgin Mary) in English, as followeth.' The analogous rubrics of all the successive Prayer-books are, we may note, substantially, though not literally, identical. In the earlier days of the Church revival, the battle of the choral service had to be fought in hundreds of places over the 'said or sung.' With the establishment of the natural meaning of the 'said or sung' came the recognition of a body of clerks to 'sing or say,' and of the surplice to clothe those clerks, while another rubric contri-

buted the chancels, which were to 'remain as they have done in times past,' as the places in which those clerks, so dressed, were to 'say or sing.' All this may seem humdrum to the fresh young ritualist curate, who has entered into the harvest which is due to the energy of those who through much tribulation have ploughed and sowed for the liberty of choral worship for the Church of England. Such is the reasonable and legal expansion of this and of similar rubrics. Now let us see how it is handled by those who in the 'Directorium' claim to be the leaders of the party of strict conformity.

'On Sundays and Festivals incense should be used at Evensong during the singing of the *Magnificat*, and additional tapers may be lighted. This canticle—a daily memorial of the Incarnation—being its special feature; some of those who are taking part in the service should indicate this by gathering together in front of the altar while it is being chanted, taking up, for the time being, such a position as that described here':—[A diagram follows] 'the officiating priest having had the thurible and incense-boat brought to him by two Acolytes, may silently bless the incense in the following terms: "Vouchsafe we beseech Thee, O Almighty God, to bless ✠ and sanctify ✠ this incense, and grant that we who are permitted to worship Thee in Thy courts on earth may hereafter adore Thee for ever in heaven. Amen." He then incenses the altar from end to end, beginning at the Epistle corner, going on to the Gospel corner, and returning to the centre, where, swinging the thurible from side to side for a few moments, he again incenses the cross, and then returns the thurible to the thurifer, who will proceed to incense (1) the priest officiant at vespers, (2) the assistant clergy, and (3) each side of the choir, and lastly (4) the congregation, first towards the north, and finally towards the south side.'

It will be noted that in the preceding page of the 'Directorium' the dress of the officiating priest is asserted to be cassock, surplice, and cope, and that of the assistants albs and dalmatics—all of them, except the surplice, dresses only authorized in 1549 for the Communion Service.

We venture no observation, favourable or unfavourable, upon the intrinsic dignity or unction of this service—as it really is—constructed out of the elements of the *Magnificat*, which the Prayer-book orders as an incident of its Evensong. We should strongly repudiate affixing any imputation of Romanising disloyalty upon the clergy who practise it because of their so doing. But we may ask what kind of strategists they be who have adventured to make good the practical realisation of the entire rubric to its extreme extent, and who encumber themselves upon their sufficiently difficult march with such impedimenta—so bulky, so unassimilative, so provocative of suspicion on the side upon which the Englishman is most suspicious and most unreasonable. But, as we have already pointed out, it is possible that there may be persons who do not particularly care for the resuscitation of the full English ritual as it is written in the English rubric; but who are determined to realise certain

practices because they think them Catholic, and because they like them. This position, if honestly avowed, is intelligible and consistent in itself. It explains many other peculiarities of the so-called ritualists. For example, it is the clue to the energy with which some of them attempt what the Puritans used to call 'fencing the tables,' by changing the great Sunday celebration from a grand common Eucharist of the faithful communicants, both clergy and laity, into a High Mass to be attended, but not participated in, by the laity.

But in proportion to the intelligibility of this policy so is its danger. It is perfectly idle to contend that this class of ritualists is conservative of the Prayer-book. It is infatuation to put them forward in the forefront of the battle against Puritan innovators, for they are, in their way, as complete 'revisionists' as Lord Ebury and his set, with the difference that the latter only talk, and the former enact, innovation. We do these ritualists the justice of supposing that they really desire to strengthen the whole Church of England, from their point of view, by effecting changes in the Prayer-book, which they have argued themselves into imagining the whole Church will accept, while we are aghast at the blindness to the tendencies of the age which can have misguided them into the belief that a change in the formularies of the Establishment, provoked, as any such revision must be, by the joint agency of themselves and of the Eburyites, would tend to the advantage of any section but that one which desires to uncatholicise the Prayer-book. Perhaps there may even be a few among them who would not be staggered at such a result, but who would look upon the contingency as the opening of the Red Sea, which would lead them to the tangled wilderness of a ritualistic Free Church, regulated by the free will of the ceremonialists themselves, uncontrolled by pope or public opinion. This would undoubtedly be a most logical consummation of the 'Directorium,' but it would be most disastrous to the cause of God's Truth throughout the land.

Here, then, we pause to appeal to the genuine and moderate men who have embraced the full ceremonial of 1549, because they think it their duty to show an example of strict conformity. We make this appeal, believing that they only want to make good in their own case the liberty of the Church of England to use legal vestments, under the conviction that the English people have only to be convinced of their legality to accept them rather than try to change the law upon which the sanction rests. We further appeal to them, under the conviction that they may perhaps have also taken up incense, or some other unusual rite, as a corollary of the vestments, without much consideration of the difference of the respective bases on which the two innovations really rest.

Are these excellent people certain in what company they are marching? Have they considered that the *plusquam* ritualist who looks on the English rubric as no better than a row of pegs on which to hang his own imaginings, is in reality the most dangerous antagonist of their position of absolute conformity? Have they ever looked on their guides as men who have gone the furthest in actively shaking confidence in the stability of the *litera scripta* of the rubric? Those who have made good their recognition of choral worship, and of the due appointments of the Eucharistic office, including the all-essential eastward posture of the celebrant, have so far travelled along the same road, although, from motives of policy and of charity, they may be stopping short of their companions who think the time has come for the revival of the vestments. But the men who organise Magnificats with incense and varied attitudes, who add Corpus Christi Day to the great festivals, and who strain all their energies to the converting of Sunday worship into non-communicant gazing on a high mass, are travelling along quite a different way, which may tend to the indulgence of their own tastes, either within the spacious park of Rome, or else the little back-yard of a private conventicle, but which will, if allowed unlimited swing, undoubtedly arrest the healthy growth of external worship within the great old Church of England.

One instance of the practical working of these notions which has lately come to light is so characteristic that, at the risk of being lengthy, we must pause upon it.

There have been from time to time incidents in the Church movement over which we have sorrowed as the indiscretions of earnest and simple-minded, but unworldly men, who rushed into predicaments, or were entrapped into admissions, calculated to provoke the ridicule of a cynical world. Many of the proceedings of good hot-headed Mr. Lyne, for instance, were incommensurable with any theory of current common sense. But in all our experience we never recollect a circumstance which more clearly shows that religious enthusiasm may exist, and yet the perception of the possible and the congruous be absent, than the reception which has been accorded to that erratic Frenchman, M. Jules Ferrette, ex-head of a Romanist college, and ex-Presbyterian Missionary in Syria, and now *soi-disant* Bishop of Iona, by virtue of an alleged consecration by the hands of one 'Julius, Metropolitan of the World, who is Peter the Humble.'

For M. Ferrette we do not pretend to care. He is clever, and he is versatile, as other Frenchmen have been before him, and Syrians too, long ere the Franks had overrun Gaul—so these qualities are natural to a Syrianised Frenchman. We do, however, care for the credit of the Church of England, and inasmuch

as a certain section of our own clergy have publicly identified themselves with his preposterous claims, we feel ourselves bound to show by his own confession what manner of man this Bishop of Iona who has come to rectify the catholicity of Western Europe, *now* is. We say emphatically *now*, for his backers, at a certain recent meeting in Jermyn Street, where he was exhibited to those who chose to go and see the spectacle, vociferously asserted that the question was not what the bishop might formerly have been, but what he now was. We protest most roundly against the principle involved in this assertion; but in the present instance we are quite content to abide by its results. M. Ferrette as he now is, painted by himself, is quite enough for our present purpose, of seriously appealing to that portion of the Church of England which desires to strengthen and extend the ceremonial appointments of our services to consider whether they do wisely to repose confidence in any guides who are making themselves conspicuous as M. Ferrette's supporters.

We cannot deal more fairly by that gentleman than by taking him at his own estimate of himself, given to the public within the last fortnight, in a letter dated December 17, and published in the *Church Times* of the 22d, with the signature 'Julius, Bishop of Iona.' Accepting, for the purpose of our present argument, the statements of this letter, we are willing to acknowledge that he is as much of an 'orthodox bishop'—his own definition—as can be predicated of a French Roman Catholic priest, who, after some thirteen years' conformity to Irish Presbyterianism has received, under unexplained and obviously irregular, if not clandestine, circumstances, the single imposition of hands of an ill-identified Bishop in Syria, who, by a process of reduction, must, if at all in *rerum naturâ*, be a bishop of that Syrian branch of the Eutychian sect which has vegetated on for so many ages as the Jacobites. M. Ferrette in fact, himself acknowledges as much in his letter, clouded as the confession is by a flight of incomprehensible words and unproven assertions.

Now, whatever may be thought of the virtual soundness of the faith of these Jacobites, they are tenacious, like all Orientals, of canonical prescriptions when not coerced by *force majeure*; and as Syrians tell us in the newspapers, one of their regulations is that a 'Syrian' or Jacobite bishop must be elected by three-fourths of the male inhabitants of his diocese, and then consecrated by the patriarch and two bishops. It is certain that three-fourths of the male inhabitants of that interesting but remote portion of the county of Argyll, Iona, did not elect M. Ferrette to be their bishop, never having heard of him; and it is nearly as certain that Iona is equally unknown to the 'Syrian' episcopate; while in the third place, there is an

absence of proof, and even of assertion amounting to proof on the other side that 'Peter the Humble' was not the Jacobite patriarch whose residence is Mardin in the province of Diarbeker, in spite of his self-assumed pompous title of Metropolitan of the World; while, as M. Ferrette even ostentatiously proclaims, his was a single-handed consecration. Finally, it is indisputable that at Homs (the ancient Emesa) there is no resident Jacobite bishop at all, whether Metropolitan of the World or of anything else; the nearest see of that sect being that of the village of Kuryetein, on the borders of the desert, about two days' journey, or sixty miles, from Homs,—of which, by the way, the diocese is credibly reported to have been in Rome some few years since, and to have engaged for a consideration to conform with his flock to the Papal Supremacy.

Still we let M. Ferrette's statement, in which there is nothing materially impossible, pass; and we assume that some Jacobite prelate, of Kuryetein or elsewhere, was induced to go to Homs, and there, under the turgid pseudonym of Metropolitan of the World, to violate the canons of his church by a consecration, single-handed and clandestine, of M. Ferrette to a see in the remote Hebrides, long extinct by name, and already included in a diocese of the Anglo-, and a 'district' of the Roman-, Catholic Church, prompted and enlightened as he must have been in this grotesque performance by the urgency and instructions of the adventurous European priest, ordained in the Latin Church.

Such—to take the touchstone of what he is, and not what he was, either as Romanist, Presbyterian, or assistant in London to Mr. Marchmont, the dissenting sham clergyman—is the Bishop of Iona, who is thrust upon us by the *crème de la crème* of ritualists, as a chosen instrument in the restoration of Western Christendom to the purity of catholic faith and practice. Happily this suffragan of the World has not been slow in publishing to the West what privileges he has in store for those whom he may be happy enough to gather into his own most sacred fold. Modestly putting himself on the level of 'S. Basil and S. Chrysostom' in his letter of December 17, M. Ferrette observes, 'unless the Apostolic succession has been interrupted 'or the nature of the episcopate changed, the "sacred bishops" 'of our day have just the same authority of setting forth liturgies for themselves and their clergy as they had in the fourth 'century. If so, my publishing a liturgy is a legitimate episcopal 'act, fully warranted by ecclesiastical precedent *as well as by* 'present necessity' (these italics are ours). This Liturgy might have been, and we suppose was, in the hands of the Jermyn Street Conference; for it was not published at Homs, nor yet in Iona, but at 'Oxford and London,' by 'James Parker and Co.,

1866,' in the form of a thin book, of 12mo. size and 81 pages, with the title: 'Εὐχολόγιον. The Eastern Liturgy of the Holy, Catholic, Apostolic, and Orthodox Church, simplified and supplemented; containing Forms deemed valid and orthodox by all Churches for the worship of God daily throughout the year, and for the administration of all public ordinances, including Ordination. By the Rev. Jules Ferrette, of Damascus. Translated by the Author from his Greek Manuscript.'

A still smaller forecast had been published, also in 1866, by Messrs. Parker, entitled 'The Damascus Ritual, a complete Liturgy, extracted from the Greek Euchologium, and supplemented from the English Prayer-book,' also by 'the Rev. Jules Ferrette, of Damascus,' and professing to be a translation of 'his Greek Manuscript.' There is besides a preface to the second book, printed as a small separate tract, in which the professions of the title-page are expounded, and the assertion ventured that M. Ferrette is the one single person who has renounced Romanism without losing favour with his former superiors and brethren. It will be sufficient for our present purpose to take the second book, while, at the risk of being tedious, we repeat that the person exhibited by advanced ritualists in Jermyn Street, and admiringly upheld by the Secretary of the Association for the Promotion of the Unity of Christendom, and editor of the second edition of the 'Directorium Anglicanum,' was at the time author of this Liturgy, which, as late as the 17th of December, he defends in the columns of the newspaper which is especially regarded as the organ of the most extreme ritualistic party.

What, then, is the new and true Eirenicon? Of what quality is that elixir of love which this spiritual Dulcamara vends as the infallible cure for the fifteen-hundred-years-old quarrels of the Universal Church? First let us see how the Scottish suffragan of the Metropolitan of the World 'simplifies and supplements' the Eucharistic Office. The book contains a 'Liturgy of the Lord's Supper,' according to S. Basil, for Sundays, and one according to S. John Chrysostom for week days. We will examine the former, which comes first, and has the fuller rubrics. The office is headed with a general rubric, which commences by asserting that 'it is proper that the Lord's Supper be administered every Sunday at the end of the day.' No doubt this sentence has received the cordial approbation of those friends of M. Ferrette who make themselves conspicuous by the zeal with which they vituperate those fellow Churchmen who do not make it an obligation to enforce fasting communion. But then his Hebridean lordship goes on graciously to concede the 'lawfulness' not only of 'more' but also of 'less' frequent administration, 'and at another hour, if there be some special reason for

it.' The ceremonial appointments may not be very gorgeous, but there is an elegant simplicity about them: 'before the administration of the Lord's Supper there should be prepared in the Church a table covered with a clean white linen cloth, upon which table is placed a plate, with a loaf of ordinary bread, and a cup of wine.' No 'pernicious nonsense' here, it must be owned—no stone altar, no frontal, crosses, or candles, no wafer-bread, nor yet mixed chalice, nor indeed altar, paten, or chalice at all; but table, tablecloth, plate, bread in the loaf, and wine already poured out in the cup. But we have not yet reached the end of this noble rubric. There is the apparatus—but what of the communicants and the celebrant? 'The communicants stand before the table, and the bishop behind it, the face of the bishop being turned towards the communicants, and the faces of the communicants towards the bishop.'

After this mutual introspection, we reach the Office itself, after the remark, 'the bishop says.' It must be noted that this office, M. Ferrette's 'simplification' of Eastern liturgies has resulted in his shaking up what he calls 'Public Service on Sundays' out of our own ordinary dry Sunday offices, beginning with the 'One or more sentences,' and the 'Dearly beloved,' and ending with the prayer for the Church Militant (the Oblation being omitted)—the 'Gloria in Excelsis,' which is changed from the Western—without being converted into the Eastern—form, being tacked on. Accordingly, after the Versicles and Responses, 'Let us lift up, &c.,' and 'Let us give thanks, &c.,' we are introduced straight to an edited version of the 'Anaphora,' said by a 'bishop'—how dressed appeareth not—across a table, with a 'plate' and a 'cup' on it, to a cluster of standing 'communicants,' so managed that it may either be taken as containing a consecration of the elements or a mere historical recital of the Last Supper. This concludes with the Lord's Prayer, after which the 'sacred bishop' orders that '*the communicants sit down if there be accommodation for it,*' but 'the bishop remains standing' (why he should be compelled to put himself to so much trouble is not explained). After this, 'the bishop says—"The holy things to those who are holy;"'—(and sitting, he might have added); and continues—"God, be merciful to me, a sinner." The bishop then takes the bread, and blesses it, saying, "Blessed be God." How this pious ejaculation is a benediction of the bread, being left obscure. 'The bishop then breaks the bread, saying, "Christ says: Take, eat, this is my body which is broken for you. Do this in remembrance of me."

The Order of Administration stands as follows:—'The bishop then, with great reverence and solemnity, distributes the bread to the communicants. And if there be one or more deacons

'present, they help him in the distribution. The bishop communicates last of all, as the Servant of the Servants of God.' We shall not waste words by commenting on the parody of humility which characterises the impudent inversion of all Christian tradition contained in the last order; we simply place in contrast to it the following extract from M. Ferrette's letter of December 1 :—

"My episcopal character cannot be said to have 'nothing obligatory,' for the priest Belerosoff [the Russian chaplain at Brussels], and for his co-religionists. They are bound to recognize me as an orthodox bishop, though not as their own bishop; and it would be a grave sin for any of them to act, speak, or write so as to impede my work. But it is just that I should bear in mind my own weakness as well as theirs. When Romulus, after much difficulty, had contrived at last to surround his so-called city with a mud wall, Remus, his brother, thought it a good joke to leap over it, and Romulus killed him on the spot. I will be more patient than that, and continue my work nevertheless."

We thank M. Ferrette for the minute accuracy of his parallel. We thoroughly agree with him that *his* 'city' of God is but a 'so-called' one, and that its 'wall' is composed of 'mud.' We do not thank him for his patience, for, in truth, we do not care how impatient he may be, while we do not entertain the slightest doubt that he will 'continue' 'the work' in which he has shown himself so successful, of dabbling in mud. But in the meanwhile, we are forgetting the Liturgy :—

'All having partaken of the bread, the bishop and people continue engaged in silent prayer for some time; after which the bishop takes the cup, and gives thanks, saying, "Thanks be given unto God!"'

We call special attention to this passage to ask what that is, which the consecrated of the Metropolitan of the World proffers to the Catholic Church by way of a consecration of the element of wine? As we said, he travels over the *words* of institution in his Anaphora, but excising, as he does in that connection, any rubric of action, they may stand there merely as narrative, otherwise we should have a double consecration of the bread. The words of administration are ours with a prefatory 'Christ says,' after which follows a rubric, parallel to the one above quoted which orders the bishop to receive last of all. Then follows a short prayer adapted from the Greek Liturgy, after which 'the communicants then stand up, if they were sitting, and the people sing, or the bishop says,' the *Nunc Dimittis*. 'The bishop then raises his hands and dismisses the people with the blessing, saying'—no formal blessing at all, but the normal ascription of grace from the second Epistle to the Corinthians. Such is the Eucharistic service tendered by this upstart wanderer for the acceptance of universal Christendom in exchange for its existing offices and rites. It is not our business to test it by comparison

with the elaborate rituals of the East or unreformed West. Seeing the company in which we find Bishop Julius, we are driven to ask if it be so very superior to our own order of Holy Communion, even when most drily administered. In order to be quite fair to M. Ferrette we throw in his anomalous 'Public Service on Sundays,' as its earlier portion, and even then we find that, waiving minor points, (1) M. Ferrette never gives us any special Collect at all, and except on the Sunday before Easter, Maunday Thursday, Good Friday, Easter Eve, Easter Sunday, Ascension Day, and Whitsunday, no proper Epistle and Gospel; Christmas Day being wholly ignored in the Ferrettian use, as a Holy-day at all, and the 'bishop' having the choice of readings on other days. (2) That he omits the special confession, solemn absolution, and the authoritative blessing; in (3) That he orders the communicants to sit during reception, and the celebrant to receive last, and (4), That he throws the very consecration of the elements into inextricable confusion. The only Catholic increment which can be set off against this astounding list of defects, is the mention of a prayer of Anaphora.

Our readers will not be surprised to be told that in the order of 'Administration of Baptism,' the words are turned into the third person: 'The servant of God (N) is baptised in the name of,' &c.; that all mention of regeneration is excised; sponsors, other than as parents or guardians, are ignored, and the Lord's Prayer omitted, and that a prayer in which the 'bishop lays both his hands on the head of the baptised person,' appears to be the substitute for confirmation either as understood by East or West, while no ring is to be found in the 'Solemnization of Matrimony.' But we shall be asked by those who believe in M. Ferrette, What are his ordination and consecration services? Surely the prelate who is so wrathfully contemptuous towards Mr. Skinner because no drop of holy oil had touched his head, and who, according to uncontradicted report, is kindly ready to supply all that is wanting in the Archbishop of Canterbury's orders, and whose consecration, according to his own account, took a good hour, will offer something very grand, imposing, and full, not to say Catholic and Apostolic, on this head, though possibly rather lengthy. We are always glad to begin with praise, and so we freely and entirely acquit these portions of M. Ferrette's book of circumlocution. By way of measuring the length of the offices, we have tested the length of each in comparison with a single exhortation (the first) on our own Communion office, and we find that while that contains 547 words, the entire form of the 'Ordination of Deacons or Ministers,' from the first word of the presentation to the 'welcome' with which it concludes, is disposed of in 343 words; the ordination of 'Presbyters or

Elders' in 252, and the 'Ordination of Bishops or Overseers' in 463, neither Lord's Prayer nor lection of Scripture being ordered in any. The Deacon's office, according to the Lord of Iona, is to 'take care of the poor; to administer the property of the Church; and to relieve the bishop of all those matters generally which 'do not exclusively belong to the episcopal order;' and accordingly, while the poor Protestantized Church of England orders the Bishop to place his hands on the head of the postulant, and say: 'Take thou authority to execute the office of a Deacon in the Church of God committed unto thee; in the name of,' &c. the founder of the 'Orthodox Western Church' revealed to the *Union Review Almanack* substitutes this noble form of words:

'The divine grace, ever healing that which is infirm, and supplying the defects of that which is imperfect, promotes the servant of God (N) to the order of deacon. Let us therefore pray for him, that the grace of the All-Holy Spirit may come upon him. Let us pray the Lord.'

The 'Presbyter or Elder' is ordained with a similar form of words, 'Order of the Elder of his people' being substituted for 'Order of Deacon;' only, as the deacon has had every duty attributed to him 'which does not exclusively belong to the Episcopal Order,' the suffragan of the Metropolitan of the World judiciously omits any recital at all of what the 'Presbyter or Elder' has to do. Who that loves his 'Directorium Anglicanum' will not confess to the superiority of this office over the meagre formularies of the old English Establishment, which actually makes the bishop bid the new priest 'receive the Holy Ghost for the office and work of a Priest in the Church of God, now committed unto thee by the imposition of hands,' and continues to give the authority of binding and of loosing sins? The similar words *mutatis mutandis* in M. Ferrette's 'Ordination of Bishops or Overseers,' contrast as decidedly with the competing expressions in the old-fashioned Prayer-book. The office of a bishop being, we are told, 'to teach; to baptize; to administer the Lord's Supper; to read the public prayers; to bless; to govern; to bind and to loose; and to ordain bishops, elders, and other bishops.'

We have, we venture to think, exonerated a great and good man from the grievous calumnies of the unrighteous and scornful. Author of such a Prayer-book as the first-fruits of his Episcopate, M. Jules Ferrette was not traitorous to his old Presbyterian employers—nor yet a very dangerous foe to his still older friends of the Papal Church—when he sought clandestine consecration as the pretending bishop of a sham see of Iona, from the schismatic hands of a dubious Metropolitan of the World.

Our readers will have had enough—certainly we have had—of M. Ferrette's liturgy. We should never have dreamed of rescuing the trashy *brochure* from its predestined obscurity, for its own worthless sake; but it demands notice on account of those who are the backers of its compiler. Are they Jacob or are they Esau? Is it venison or kid with which they desire to nurture the English Church? They are professedly and ostentatiously members of the same school which has brought out the second exaggerated edition of the 'Directorium Anglicanum,' and yet we now have them supporting, in the person of its author, this eviscerated Presbyterian caricature of the Catholic Liturgy. With what service do they mean to leave us after all—with the High Mass of the 'Directorium,' or the 'Liturgy of the Lord's Supper' of the Bishop of Iona?

This folly has its serious side, or we should not have gone out of our way to expose it, in the encouragement which it offers to those who see the surest way to working a Puritan or Latitudinarian change in the Prayer-book by bringing into contempt the men who seem to be parading themselves as Reformers in an opposite direction, with whom of course the standard-bearers of the Catholic *status in quo* are popularly confounded. We greatly regret that in his Charge (which contains so much which is good) the Bishop of London should have dropped some expressions which might be taken advantage of by the men who are bonded together to un-catholicize the Church by altering the Prayer-book. It is true that the Bishop guards himself against seeming to favour any change which tended to affect the doctrine contained in the book; and appears in what he said to have his attention chiefly directed to an authoritative explanation of the vestment rubric, or to meddling (a thing gravely to be deprecated) with the Burial Service. We will test the policy of such an alteration upon the principles enunciated by the Bishop himself. The rubric of which it is sought to relieve us—an attempt which never would have been thought of but for the precipitancy of the self-entitled ritualists—confers a theoretic legality by the Church of England upon the adoption at the great crowning act of worship of certain rich and distinctive dresses different from those which are worn at the less important services. These dresses are derived, it may be, immediately by that Church of England from the unreformed mediæval Churches, but they descended to them from the primitive Church. These are dresses which, with more or less of similarity, the Episcopal Churches of East and West with which, thank God, we are still connected by the links of Apostolic orders, have from earliest times agreed in employing, and which are also employed from feelings of reverence by various Lutheran communities abroad. True it is that this permis-

sion to wear these dresses at all has, except in isolated instances, been a merely paper one. But is it not the instinct of all old and great institutions to be wary of abolishing prescriptions, even if apparently obsolete in practice, if they are conservative of some tradition which it would be wrong to formally abandon and explicitly to condemn, or which at some other time may show itself suited for the occasion, and therefore spring again into wholesome life.

But would it then be wrong to abandon, and in abandoning to condemn the tradition of these vestments within the English Church, and to make it impossible that they should ever again become a popular usage?

Let the Bishop of London answer this question.

'To review, then, our present position. We are ministers of a Church which adheres to an ancient Apostolical form of government, not with the tenacity of a narrow exclusiveness, forcing us to look with suspicion and coldness on the great Protestant communities abroad, or on Nonconformists at home. We prize and thank God for this outward bond which—while it is some sort of link, however slight, with the unreformed Churches of our own day, whose errors we deplore and would gladly help in mending—ties us also to the great mediæval Churches, and the noble spirits who in them spread light in the midst of the thickly-gathering darkness of gross error: we feel, too, that it carries us up in outward relationship to the struggling Churches of the fourth and earlier centuries, and the great Fathers, whose writings formed in those days the best literature, not of the Church alone, but of the Empire. It is thus we prize the Catholic element in our own government.'

Memorable words these! especially uttered as they were by one of Bishop Tait's school. But if the endangered rubric were put out of the way, they would be less true and, therefore, less memorable. In a great incident of worship, 'a link, however slight,' which connects us 'with the unreformed Churches of our own day,' would have been snapped—and our attitude to 'the great Protestant communities' of Scandinavia would become one of 'coldness and suspicion'; one 'outward bond which ties us also to the great mediæval Churches' would have been riven, and a prescription 'which carries us up in outward relationship to the struggling Churches of the fourth and fifth centuries,' would have been annulled. Why this havoc? Because a few men may have striven to put this dormant enactment in use at a moment when they should have recollected that 'Charity was better than rubrics;' to quote the manly acknowledgment of the author of the earlier and more temperate '*Directorium Anglicanum*,' and because a still smaller set had tried to use the obsolescence of the vestments as an argument to introduce all other things that happened to please them, if only those too were also obsolete.

No doubt the attempt was made to let these vestments down
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easily, but rather contemptuously, by the argument used by the Dean of Westminster, that, after all, they were immaterial, inasmuch as they were but the crystallized dress of an ancient Roman peasant. This observation (into the archæological correctness of which we are not entering), so far as it was intended to discredit them, seems to us eminently unphilosophical, for the whole history of the Christian economy abounds with instances of the Church adopting common things, making them her own, modifying them to her needs, and then, when the fashion of the world changes, retaining them with a now hallowed monopoly. As well might the sacredness of the buildings in which we worship be impugned, because they were only the imitations of disused prætors' courts. As well might the Sacraments themselves be disparaged, because 'sacrament' was a word which at first only meant a soldier's oath of fidelity. We can readily believe that some such feelings as those with which we have analysed the Bishop of London's declaration, prompted the Bishops of 1661 to retain the rubric, although we see that the Bishop of S. David's, in his recently published Charge, goes far to charge them with disingenuity for so doing. Besides, the Bishop forgets that in settling the Prayer-book they had to do so not only for parish churches, but also for cathedrals and royal chapels, under one and the same rubric—a rubric propped, in their eyes, by the Canon which *orders* the cope in collegiate churches, and can only by a forced interpretation *forbid* it anywhere; and that any abandonment of the *litera scripta* would imperil that more grandiose cathedral service to which they had been accustomed before the Civil War, and might have reasonably hoped to see restored. Had Charles II. been even moderately fond of the public devotions of the English Church, it can hardly be doubted that his chapel would have been regulated with a solemnity which would probably have at least re-established the cope and other enrichments in the Chapel Royal; as it was, his selfish profligacy, followed by the perversion of his brother, had before the Revolution extinguished that ceremonialist influence which in so marked a way flowed from the Sovereign's chapels during the reigns of Elizabeth and the first two Stuarts. But how could the Bishops of 1661 foresee this?

That with the glowing appreciation of external beauty in the minds of all educated men, with the growth of art in form and colour in all our buildings, the Church of England, if she holds firmly to that improved system of its worship, of which cathedrals like Ely, Lichfield, and Llandaff, and churches like S. Barnabas, and All Souls', Halifax, give the cue, will not do something at the right time to glorify, in accordance with the rubric, the Eucharistic dress, we cannot for a moment doubt, if only she is

left in peace to work out her own improvement. We are, as we have already said, very glad to see that the Bishop of Oxford, in his late Charge, speaks to this effect. Perhaps the present time might have been the opportune one if those who started the development had been as cautious, and law-loving, and genially English in their ways, as some of them are unhappily the contrary. If the development is checked, the reason of the check must be sought at the hands of those who drove it on so recklessly.

A testimony singularly opportune and weighty to this view of the question has reached us from across the Atlantic. The 'ritualistic' controversy has reached the United States, and seems to be agitating those cities in the North in which the Church is powerful. Accordingly, some clergy and laymen, headed by Dr. Dix, rector of the large, wealthy, and influential Trinity Church, New York, memorialised the 'Presiding Bishop,' asking for his 'views of the subject in full: especially as to 'whether an increase of Ritualism would be advisable among 'us, or whether the ordinary average of present parochial 'practice'—which in Dr. Dix's own case is, we believe, the moderate High Church, that for example of S. Paul's Knightsbridge—'would best carry forward the great work of the Church 'in such a country as ours.' The Presiding Bishop to whom this memorial was addressed, is an old man seventy-five years of age, Dr. Hopkins, diocesan of the proud Puritan New England State of Vermont, conspicuous of yore for the strength of his anti-Roman feelings and language. Bishop Hopkins, in reply, set himself to write a book entitled 'The Law of Ritualism, 'examined in its relation to the Word of God, to the Primitive 'Church, to the Church of England, and to the Protestant 'Episcopal Church in the United States,' in which, with no strong recognition of the benefits of the Reformation and of the corruptions of Rome, he examines the question of ritual in the aspects of the dissent of the Christian from the Jewish Church, the practice of the Primitive and the written law of the actual rubrics of the Anglican and Anglo-American Churches; and the result is, that in behalf of the latter and *à fortiori* of the former, while owning his own individual preference for simpler forms, he sums up in favour of the lawfulness, and of the edifying tendency in cases where it is acceptable, of a ritualism involving not only vestments, but incense; and even prophesies that it will ultimately prove the winning side in our Communion. We quote the concluding paragraph of the book.

'Enough has been written, however, and perhaps more than enough, to be a satisfactory answer to the application of my respected brethren. I have only to state in conclusion, that I am an advocate for Ritualism, so far as it is

fairly warranted by the Bible and the law of the Church, and can make its way with the free choice of Ministers and people. It is not likely that I shall bear any active part in it, as my age is too advanced for my habits to be changed. But I have little doubt that my children will behold the "glory and the beauty" of our public worship brought back to the first stage in the Reformation, in accordance with the rule which has never been formally renounced, and still remains in the rubric of the English Prayer-book. And I trust that the work, conducted as it should be, in the spirit of a pure and living Faith, and with the Christian grace of peace and charity, will add attractiveness to the cause of truth, and increase the influence of the glorious Gospel.

We commend the whole work to that part of the clergy 'in the diocese of London' who have found time to contribute their little share to the cause of dispute and suspicion, by circulating an address in which, while 'not insensible to the objections 'which may be urged against such voluntary declarations on the 'part of clergymen who have already made the subscriptions 'voluntarily imposed upon them,' they announce that they yet 'are convinced in their consciences that the time is fully 'come' (to whom?) 'when, for the satisfaction of the great 'majority of the lay members of the Church of England' (when and by whom polled?) 'and for the vindication of our Church in the eyes of others,' (what others, Romanists, Greeks, Colonists, Jews, or Zulus?) 'some authoritative check should be put to practices,' &c. The memorialists are wisely vague as to the stringency of the check and the authority from which it is to come; a box in the ear is 'some check,' so is hanging a man, but any body of laymen who should set about exposing some brother layman to popular contempt or odium by formally urging that some check should be put on his proceedings, and leaving it obscure whether they implied a snub, a stop, or capital punishment, would be considered more anxious for their own property or safety, than zealous for the repression of the evil-doer. The memorialists continue—'should be put to practices which are 'confessedly introduced and maintained as symbolical of doctrines 'against which our Reformers protested, and in protesting 'against which many of the "noble army of Martyrs" "loved 'not their lives unto the death.'"

How can these gentlemen have the effrontery to say that such practices are *confessedly* introduced as 'symbolical of doctrines' against which Cranmer, Ridley, &c. died, and yet shirk recapitulating any one of them? We have already, not many pages back, given our reasons for thinking that sundry practices which may or may not be used, but which we speak of only as recommended in a certain book, are unwise, nay, possibly, in some cases, more or fewer, alien to the spirit of the Church of England—as alien as preaching in a black gown, administering Communion to whole railfairs, ignoring daily

services, Saints' days, and weekly Communion, palavering in public halls and Evangelical Alliances with omnigenous dissenters. But we never dreamed of saying that they were '*confessedly*' as symbolical of that for which Cranmer and Ridley were burnt, for if we had made any such statement we hope some avenger would have risen up to put us to open shame for daring to bring a charge so sweeping, so vague, and yet so damnatory, against the revival—opportune or not—of usages of which the most prominent are urged on the authority of a rubric in a Prayer-book put forth when the two most prominent of this 'noble army of Martyrs,' who 'loved not their lives unto the death,' in resisting them, were respectively Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London. We have no patience to follow this protest through its next paragraph (a useless amplification of the preamble), which is simply a 'solemn protest' against all 'doctrine and ritual' of which 'the tendency is to assimilate the teaching of the United Church of England and Ireland to the teaching and worship of a Church which we have declared to be "idolatrous." ' We have declared—let the memorialists, as Dr. Parr said, mind their pronouns and speak for themselves. When have we done so? We have no doubt asserted that a certain doctrine of adoration of the Sacramental Presence' was 'idolatry,' not however even saying that it was a necessary Roman doctrine, but of the Church of Rome itself we had, we thought, only said what we also said of the Churches of Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria (*i.e.* the three *primitive* Eastern Patriarchates), viz. that it (the Western Patriarchate) with them 'hath erred not only in their living and manner of ceremonies, but also in matters of Faith.' (Article XIV.) Finally, the declaration, having disposed of the Church in its spiritual aspect, settles its political standing in a brief and pregnant sentence. 'And we declare our conviction that the claim of our Church to be the Established Church of the realm, rests mainly upon her fidelity to the principles of the Reformation.' In our ignorance *we* imagined that these claims rested upon the common law of the land, shaped centuries before there was either a Reformation to check the excesses of Rome, or before those excesses had reached such a height as to create that Reformation, confirmed by the Great Charter, and recognised by Acts of Parliament more than we can count, passed before, during, and after that Reformation.

We have not cast in our lot with the so-called 'ritualists.' On the contrary, we were taken severely to task by their organs

¹ It might clear the minds of the memorialists on this point to recur to certain observations of the Bishop of St. David's in his recent Charge on the term 'Penance.'

for the plainness with which we have expressed our dissent from their aberrations. We feel accordingly more free to make our protest now, not against them but against their accusers, as a body of men who have taken advantage of the follies of those persons, and of the clamour of the journals against them, to bind together 'High-and-dry' with 'Low,' in a protest which might swamp chasuble and censer, but equally, in the vagueness of its vituperation, 'secretly strike at' any 'established doctrine, or laudable practice of the Church of England, or indeed of the whole Catholic Church of Christ,' which happened to displease the *Morning Advertiser* or any other 'organ of public opinion.'

To persons other than these memorialists, who think that excessive ritualism ought not only to be checked, but thrown back, we would venture to recall the little damage which was done to the Church of England by that ultra-ritual movement in the early days of the Church revival, of which the foundation was the excessive study which the leaders of the advance-guard at that time bestowed upon the Breviary, of which the keynote was struck in the service for Bishop Ken's day, contributed by Mr. Newman to the 'Tracts for the Times.' It would carry us much too far out of our way now to give a minute account of this peculiar and interesting—and, we believe, now very much forgotten—phase of the movement. It is enough to say that to us, who happened to have seen, without being implicated in, something of its internal working, the present manifestation sounds like the echo of a long-dropped strain. The same extravagant adulation of the foreign and pre-Reformational—the same faith in the sentimental—characterised the two epochs; while in the men who ruled the earlier one, poetry, intellect, and unwavering faith in virtue of the enterprise stood revealed. Well, that laborious pursuit of devotions whose ruling principle was the bountiful use of the Psalter, coloured by suggestive antiphons said with accessories of æsthetic excitement, has died away—some of its most eminent promoters are lost to us; others, with sobered energies, are earnest labourers in our own Church; while, in the general spread of the daily service, we find the good seed saved from that too luxuriant harvest. Bear, then, we say to all sound Churchmen, with the present commotion. A change now will be a change produced, not by conviction, but by force, and therefore worthless, even if it be one which merely restricts the liberty of the present rubric, to forms most generally familiar. We make little distinction between a change by judgment of the Privy Council, or one by Act of Parliament. Neither can be compassed under circumstances which can command abiding respect. The 'ritualist' will be exasperated, the advocate of moderate conformity and sober dignity will be indig-

nant that the opportunity should not have been taken advantage of for screwing up the Puritan, while the Puritan will storm because the general level had not been beaten down, and the Latitudinarian will be generally disgusted by the entire turmoil. To the ritualist, on the other hand, we say as emphatically—be advised in time, and show the truest courage, that of daring to retrieve a mistake, and in the cause of peace not flinching from the unmeaning reproach of inconsistency.

In strong contrast to that of 1866, the Congress of 1867 will not even be held in a cathedral city. Birmingham was first thought of, but the cold unwillingness of the Bishop of Worcester defeated the proposal: so Wolverhampton, in the more genial diocese of Lichfield, was chosen, upon the invitation of the mayor, and with the promise of the bishop to preside. This large town is so near Birmingham that it will virtually sweep in the same body of local attendants. Wolverhampton, itself as it were the creation of its subterranean treasures of coal and iron, developed by modern science and enterprise, will have nothing about it of that antiquarian picturesqueness which formed so powerful an attraction at Bristol, Norwich, and York. The persons that go there from a distance will be people who wish for a Church Congress in itself, and desire, at some little trouble to themselves, to help it on. This will very probably thin the attendant numbers, but the change will be tonic, because the benefits of such a gathering are those emphatically of influence and information, so long as at a congress formal resolutions are forbidden. Care must be taken, in the long run, not to let the easy and social, nor even the archæological, aspect of the affair, become too prominent. Deliberation with action is one thing; without it, it is another, but still it is deliberation, and should be respected in its given aspects, such as we may expect in the coming instance, for it could not be expected that Churchmen would make a three days' residence in Wolverhampton for any other end than that of mutual counsel.

There is one special aspect in which we think that the choice of Wolverhampton is peculiarly fortunate. There is no cathedral there. York, as we have seen, showed off the cathedral element in our Church in an aspect of spiritual usefulness and majesty which must have surprised many of those who were present. The time had naturally come for the experiment to be tried how much could be done with a parish church in supplying the worship element of a general gathering. For this trial Wolverhampton is peculiarly well adapted. The church there had of old been collegiate, and till lately, while practically only that of a parish, had possessed that titular rank, the Dean of Windsor being *ex officio* also Dean of Wolverhampton. Now we believe this

harmless distinction has been blotted out, and it is only as other spacious town churches. The fabric was rather larger than the average of parish churches, but the choir had been replaced by some hideous abortion of deteriorated Italian architecture. As the church, however, lost in dignity, it regained in beauty; for a restoration of, we believe, a very satisfactory character, including the rebuilding in more seemly form of the choir, was not very long since consummated, under an incumbent who knows well how to work the church which he possesses. So it would be a strange thing if the solemn celebrations and public services, which ought to form essential elements of every Church Congress, could not be provided in this old collegiate church. The question of how to work the parochial system for the best benefit of the people was debated at York, in a discussion where the worship question received due prominence, a most friendly hearing being accorded, among others, to a clergyman well known for his extremely advanced 'ritualism.' At Wolverhampton practice may supplant theory. We venture to suggest that it might be worth while at this, the first congress not held in a university or cathedral city, to superadd, in some form, the choral festival to the congress. The diocese of Lichfield has, since the institution of the Church-music congresses—as we may well style them—been prominent for the zeal with which it has encouraged them, both in the cathedral and in various parish churches. Here, then, at Wolverhampton, when on the occasions of these public days the worship ought to be made all-glorious in a place destitute of capitular resources, the diocese might combine to furnish the means. One special introductory service, and at least one specially solemn Communion, would, we have no doubt, be provided. But even on the other mornings and in the evenings something might be done to honour God in His sanctuary, and withal promote the study of Church psalmody by strongly sustained choral services of a scientific character.

In this union of the outward manifestation of Anglican worship, and in deliberations not inferior, we hope, to those of previous congresses, the usefulness of such gatherings would make itself felt in a region where, from all we know of the growth of Church feeling in the populous towns of great and active Staffordshire, men's minds are very open to wholesome impressions. The Wolverhampton Church Congress might thus be made a pattern of that which we believe the ideal advantages of the institution to be. These are, in brief, the building up of the members of the Church of England, as in no fanatical or exclusive sense, but with all their national characteristics preserved, into a holy people, attached to, understanding, and zealous for that Church to which they belong; not prone to take the offensive;

tolerant and tender of the consciences and rights of others, but ready, at the faintest sound of danger, to stand to her defence; appreciating that, with a very wide liberty of individual opinion, the topics on which all who call themselves Churchmen ought to take unanimous counsel together, are as numerous as they are important; convinced, above all, that in the Prayer-book, as a record of things to be believed, and an exponent of things to be done in God's honour and for man's salvation, is to be found for them the common bond of Christian union, and the common law of the acceptable service due to Almighty God.

NOTICES.

MISS METEYARD'S 'Life of Wedgwood' (Hurst and Blackett) is a refreshing book to meet with; a pleasant island in the sea of worthless so-called Christmas-books and Gift-books with which the literary market is flooded at this season. Few things are more disheartening to the interests of real literature than the accumulated mass of rubbish of this sort: old selections of old scraps of poetry got together without principle and taste; flimsy woodcuts executed by a process of slop-work which is only not worse than block cutting by machinery; silly tales, repeating old incidents, in so far as they have any plot or story at all, and vapid sentimentalism and shabby morality. There was, perhaps, never an age in which there were more books manufactured than at present. Every publisher, towards the close of the year, seems to engage in a rivalry which shall produce the greatest quantity of print at the smallest expenditure of thought; and manufacturers of this sort of ware are as plentiful as journeymen carpenters and shoemakers. Grub Street is more than revived. Now a really good book, full of facts, and with illustrations taken from facts, such as Miss Meteyard's, comes upon us as a surprise. The publishers are to be congratulated on the success which has attended their lavish outlay of capital, and the painstaking authoress has accumulated stores of information and research, which are highly creditable. The only fault of this book is that it is somewhat too copious, not in the memorials of Wedgwood's ingenuity and versatility, but in Miss Meteyard's remarks. We should almost have preferred, here and there, the dulness of a catalogue to the prolixity of her comment. Here and there we find some confusion and occasional repetition; but these are minor blemishes. Wedgwood seems to have been a fine character,—deficient, we fear, in some elements of the highest Christian mould: but the story of his life, especially in the relations of family and of friendship, is an interesting one; and to him we owe the elevation of a manufacture into an art which is one of the few boasts of England in matters of taste. He attained a very high level in one of the most beautiful creations of human skill, and it is a level which since his days we have scarcely kept.

Of a very different character is another striking piece of biography, 'The Life of Archbishop Whately,' by Miss Whately (Longmans). It may be well doubted whether filial piety is the best prompter of biography. What we gain in the large and important field of personal recollection and in the minute yet telling incidents of family and social life, we lose, perhaps, when we have to gain a view of the life of a statesman and ecclesiastic. Personal life may be studied through the medium of a magnifying glass; but the whole landscape of seventy years of public work demands a broader treatment and more general effects. And there was that in Dr. Whately which a very close connexion in blood and daily intercourse would prevent a daughter from seeing. We know better than we ever knew before the higher side of Whately: we owe to his daughter a familiarity with his real kindness, his

personal religion, and his unquestionable sincerity. But a reverent veil is drawn over his defects of character. We are not going to speak of the Archbishop's doctrine or of his ecclesiastical and theological principles : they have been too often adverted to in this Review to require us now to express our emphatic dissent from most of them. But there was that large deficiency in the man which we should hardly learn from these volumes, interesting as they are. Whately was spoilt by his start in life. A public school would have taken the conceit out of him : he would have learned the lesson which can only be learned in youth, that he had his equals and superiors. As it is, we find him as Archbishop repeating the first incident that is recorded of his childish years. He was always 'carrying young ducks to feed on the caterpillars of distant cabbages.' The whole world of thinkers does not consist of young ducks : but Dr. Whately seems to have thought that it was his business always to be carrying everybody in the palm of his hand to take the food which he thought best for them. He was all his life a pedagogue ; and the whole world was his schoolroom. He did not argue with people, he only lectured them. Few minds were more active than his own : but not only was his mind to him a kingdom, but a despotism ; and he worked his despotism through certain satraps—Dr. Hinds, Dr. Dickenson, and a succession of tame chaplains or receptivities. His fidelity to his friends, though it has an occasional ludicrous aspect, was touching ; but we may hint a suspicion that even his energetic partiality must have been dearly purchased at the price of receiving some of the very longest and most dictatorial epistles which are on the records of familiar correspondence. *Nulla dies sine linea*, and no day without setting somebody, or it might be the whole universe, to rights ; and yet it is surprising that, with all his diligence and all his powers of persuasion, if not of oburgation, how little permanent influence Whately possessed. His theology has trickled over current thought, but has not entered into it. He was at Oxford a whetstone, but no knife ; and in Ireland, with the best intentions, he gained nobody, and succeeded in no object of life. Part of his failure must be attributed to his inveterate habit of announcing thoughts which he did not know to be old as his personal discoveries : and part to his roughness of manner and lack of dignity. This, however, was his misfortune rather than his fault ; for a man who, like him, actually lacked the faculty of reverence, and who despised all art, and was constitutionally incapable of the sense of beauty, which he treated more with disdain than indifference, must have been deficient in one of the main elements of human sympathy. And in personal intercourses, checked and redeemed as it was by his essential kindness, his egoism—for it was something better than vulgar egotism—might have been amusing.

Here is another biography, and the force of contrast cannot go much further than the opposite lives of Wedgwood, a clever Unitarian, a Latitudinarian Archbishop, and the great Puritan soldier, 'Stonewall Jackson,' whose 'Life' has been published, in two volumes, by Nisbet. The author is a dissenting professor, Dr. Dabney, who, such were the strange vicissitudes of the late terrible conflict, served on Jackson's staff throughout most of his campaigns. Some allowance must perhaps be made for the biographer's personal views ; and parallel accounts, such as Colonel Von Börcke's volumes, supply that element of geniality in Jackson's intercourse with his fellows

of which the austere Dr. Dabney gives no indication. Jackson, if we are to accept his biography in its totality, was, what Cromwell was not, a really good and religious man according to his lights. How those lights were prevented from settling into the darkness of fatalism only illustrates that merciful inconsistency by which human nature in her last resort always rebels against the conclusions of Calvinism. Stonewall Jackson's creed is indistinguishable from fatalism; but Stonewall Jackson's practice, while it was that of habitual communion with God, neglected none of those means to success which the keen busy energy of his country supplies. He was a Puritan and a predestinarian of the most rigid type, but he never lost a chance, and always slept with one eye open. Dr. Dabney's book is tedious, and not well composed; but, as a genuine record of one of the most remarkable military careers and military characters in history, it stands almost alone.

'Sermons,' by the late Mr. Rickards of Stowlangtoft (Mozleys), forms not only a pleasing memorial of a good, indeed of a remarkable man, and one to whom the readers of this Review are under especial obligations, but is at the same time a good specimen of what village sermons ought to be. Plainness and directness of the sort which Mr. Rickards cultivated require considerable thought and tact; and instruction may be in the best sense of the word homespun without the slightest vulgarity. Homespun is usually solid, and wears well, and Mr. Rickards illustrated his teaching by the fields and scenes of country life; but he addressed himself to what the editor calls 'the latent poetical feeling' of his people with skill, and there can be no skill without effort. It were well that some of our friends bore this more carefully in mind. There is a very dangerous feeling afloat about sermons, and encouraged by those who ought to resist rather than encourage popular howls. The alleged dullness of English sermons is often the result either of irreligious feeling or of that frivolous incapacity to accept sustained thought which is growing upon a half-educated people. It often happens that a preacher receives hints, more or less direct, that he is expected to confine his sermon to a quarter of an hour—ten minutes would be preferred—either to give due effect to an unusually ceremonious service, and to its artistic effects, or because the people have got into a habit of one o'clock luncheons. Add to this, it is becoming the High Church thing always to deliver an extempore discourse; the effect of which loose and flowing talk, considering that the arts of composition and delivery among us are what they are, may, as newspapers say, be more easily imagined than described. In those cases, five minutes of such platitude and unconnected gabble would be too much. We are not saying that the regulation allowance of two sermons on Sunday is not too much of homiletics both to deliver and to listen to; but, on the other hand, we say that every sermon ought to be a work of art and thought,—ought to have a beginning, middle, and end,—ought to convey a lesson with point and definiteness. As it is, the hyper-orthodox, or fashionable, ten minutes of religious maundering has, as the old joke says, one element of immortality—it has neither beginning nor end.

The second part of Mr. J. H. Blunt's '*Annotated Book of Common Prayer*' (Rivingtons) has appeared, and the work is in every sense complete. Its only fault is, perhaps, that its aim is too large, for it professes to be a substitute for such writers as L'Estrange, Cosin, and Sparrow, as well as

Wheateley, Comber, and Nicholles ; that is to say, it seeks to combine the practical with the exegetical commentator. In these days there are materials for the work which neither the seventeenth nor eighteenth centuries possessed ; and not only have the standard works of Palmer, Marshall, and Freeman been laid under contribution, but Mr. Blunt has been able to associate with himself such aids as those tendered by Messrs. Bright and Medd, the accomplished editors of the Latin Prayer Book, and by that erudite and painstaking collector of materials, Mr. T. W. Perry. *Cuique in sua arte credendum*. The present editor has given several of the special departments of his work to writers specially qualified in departmental knowledge, so to say : Mr. Macray for bibliography ; Dr. Dykes for music ; Mr. Walcott for his Cathedralia. We observe that without hesitation the Editor adopts the ' ritual ' interpretation of the famous rubric about vestments. It is curious to note that what in his ' Origines Liturgicæ ' Sir William (then Mr. Palmer) timidly depicted as certain archaeological curiosities—copes, and chasubles, and mitres—are by Mr. Blunt accepted without hesitation, as though they were the normal every-day accredited and received use. Even Laud and Andrewes would stare and gasp at this development. Handsome and sumptuous in form and full in material, this commentary may justly claim to be the standard one.

Messrs. Rivington have also issued an ornamental ' Prayer Book,' with borders to each page. The typography is beautiful, and the ornamentation good, as far as it goes ; but some more variety would have been acceptable. We do not know how far this edition has been collated with the Sealed Book, or whether any of the present editions ever recur to the original text. One thing is certain, that the Thirty-Nine Articles are an unwarrantable addition, for they are not part of the Book of Common Prayer.

We have elsewhere expressed our judgment in full of the so-called, and falsely so-called, ' Eastern Liturgy of the Holy Catholic Apostolic and Orthodox Church,' and the ' Damascus Ritual,' both published by the ' Rev. Jules Ferrette, of Damascus,' who appears in the ' Union Review Almanack for the Year of Grace 1867 ' (Hayes) as the representative of ' the Orthodox Western Church,' as Bishop of Iona, consecrated in 1866, and as of equal rank and jurisdiction with the Bishops, Anglican and Roman, of England and Scotland. We can only express our regret that the name of a publisher so respectable as Mr. Parker is attached to these discreditable publications.

Some very able and interesting ' Letters from Florence on the Religious Movements in Italy ' (Rivingtons), have been published by Mr. Talmadge, who supplied some of them to the *Guardian* newspaper. They contain facts some of which are new to English readers.

We should have thought that the ' Liturgies of 1549 and 1662 ' had been repeatedly collated and republished in all sorts of parallel arrangements as regards their varieties ; but we are indebted to Mr. Orby Shipley for a neat and beautifully-printed reproduction of them, which bears Mr. Masters' imprint.

Von Börcke's ' Memoirs of the Confederate War ' (Blackwood), is a sketch written with good taste by a Prussian soldier of fortune, who served on General Stuart's staff, and is written with great modesty and good sense.

It reminds us of Defoe's fictitious 'Memoirs of a Cavalier,' and this is high praise.

'Dr. Austin's Guests' (Strahan) is an odd book. Modelled to some extent on Mr. Warren's 'Diary of a late Physician,' it purports to be the life-histories—we think that is the term—of certain monomaniacs residing in a private lunatic asylum. Whether this form of fiction, founded on the most fearful malady to which human nature is subject, is in good taste, or can be reconciled to Christian discretion, may be fairly doubted; but the collection exhibits powers of writing, and a familiarity with the grotesque, which is sometimes amusing and sometimes offensive.

Mr. Cook, late Inspector of Schools, has published a 'Commentary on the Acts of the Apostles' (Longmans), critical and exegetical, and also devotional, which ought to take high rank. The editor avails himself of things old and new; that is, he goes to patristic, and even to German, authorities.

Messrs. Clark of Edinburgh, those most indefatigable publishers, have commenced a new series, the 'Ante-Nicene Christian Library,' of which the 'Apostolic Fathers' (in one volume) and the 'Apologies of Justin Martyr and Athenagoras' are already out. We have not had time to be able to pronounce upon the fidelity of these translations; but the volumes are certainly edited with care, and that they appear at all, and especially in this quarter, is a curious proof of the extending study of the *origines* of our faith.

From the same publishers we have to acknowledge the second volume of Delitzsch on the 'Book of Job,' and Martensen on 'Christian Dogmatic.' The former work is full, almost to repletion, in its Oriental literature; but it is curious how little the commentator seems to have realized what, in the phraseology of his country, would be called the subjective element. The Book of Job is, apart from its sacred character, the most wonderful, because certainly the most ancient, work of psychological introspection, and while the earliest perhaps the deepest book of meditation on the mysteries of life. Dr. Martensen is not a member of the Church, and seems to survey Christian doctrine *ab extra*, but there is a great deal of matter and material for thought in his volume. While he scarcely seems to have arrived at any very definite conclusions as to objective truth, he seems to consider doctrine as the result rather of philosophical principles than determinate revelation.

But by far the most important of Messrs. Clark's publications is the very handsome and complete edition of Ritter on the 'Comparative Geography of Palestine and the Peninsula of Sinai.' More scientific than Robinson, and, happily, less picturesque than Dean Stanley, the great Berlin geographer Ritter can never be out of date; but it will be a matter of regret that he did not live to complete his great work by availing himself of the discoveries of recent explorers. The present editor, however, has to a considerable extent supplied this deficiency by posting-up his author; and we may say that, among the voluminous products of the well-known Edinburgh press, few exceed this publication in importance and completeness.

THE
CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER.

APRIL, 1867.

ART. I.—*'Times' newspaper Special and Military Correspondents at the seat of War in Bohemia, July and August, 1866.*

MOST of us, doubtless, have smiled to ourselves in reading Act iii., Scene 3, of Shakespeare's 'Winter's Tale,' the locality being 'Bohemia, a desert country near the sea.' But before we laugh at Shakespeare's ignorance of geography, are we quite sure that any of us could pass a respectable examination on the history of that country? We might be able to say something on the blind old King of Bohemia, who fell fighting on the field of Crécy; on the Prince of Wales's feathers, and *Ich Dien*; we know something about Huss and Jerome of Prague; and, if we have read Mosheim, about Calixtines and Utraquists; then, probably, our stock of history would be exhausted. Few could give any information how a country, in which commenced the upheavings of religious thought, culminating in the great Protestant revolution in the sixteenth century, has now become one of the most Catholic of the nineteenth.

The counter-reformation from Protestantism to the Roman Catholic faith is certainly as well deserving of the attention of the student of history as that which is commonly known as the Reformation. The narratives in *The Times* and other journals of the great German War of last year give a peculiar interest to this otherwise obscure country. We are now made acquainted with the names of towns and villages, of whose very existence we were before profoundly ignorant. We have been forced to learn something of its present condition and history; would we not like to know something also of the past?

Bohemia derives its name from the Boii, a Teutonic tribe inhabiting the country when first known in history; in the middle of the sixth century, a wave of the great Slavonic nation, under a leader of the name of Zecho, themselves called

Czechs, invaded and conquered this territory; the descendants of these, with their ancestral name and language, continue to this day. Towards the end of the ninth, Kyrillos and Methodios, Greek priests of Thessalonica, were sent from Constantinople to preach the Gospel in the adjoining country of Moravia. Methodios planted the faith in Bohemia; his brother Kyrillos is famous for having invented the Slavonic alphabet, which still bears his name. In 968 the bishopric of Prague was founded, and the Church brought under the primacy of the Pope: in the following century, the Latin was made the liturgical language, instead of the vernacular. There seems to have been very considerable opposition to this change, and still more to two others which were afterwards sought to be enforced:—celibacy of the priesthood, and the denial of the cup to the laity. All this paved the way for the popularity of John Huss, and the consequent opposition to the orders of the Pope.

This movement in Bohemia was considerably influenced by the introduction and translation of the works of John Wycliffe. The intercourse between two countries, so widely separated as Bohemia in the middle of Europe and England outside of it, is easily accounted for when we remember that our Richard II. was married to Anna, sister of King Wenceslaus: she naturally brought in her suite some of her own countrymen, of whom was Jerome of Prague, who is said to have carried back with him the writings of Wycliffe. Afterwards we find the names of certain Lollards as preachers in Bohemia. There was much to draw together the Lollards and the Bohemians. The latter were, as a nation, opposing the demands of Rome in the matter of the celibacy of the priesthood, and the denial of the cup. Wycliffe had boldly called the Pope Antichrist, and wrote powerfully to denounce the corruption of the Church. The Utraquists, as those were called who insisted on communion in both kinds, were, without doubt, the national Church party; in the dispute with Rome, they sided with the Hussites, who quickly became of importance, both in a political and religious capacity.

On the death of King Wenceslaus, the kingdom fell to the Emperor Sigismund, who immediately sent an army to secure his authority, and to enforce religious uniformity. The approach of danger induced the Hussites to seek safety in mutual defence under the leadership of Ziska; a large body retired to a rocky hill some forty miles south of Prague, where they built and fortified a town which they called 'Hradish-hory-Tabor,' the 'Tower of Mount Tabor;' hence we frequently meet with the appellation of Taborites.

When once a certain line is taken either in heresy or schism,

when men separate from the Catholic Church or Catholic doctrine, there are always found those among them who cannot stop; they will go further, led on by their passions or feelings; they not only obstinately hold to their first cause of separation, but they go on inventing others: determined that they are right, and their opponents wrong, they soon manage to find numbers of other points of complaint, and reasons of opposition: controversy and argument have generally the effect, in theological matters at least, of widening the space between the opposing parties, by each party trying rather to prove its antagonist wrong, than to find out the truth. Accordingly, the Hussites were not only continually discovering new errors in the Catholic faith, but they equally soon found errors in each other; they quarrelled among themselves, separated into sects, and proceeded to bloodshed. And very strange are some of the sects they formed; one of them was that of the 'Adamites,' so called, because in their religious assemblies they discarded clothing altogether, on the notion that none were perfect who had not so subdued the lusts of the flesh that they needed any covering. Besides these, and probably in connexion with them also, were certain of those Paulicians, or Catharists, so well known in connexion with the Albigenses of France, who were really Manicheans; strong and numerous in the neighbouring countries of Servia and Bosnia; in the latter upheld by the King Stephen Thomascus. These, in turn, persecuted each other; sometimes singly, and sometimes in conjunction with others. As far as we can gather, the Calixtines were by far the most powerful body, containing a large proportion of the nobility of the country; they were, in truth, the old Church party, which had ever refused to give way to the requirements of the Pope, and comprehended most of the clergy. This matter of the cup, the giving of the sacrament in both kinds, became completely a national question. The one point on which we might almost say their whole religious feelings turned, '*sub unâ*,' or '*sub utraque specie*,' was the one standard of faith; and when, after the Council of Basle, this point was conceded, the decree was published in Latin, German, and Hungarian, it was written in golden letters in the churches, and even large cups were placed on the steeples, one of which—at Leitmeritz—is to be seen to this day.

The four Articles of Prague which were discussed at the Council of Basle were these: 1. Communion in both kinds; 2. Proper discipline of priesthood (*i. e.* giving the secular power authority to punish priests for secular offences); 3. Liberty to all ecclesiastics to preach; 4. Forbidding the clergy to hold civil offices. These points were fully discussed,—so fully, as to

become exhaustive both of the subjects and of the speakers; for we read that the first point occupied one speaker for three mornings: he was answered by the Dominican, John of Ragusa, in a speech which lasted over eight mornings. The discussions on the four points occupied twenty-eight days—ten for the defence, and eighteen for the reply. This, however, does by no means comprehend the whole of the disputations; they lasted on the whole for three months. Nothing being concluded at Basle, a deputation was sent to Bohemia, which decided on allowing the cup to the laity. Outwardly, there was a reconciliation with Rome: it was, however, only a hollow truce; the Hussites all along taught that the Pope was Antichrist, and the Roman Church, Babylon; while, on the other hand, the Pope and the Roman party, the latter encouraged by the Emperor, were unceasing in their endeavours to reduce the national Church to entire conformity: and so persevering were they, that the Utraquists actually commenced negotiations with Constantinople, to renew communion with the Patriarch, on the ground that the Gospel had been received at the first from the East, and not from the West. In 1450, it was resolved, in a Diet held at Prague, to send an embassy to the Patriarch; the overtures were well received, but it does not appear that anything actually came out of it.

In the middle of the sixteenth century there were two distinct parties, besides the Roman,—the old Utraquists or Calixtines, and the Bohemian Brethren. The former, as we have mentioned, was really the remains of the national Church, which refused to accept the innovations of mediæval Europe with regard to the denial of the cup, the use of the vernacular in public worship, and the marriage of the clergy. This party was still so strong, that frequently the Archbishop of Prague ordained members of the community to the priesthood, well knowing that the Holy Communion would be administered in both kinds. The Bohemian Brethren, however, completely separated themselves from the national Church, and formed a distinct community at Herrnhut, in Lusatia; they were composed chiefly of the remnant of the Taborites, and such of the Calixtines who were dissatisfied with the Articles of Basle: they obtained orders from some Waldensian bishop, and they affirm that the succession is preserved to this day. Their chief characteristic was, and is still, in the Hymnody; hymns composed the principal part of their worship, and seem to have the like effect that the Methodist hymns had in England sixty years ago, drawing numbers to join in their worship for the sake of singing the hymns. These brethren may be termed the first Protestants, Protestants before the time of Luther, for

they were completely organized before the middle of the fifteenth century. There is a collection of records, called 'The Book of Persecutions,' containing an account of the sufferings of the brethren from the royal and ecclesiastical powers; it is full of stories of sufferings endured for the sake of religion, interspersed with accounts of miraculous deliverances; it reads much like the Histories of Wodrow and Calderwood, of the Scottish Puritans of the seventeenth century; and, like them, had the strongest effect in keeping the members steadfast to their sect, by cherishing an implacable hatred to those from whom they received such ill-usage. This book was published in Holland in 1648.

We have a curious account of the manner in which the episcopal succession was preserved in Bohemia, when the ruling power was on the Roman side: thus, in 1482, when the Archbishopric of Prague was purposely kept vacant, an Italian bishop, Augustine Lucian, came, apparently of his own accord, and was immediately elected to preside over the community. On his death, another from the same quarter succeeded him; when these failed, the Calixtines sent a deputation to the Arminians, from whom they received ordination.

We do not intend to follow this history through the disturbances and wars of the sixteenth century; the general features are much alike to what was taking place in other parts of the German Empire. Confessions of faith were drawn up, books written, disputations held: all of which generally ended in appeal to the sword. This last way of settling differences, so strongly denounced in our own day, admits of much modification, if viewed in the light of public opinion two hundred years ago. It will not do to judge men of that period by the opinions and sentiments of the nineteenth century; nay, we now repudiate and abhor what in our fathers' days was considered lawful and right. Many of us are quite old enough to remember the time when the slavery of the negro was justified by reference to the sentence of Noah upon Ham; nor have we yet quite disengaged our minds from the notion that an insult can only be wiped out by a duel. The appeal to arms, at the period we are speaking of, was not merely a strong-handed resolve to substitute might for right, to control the conscience by subduing the body; but it was the final appeal to the God of justice. Argument failed to convince, conferences separated without coming to an agreement; one party was wrong; which was it? Men could not decide, so appeal was made to God; surely He will give victory to His faithful servants against the apostates; He will not allow His truth to be overborne by those who deny Him. These were the opinions of almost all

men at this period; these sentiments made all rush with the greatest earnestness to arms to settle their differences.

Besides this, there was another cause, not less potent, which favoured internecine war; that which we now term political. The idea of toleration is very modern, even in England. It was only in 1792, after the death of Charles Edward, that the persecuting statutes against the clergy of the Scottish Church were repealed; and still later, in 1829, on the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, that Roman Catholics were admitted to like civil privileges with English churchmen. In the seventeenth century, toleration was scarcely known: the great struggle of the Puritans in this country was not whether they should be permitted to hold their own conventicles and worship after their own fashion or not, but it was to overthrow entirely the Church, and seize its endowments, and make their own sect supreme; not only by claiming the exclusive use of the parish churches, but by forbidding the use of the Book of Common Prayer. Nay, can we say that toleration is fully understood at the present day, when we see the Dissenting body, through the Liberation Society, insist on the universal confiscation of all Church property, the use of the parish churches for the ministers of their sects, to the actual deprivation of the rightful owners of their own property?

In countries where an elective monarchy prevailed, there was an additional cause for civil war: each religious party would try to secure the election of one who would favour their side; while the disappointed party would naturally appeal to arms as the last resource. The war, thus commenced, became necessarily a religious war; and, as a natural consequence, the cruelties exercised on either side would take the form—at least, on that side which suffered—of a religious persecution, and the victims would be counted as martyrs. Rebellion thus became, not only a divine right, but a sacred duty—no wars have been so protracted, so bloody, and so stained with cruelty, as those known as religious wars. The reason is obvious; each side believes that it is right, and that God will defend the right, and give it final victory. Defeat is only temporary, some chastisement for sin, and only nerves the arm more strongly for another trial. So, likewise, the enemy is not only an opponent, he is an apostate, a heretic, one to be abhorred of God and man; his death is not only lawful, but almost a duty. We now call all this fanaticism; it was then called faith.

Very considerable mitigation of persecution and warfare took place on the accession of Maximilian to the throne.

In 1562 he was crowned King of Bohemia, and under his mild rule something like toleration existed. In 1564, permission

was again given by the Pope for the use of the cup by the laity. This concession was read by order of the Emperor in all the churches of the Empire, the Jesuits at Vienna alone refusing to publish it, until a special order addressed to them from Rome caused them to comply. The result was, that the Roman party considerably decreased in numbers. Protestant writers tell us that one-fourth only of the population of Bohemia were Roman Catholics, while the latter claim three-fourths; the discrepancy can probably be explained by supposing that each party claimed the Utraquists on their side. This will lead us to conclude that the Utraquists or national Church comprised one-half of the whole people; Protestants and Romans, in about equal numbers, making up the rest. The Utraquists published a Confession of Faith contained in twenty-five Articles. In 1593, came out the translation of the Bible in the vernacular; a work that occupied the translators twenty years. In 1609 Rudolf, who had succeeded his father Maximilian, granted the celebrated Bohemian Charter, which guaranteed complete toleration to all: it exhorts the three communities, the Utraquists, the Romans, and the Protestants, to live in peace together; each to follow the rules of his own communion, and not to molest the others.

The granting of this charter had the effect indirectly of Protestantising the national Church; great numbers of learned Protestants from other parts of the empire, where toleration did not exist, flocked to Bohemia, where they found a ready welcome. Some obtained professorships in the University of Prague, and Lutheran ministers were actually appointed to serve as curates. This last was, doubtless, chiefly owing to the difficulty of obtaining episcopal orders; the bishops, appointed by the crown, were in many, perhaps in most cases, Roman; and, therefore, unwilling to encourage what was not distinctly Roman. Besides this, the Roman party were entirely under the direction of the Jesuits; and their policy was—as in our own country—to confound all under the common term ‘Protestant,’ equivalent to ‘heretic,’ who did not submit implicitly to Rome.

In the same year that the charter was granted, a Consistory was formed composed of representatives of the four communities—the Old Utraquists, the Lutheran, the Reformed (Calvinists), and the United Brethren. It was ordered that certain ‘administrators’ be elected, who, with the parish ministers, were to ordain others to the ministry. Thus Presbyterianism became the national religion, and the majority of the nation distinctively Protestant.

Ferdinand II. succeeded Rudolf. He was by education a devoted son of the Roman Church, and, as might be expected

bent his energies to bring round complete uniformity throughout his dominions. We may well imagine that the Bohemian Protestants looked with sad forebodings to his reign; yet he was crowned king in the cathedral of Prague, when he swore to uphold the rights of the Protestants, as well as their national institutions. In a book published by the Jesuits in Alsace, it is said, that in the sacristy of the cathedral, before his coronation, he secretly bound himself never to do anything contrary to the interest of the Catholic Church. However this may be, the Protestants were roused to a state of great alarm; they thought their liberties were going to be invaded; there went forth very generally a rumour that the charter was to be set aside. Excited meetings were held, and bitter words uttered, both in the churches and out of them. At last a meeting of the Estates was held in the Caroline chamber of the old Hradisch, the castle of Prague; they assembled armed with pistols, while the people stood without, armed with sword and musket. The whole indignation seemed to be directed towards two of the nobility who were Catholics, Slawata, the Grand Chamberlain of Bohemia, and Martinitz, son of a former chamberlain. Count Thurn, a soldier who had acquired much renown in the Turkish wars, and a zealous Protestant, declared bluntly, that it was absolutely necessary that those two obnoxious men should be at once removed. This was enough; another, equally hasty, added, 'The shortest way is straight out of the window, after the old Bohemian fashion.' This counsel was followed, and first one and then the other suffered the penalty of *defenestration*, as it was called, and fell into the moat, sixty feet below. They were followed by their secretary, who also had rendered himself obnoxious. Strange to say, none of these three were killed, nor even were there any bones broken; and, though bruised and shaken, they were borne off by their servants. These barbarities on the part of the Protestants continued; one of the most atrocious is that perpetrated on the Dean of Holeschau, whom, in order to extort a confession, they slowly burned with pitch on different parts of his body. From the 13th of February to the 17th of March, he was allowed to lie in the most excruciating torments. This was in 1618; and these excesses were the commencement, not only of a regular system of retaliation, but also of the Thirty Years' War.

On the third day after the defenestration, the four Protestant bodies met, formed themselves into a union, and appointed thirty of their most distinguished men to conduct the government of Bohemia. They banished the bishops, abbots, and other prelates, compelled the Jesuits to evacuate the colleges, and, within fourteen days, to leave the country alto-

gether. They then organized an army, and placed it under Count Thurn; and, having put the country in a state of defence, sent to the Emperor to say, that they were not in rebellion against him, but against his officers in Bohemia; but soon after they declared that the Emperor Ferdinand had never been elected King of Bohemia; that not being the son of the late King, they would not accept him: so they proceeded to elect Frederic, Count Palatine, to the kingdom. It is this Count Palatine who married the daughter of our James I., and from whom, through his daughter Sophia, our Hanoverian dynasty is descended. Her second son was the famous Prince Rupert.

Frederic was a rigid Calvinist, and carried out his Protestant principles in much the like fashion that his co-religionists in England did a few years later. In the Library at Prague there is preserved a book written by an eye-witness, Simon Kapihorsky, called the 'Chronicle of the Convent of Sedletz;' wherein the proceedings of his Majesty, or more properly, of his Court chaplain Schulz, are thus described:—'It was on the 21st December, 1619, that the Calvinists, by order of Frederic, laid wicked hands on the church and castle of S. Viet, and waged war against the altars, the images, and the tombs of the saints. Opposite the high altar there stood upon a square beam the image of the crucified Saviour: this was first of all thrown down, and not without great noise. Many went so far as to trample upon it with their feet. Then they threw it upon a heap, with the images of Mary and John, and also a superb image of Mary, which the Countess Lucy Slawata used especially to honour and decorate. What they did with it I am ashamed to tell. Then they proceeded to the tomb of S. John Nepomuk, and removed it. The tombs of the tutelar saints they despoiled of all their decorations, with many blasphemous expressions. Nor did they leave untouched the high altar, with the chairs of the archbishops and canons. They had all removed and burned, with the broken images and statues. . . . A most beautiful crucifix, which the Emperor Rudolf had made at Nuremberg, and set up over the kings' tombs, William Lobkowitz, senior, obtained by request from among the fragments, and conveyed it to his residence. Thus the wicked band raged till sunset. On the next day they pulled down the altars in the Pernstein chapel. Heads and bones of saints were thrown away, broken, and trampled upon; among them the relics of the Eleven Thousand Virgins, and of S. Mauritius, in boxes of gold and silk. By order of Schulz, they were taken to the fire by two maids. The exertions of some Catholics to save them were vain. Besides this, there

'was no want of mocking; as "Defend yourselves, ye bones! Work miracles! You shall have rest now; no one will now disturb you to pray for him!"

'After the temple had been cleansed, as they called it, a table was put in the middle of the choir on Christmas-eve, with twelve chairs round it; and then they celebrated the Eucharist on the next day, in the following manner:—The King himself took the bread (a round cake) and broke it; another put the pieces on a little plate, and then every one took a piece and ate it; and then a sip of the wine. A great multitude of Bohemians, both Hussite and Lutheran, came to see the celebration of the Eucharist, and looked on with the greatest astonishment, and not without pain, and said openly that they never had seen the Eucharist celebrated in this way, nor could they believe that this could be salutary to the soul.'

We need not quote more to show what was the state of things introduced by the new King. He had intended to carry on the like 'purification' throughout the rest of his kingdom, but the native Bohemians so opposed his proceedings that he was forced to desist. It seems that his wife, the Princess Elizabeth, was quite as fanatical as he; for orders came to the town council to remove a certain crucifix on the bridge, which offended the Protestant eyes of the Queen. The town council refused, declaring that its removal would cause an uproar: so it remained. The Bohemians, though Protestants, had never adopted either the tenets or the practices of the Calvinists; when the national Church entered into communion with Protestants, it was with Lutherans; and, as in Denmark and Sweden to this day, the churches, the ornaments, the vestments, and much of the services remained as they were.

The upstart king was completely defeated on the field of the White Hill, near Prague, in November, 1620; the next day he fled, taking with him the crown jewels, and archives of the kingdom. The city, after this, opened its gates to the conqueror. The nation paid dear for its rebellion against the Emperor; for not only was it left utterly defenceless, but was plundered, first by the bands hired by Frederic, who, having received no pay, repaid themselves by rapine; secondly, by the soldiers of the Emperor, who were allowed unusual licence. The account given us in the 'Book of Persecutions' is, no doubt, exaggerated; but if half of it is true, the sufferings of the people must have been fearful. It is from the battle of White Hill that we must date the Counter-Reformation.

At this time it is probable that the Protestants were about three-fourths of the whole population of Bohemia, the Catholics only one-fourth; the former were divided into three sects, not

always most friendly with each other; the Catholics thoroughly united. The Emperor saw now very clearly that the only way to establish his own authority was to combine the re-establishment of the Catholic Church with that of the imperial government; that so long as the Protestants retained their authority in Bohemia, so long there would be dissatisfaction, if not actual rebellion against the imperial power. To effect these two purposes simultaneously, the Jesuits were associated with the government officers. Five modes of operation were adopted,—the banishment of such Protestant ministers as refused to conform; the ejection of schoolmasters, and the supplying their places with Catholics; the burning of all Protestant books; missionary preaching of the Jesuit fathers; and the quartering over the country of soldiers. The 'Book of Persecution' gives us many graphic descriptions of the Exodus of these ministers, how sometimes their flocks followed them, and sought in other countries the liberty of worship denied them in their own. Nor were miracles and divine interpositions wanting to fill up the picture; for numbers chose rather to forsake their country than their religion. 'In our hasty departure, we were obliged 'to leave our wives behind; and it was not till some weeks 'afterwards that they were able to quit Prague, escorted by a 'few soldiers. They also had a narrow escape from a detach- 'ment of plundering cavalry. The road lay across a wide brook, 'and, if they had passed it, they certainly would have fallen into 'the hands of the soldiers. But the horses refused to cross the 'bridge, and notwithstanding they were dragged and beaten; 'and our people obliged to turn back, and stop all night in the 'adjoining village; where, by divine Providence, they remained 'in peace, and the day following arrived in Leitmeritz. The 'cavalry, meantime, watched for their prey till late in the even- 'ing, but were obliged to return to Prague empty-handed.'

Miracles sometimes accompanied the attempts to destroy Protestant memorials. Thus we read that over the east window of the Church of All Saints, in the city of Prague, now called Corpus Dei, there is a marble slab, bearing an inscription in Bohemian, having reference to the toleration edict of the Emperor Sigismund, with this added, 'that it is right that the Holy Eucharist be received in both kinds.' 'I have heard,' says the Protestant writer Holyk, 'that the Jesuits made three attempts 'to take down this slab, which is over the window. But they 'failed in each attempt; for of those who went up, one either 'broke his neck, or received some deadly injury.'

On the expulsion of the Protestant ministers there was considerable difficulty experienced in supplying their place by Catholic priests acquainted with the language of the country. As a

stop-gap some Polish priests, whose dialect was nearest to the Bohemian, were called in, and placed in the various parishes. They were, however, as their own writers assert, unfitted for the work, being ignorant and uncivilized; but we must receive the description given of the Protestants with many qualifications. One tells us they 'could do nothing but make a noise, destroy communion cups, and burn Bibles. . . . These Poles brought great vices into the country, and rude debaucheries; those especially as were occasioned by their celibacy were of common occurrence. He who had but one concubine was considered the 'most exemplary.' Another writes, 'Instead of your pious men, they have given us ungodly, roguish, vexatious, lascivious, adulterous, licentious, drunken, debauched, illiterate, and inexperienced priests.' When we remember that charges similar to these were continually brought against the bishops and priests of the Anglican Church by the Puritans in the seventeenth century, we are disposed to make very considerable allowance for party spirit and religious prejudice.

The Jesuit fathers, however, set themselves earnestly to work to supply this deficiency, and that caused by the expulsion of schoolmasters, by an effectual method. As soon as any boy under their charge exhibited abilities above the common, he was carefully instructed, and, when old enough, sent to finish his education at one of their colleges; thus qualifying himself for the office of priest or schoolmaster. In spite of all their exertions they were obliged, at the first, to call in to their help monks of other orders; yet so great was the scarcity, that often five or six parishes had to be put under the care of one priest. In some places the work went on smoothly enough, little difficulty was found in bringing back the people to the Catholic Church. A Lutheran minister of Friedland, named Günther, confesses that, after the coming of the Jesuits, the people had so readily embraced the Catholic faith, that he durst not preach any longer against it. Within a year he was obliged to leave the country, from the fact that his flock had deserted him.

In the absence of missionary priests, the soldiers quartered over the country took the matter of confession into their own hands; and, as may be supposed, carried it out in a somewhat rough-and-ready way. At Breslau, the soldiers were let into the town secretly by night; in the morning they were billeted on the Protestant inhabitants, and, doubtless, practised on them some extortions. On complaint, they told them that they must either go to confession, or, as there were few priests to hear their confession, they must obtain a certificate of having confessed, and received absolution. The officer in command was supplied with an abundance of certificates ready signed, which he supplied at once to all who

asked for one: on showing this to the soldiers billeted on them, the latter immediately evacuated the house, and quartered themselves on some other family that had not received a certificate. So eagerly were those certificates asked for, that Dohna, the officer in command, could not sign them quickly enough. Those soldiers named themselves 'soul saviours.' Only a small part of the inhabitants remained steadfast to the Protestant faith, and that, as we may well imagine, fared ill. From the smallness of their numbers, they had to bear the disproportionate burden of supplying the wants of the soldiers; and, as might be expected, were not seldom treated by the latter with great harshness. In some places the Lutheran congregations were surrounded by the soldiers and compelled to recant, there and then. This does not seem to have been generally a difficult matter; for, in spite of the earnest preaching of the Protestant ministers, neither Lutheranism nor Calvinism seems to have taken very deep hold in the hearts of the people. The introduction of Lutheranism, or rather the Lutheranising of the national Church, seems to have considerably weakened their faith. We do not meet with anything like the same amount of steadfastness that the old Utraquists showed in the fifteenth century. Rippe, a Protestant himself, exclaims, 'Great apostasy ensued, many were 'one day Protestant, the next Popish. On one day they attended 'the Evangelical doctrine with tears, on the next day they went 'in crowds, and procured the confessional shrifts, upon which 'was written, *fecit professionem Fidei, N. N.*'

The reception of the sacraments in both kinds had been the one distinguishing mark of the Bohemian Church; *sub und* or *sub utraque* had become a national and political, as well as a religious question: to induce a Bohemian to communicate *sub und* was looked upon as a renunciation of his former heresy, and a return to the Catholic Church. The leaders of the counter-reformation, especially the Jesuits, were unceasing in their efforts to compel the unfortunate Bohemians to make this renunciation; and, if we may believe Protestant writers, the means they took to effect this were not only profane, but even blasphemous. Salig, in his 'History of the Augsburg Confession,' gives us the following description of the ceremony prescribed for this renunciation:—'The apostate is led from the place of confinement to 'the appointed church, as a sinner of the greatest turpitude, with 'a black-coloured candle in his hand, and in the presence of many 'hundreds of spectators previously made acquainted with the 'circumstance. He is then placed before the great altar, and 'then upon his knees made to abjure the heresy he had embraced 'by many very severe expressions and invectives, which are 'read to him by the priest. He is also required to *kick away*

'with his foot a wooden chalice prepared for the purpose, and promise fidelity to the so-called true Roman Catholic religion. . . . Finally, he is to go to confession without delay, and take the communion *sub undâ*, as a pledge that he will in future be careful not to fall again into the heinous sin of apostasy.' The form of renunciation is also given:—'I, a poor miserable sinner, acknowledge and confess to you, my reverend confessor, in the place of God and the Blessed Virgin Mary and all saints, that I have for a long time adhered to the heretical doctrine, and have lived in great error, and gone likewise to the heretical sacrament, *have eaten bad bread and drunk bad wine*. But now,' &c. This trampling on the chalice was, if we may believe the same authorities, generally practised by the soldiers, and even by ecclesiastics, when they took possession of the Bohemian churches, using, at the same time, profane and blasphemous expressions.

Protestantism was, however, kept alive secretly in many families, and even in whole districts; the principal instrument of this was the hymnal in the vernacular; when the books were destroyed, the hymns were committed to memory, and taught secretly by parents to their children. We all know how Methodism was propagated, and how it now lives chiefly by means of Wesley's hymns, in our own country: even more was this the case in Bohemia, for, on the re-establishment of the Church, the public offices, including the hymns, were in Latin—neither understood, nor joined in by the people. Very naturally, they would cherish those in their mother tongue, and solace their religious yearnings by singing, or even by simply reciting them. Particular attention was consequently given by the Jesuits for destroying these and all Protestant books. To the soldiers chiefly was committed this charge, and, as might be expected, they carried out their orders in a very wholesale and indiscriminate manner. Too ignorant to distinguish between orthodox and heretical, between religious and secular works, they only inquired if they were written in Bohemian. As soon as they saw the type, they consigned the book to the flames; and so effectually did they accomplish their work, that very few books printed in Bohemian before 1695 are in existence now. The love of hymnody could not be extinguished; in spite of all efforts it still flourished. The hymns of the Bohemian Brotherhood are said to exceed five thousand; and in 1737 was published a hymn-book containing eighteen hundred hymns.

So well known was this fact, that the Catholic priests found it necessary to pay the greatest attention to the musical parts of the service. Foreign singers and instrumental music were introduced; and the whole made as attractive as possible to gain

the affections of those who had been converted by other means than conviction. The English Church is somewhat slowly arriving at the like conclusion, that if she is to gain back again her lost dissenting children, it will be by making the Church Service more attractive than that of the conventicle.

In reading the account of the doings of the soldiers toward the conversion of the Bohemians, we must bear in mind that the act of quartering soldiers on the country was for a political purpose more than for a religious one. Bohemia had been in rebellion, and rebellion was to be put down. In the eye of the Government, every Protestant was a rebel, because it was to make Protestantism the state religion that the Count Palatine was called to be King of Bohemia, and his supporters were, to a man, Protestants. Going to confession, and attending mass, were not only religious acts, but political; just as up to the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts in our own country, the receiving of the Eucharist was a qualification for the magistracy, or for a seat in Parliament. It is true that all Protestant writers describe the violences committed by Lichtenstein's dragoons as so much religious persecution; but the Emperor intended it as the way to bring the people back to obedience to the Government; only, instead of administering an oath of allegiance, they required recantation of heresy.

We must not suppose that the Counter-Reformation in Bohemia was effected by Lichtenstein's dragoons alone, or that the Catholic authorities were contented with a mere outward conformity. The Jesuit missionaries laboured day and night to complete the religious work of bringing over the nation to the Catholic Church. They taught the youth of the higher ranks in the universities, and the lower in the parish schools: they carefully trained all talented boys of every class for the priesthood; they relieved those who suffered in illness or from accident; the hospitals were under their care. One of the most eminent among these was Father Adam Krawarsky. The testimony of him is, that he laboured with more success than any other in 'restoring the Bohemian heretics to the Church.' He was born in Silesia, in the year 1585; he was educated at the Jesuit school at Olmütz. He then studied at Komotau, and was admitted to holy orders in 1607. Of him we read:—'He subsequently devoted himself entirely to the business of gaining souls. After the heretics had been subdued in the great battle on the White Hill, and were driven out of the kingdom, the superiors immediately sent over Father Adam to Prachatitz, Wodnian, and Pisek, all heretical towns. . . . Father Adam's first work in Bohemia, as well as his first harvest, was at Kossumberg, belonging to the family of Slawata. In a few months five

‘hundred persons abjured the heresy. He then took under his instruction the district of Rakonitz, which was much more fully infected with heresy than any other place. The Emperor, the Archbishop, and the States, gave him written commissions, and he immediately proceeded to the district. But, because the country people had taken up arms, he generally kept himself in secure places, chiefly in the castle of Búrglitz, famous in the history of the kingdom; and though armed men often came near him, yet the grace of God so directed it, and his affability in conversation so gained upon them, that they became willing to be instructed by him in the true faith, and could be set up as examples to others. When once the great made a beginning, then everything else went on well. After having laboured one year, 10,000 Bohemians were gained to Rome in that district alone.’ In other places he met with success; in more than one he had to face the danger of death. At Karlstein, ‘they came to his preaching with muskets; if he spoke with zeal and keenness, the women quitted the church, and returned home; the men threatened the father severely, and left him standing alone. On one occasion, while explaining the catechism to some ignorant people at Tetin, two men, armed with axes, made their way to the church. They immediately began making a noise, asking what he wanted, and what new doctrine he taught? The hearers left the place, but the father contented himself, at first, by answering them with mild words, and in thus allaying their fury; so that these ungodly men themselves, wondering at their own calmness, went away without injuring him.’ Several stories of a like nature are told of this priest, and of the great love and respect in which he was held. When other members of his order travelled in the like mission, the people everywhere asked them after Father Adam. He received the name of the Bohemian apostle.

His manner of proceeding was this:—‘He always carried with him the imperial orders, and letters from the archbishop and other great men. These he laid first of all before the authorities for confirmation. This being done, he made the senate of the town accompany him to the churches, where the people were already assembled. He then opened his papers, and read them aloud with some comments. In these the archbishop generally enjoined the curate to assist him. His appearance made so much impression on the people, that he seemed not only to speak, but even to command. When mounted on an elevated place, he swore first on his knees, before God and all the saints, that he would only speak that which was essential to the salvation of his hearers; that he would take upon himself the blood of their souls, and hold

‘himself responsible, if he was knowingly wrong, and that he was ready to answer for all before the divine judgment, and to be condemned to hell: adding many other striking and impressive sentences. Then followed an ardent speech. When there was anything to be proved, he had a Bible open before him, and he read the passages aloud. If there was any Greek or Latin to be translated from the Bible, he did it with great readiness. On this account he was called the Biblical Doctor. Almost by preaching alone he gained the hearts of the people, and thus led them back to the obedience to the Church.’ Thus, if he came to any place where there was no priest, he sought out first all the sick, whom he visited, and consoled. When at home, he sat, at all seasons of the year, in his ‘confession-chamber,’ where the people flocked to him to make their confessions. In this manner it is said of him that he converted far more by the power of his preaching, than Lichtenstein’s dragoons had done with the terror of the sword. When, in 1631, Prague was taken by the Saxon troops, Father Adam suffered severely, he was beaten and maltreated: this, however, did not deter him from his work, for as soon as he could, he, with another father, disguised themselves as drivers of coal-waggons, their faces and hands blackened; on pretence of supplying coal, they entered into the houses of their flock, washed their hands and faces, and read mass to those present: then blacking their faces, they went on with their waggons. In 1648, the Swedes took the Kleinseite, and with it Father Adam: by them he was again beaten and shamefully treated. He was very nearly taken by them to Sweden. He died in the seventy-fifth year of his age, in peace: his funeral was followed by thousands.

We must not suppose, however, that things everywhere went on so smoothly, or that the Jesuit missionaries always met with success: on the contrary, where Protestant feeling was strong, and soldiers absent, the fathers met with great opposition, and even were in danger of their lives. Father Matthias Burnatius was murdered at Rowenska, even though protected by soldiers. The members of the college in Kutteneberg had to flee on account of the hostility of the country people: on their way, the peasantry fell upon them, and shot three of their number, among whom was an Irishman, named Meagher. A Dominican, named Landherr, was sent to Joachimsthal; by order of the Government the church was put at his disposal. In it he waited two hours, but no one came to hear him, except some boys, who amused themselves with pelting him with stones from the galleries. The father, in great indignation, writes to request that he might have help in his missionary work: ‘The best means,’ he says, ‘would be to send thither a few hundred

‘soldiers, who know very well how to tame such rebels.’ The father had nothing of the spirit of a martyr about him, for he concludes his letter with—‘Would that my commission were at an end in such dangerous places, and among such wicked heretics!’ This, perhaps, accounts for his ill success.

In some places armed insurrections took place, castles were stormed, monasteries destroyed, and priests murdered. These movements were generally headed and conducted by Protestant ministers. They were, however, subdued by the troops before they had acquired either consistency or strength. All that such insurrections produced was a fresh quartering of the soldiers in the disaffected district, and increased severity: some of the rebels were hanged, others broken on the wheel, others deprived of their noses and ears, and branded on the forehead. ‘Thus,’ says a contemporary writer, ‘the people lost all desire for further insurrection.’

In spite of all the watchfulness of Jesuits and soldiers, the people still met for preaching and sacraments, like their co-religionists in Scotland, in the depth of the forest, or on the wild mountain. ‘About six years ago,’ says the writer Holyk, ‘I entered a village near Michowitz, where I was acquainted with some good and pious men whom in my childhood I had seen in the assemblies in the forests—I was now about to visit them, but on entering several dwellings, I found none but children. In some houses I met with older boys and girls, and when I asked them where their parents were, they replied, “in the field,” “at the plough,” some said, “in the forest.” Among others was a little girl of about nine years old, who, on being closely asked about her parents, said, also, that they were in the forest. But on my expressing my surprise at their both being there, she replied in her simplicity: “They receive there the White God.” I asked her then if she had ever been present on such an occasion, she said, “Yes, twice,” and told me how beautifully they sung, and how an old father taught them to continue with the true God.’

In 1631, a gleam of hope shone out on the Protestants, both those who had emigrated, and those who had remained. Tilly was defeated by the Saxons at Leipsic, and Bohemia became for a time lost to the Emperor; the Saxons were but the advanced guard of the Swedes: when the latter came, they at once proclaimed liberty to the Protestants. Numbers of exiles immediately returned, expelled ministers came back to their old churches. Now it was their turn; as the Jesuits had done to them, so they now in their day of power did to the Jesuits; these had to give up everything to their enemies, and to fly the country. Seventy ministers went in procession to the Tien

Church at Prague to return thanks for the restoration of their worship. Their triumph, however, did not last long; soon Wallenstein, the Imperial general, recovered Bohemia from the Swedes; and once more the Protestant ministers had to fly.

There is little more that need be told. Persecution ceased in the eighteenth century; in 1773, Pope Clement dissolved the order of Jesuits, and they departed from Bohemia. In 1781 the Emperor Joseph published his Edict of Toleration, and from that time the Protestants have enjoyed peace. This peace was only broken by the quarrels between Lutherans and Calvinists; he former hated the latter nearly as much as they hated the Romanists; and, as they were the strongest party at that time, they succeeded in expelling the latter from some of their towns and villages. In 1843, the whole population was a little over 4,000,000, of which 27,000 were Lutherans, and 52,000 Calvinists; the latter chiefly German immigrants—excluding Jews and others, the proportion of Protestants to Catholics is one in fifty. In 1620, the proportion was three Protestants, to one Catholic.

While we are writing we have accounts of the re-introduction of the Jesuits, and the great hatred manifested, not only by Protestants, but by the parish priests among the Catholics. A Protestant pastor thus writes :—‘ The whole Bohemian population is in a ferment of dislike and hatred against this accursed Society, and the principal point in the matter is this, that a large part of the inferior Romish clergy is beginning to agitate against them. The Bohemian journal *Narodni Listy* (National Letters) swarms with public declarations against the Jesuits on the part of both laymen and priests. Amongst others, many citizens of, and respectable landowners in and near, Jungbunzlau (three German miles from Lysá), declared that they would return in a body to the old creed of the Bohemian Brethren, if the Jesuits were not expelled from Prague and Bohemia.’

ART. II.—1. *Versuch einer pragmatischen Darstellung des Augustinismus und Pelagianismus nach ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung.* Von GUSTAV FRIEDRICH WIGGERS. Hamburg: 1833.

2. *Der Pelagianismus nach seinem Ursprunge und seiner Lehre.* Von DR. FRIEDRICH WÖRTER. Freiburg: 1866.

THE recent publication in Germany of an elaborate work on Pelagianism naturally suggests a notice of this important subject in a theological Review. We do not, however, propose in the present article to enter into the controversial part of the question, but rather to treat the origin of Pelagianism historically, and to endeavour to bring out the personal characteristics of the first actors in these polemical contentions. We do this the rather that most writers of Church history ignore this part of their subject, and tell us of opinions and councils without seeking to present to our cognition the individual actors in these scenes. The omissions of the general historian have indeed been abundantly supplied, in the case of the Pelagian controversy, by numerous writers of monographs, and the patient and exhaustive theologians of Germany have reproduced in modern times, with still greater minuteness and care, the painful labours of Jansenius, Usher, Vossius, Cardinal Noris, and Father Garner. As regards the historical part, nothing can be added to the treatment of Professor Wiggers, while the learned essay of Dr. Wörter supplies the most recent theological and metaphysical treatment of the subject.

As the earliest British theologian, Pelagius may be supposed to have especial claims on our attention, nor need the stigma of heresy with which his name is justly branded, hinder us from perceiving that he in some points may even deserve our commendation. We may, we think, fairly ask for our readers' attention while we endeavour to portray this ancient Briton as we find him sketched in contemporary writings. With Pelagius we shall join his friend and constant companion Celestius. We have good reason for supposing them to have been near neighbours in their origin, and, though differing considerably in character, they were firmly united in friendship, and up to the time when Pelagius disappears from ecclesiastical history their fortunes remained linked together.

We begin by claiming, on what we think very sufficient evidence, Pelagius as a native of Britain. Augustine, Jerome,

Prosper, Orosius, all distinctly state this.¹ As to the particular part of Britain in which he was born more doubt prevails. The mediæval chroniclers assert that it was in Britannia Citerior, and in that part of it which is called Cambria, that he first saw the light.² It is asserted by Dempster on the faith of a 'very ancient ecclesiastical writer' that he was born on the same day as the great Augustine (A.D. 351). At any rate his birth must certainly be placed about the middle of the fourth century, for when the controversy caused by his opinions first began to make a noise in the world, (between 410 and 420) he is described as grey-haired and old.³ The condition of Pelagius is as clearly ascertained as his native country. Augustine, the Fathers of the Synod of Diospolis, Chrysostom, Orosius, all describe him as a monk. To this the chroniclers aforesaid have added that he was a monk of the (afterwards) famous monastery of Bangor, that he was not only monk but also abbot there, and that he ruled over 2,000 monks, divided into three bands. Here Bede's description of the monastery of Bangor has evidently been made to do service for the times of Pelagius. But if the cœnobitic life was to be found in Britain at this early period, (which Stillingfleet denies)⁴ it is scarcely credible that it could have been found in this full-grown development. At any rate, however, Pelagius was a *monachus*, that is, a professor of that peculiar form of religious life which a hundred years before his day had been begun by Pachomius in the East. Inasmuch as this was constantly thrown in his teeth by his adversaries, and never denied by himself, it is about as certain as any fact connected with him. From his condition we pass to his name. It is pretty clear that both Pelagius and Celestius were adapted names. By this we mean examples of that sort of practice, which was afterwards in the middle ages so much favoured, of translating names into the learned languages. We gather this from a passage in Julian of Eclana: 'Ye raise an empty clamour 'out of the names of orthodox men who labour for the faith 'which we defend; ye try to bring it about that, from fear of 'being called *Celestians*, men may lose the dignity of heavenly

¹ Augustinus ad Paulinum Nolanum Ep.; Hieron. Ep. ad Ctesiphontem; Prosper Aquitan. Chronicon; item Liber de Ingratis, p. 1.; Pauli Orosii Apologet. p. 63 (Ed. Mogunt.). It is surprising that in the face of all these testimonies, G. F. Wiggers can maintain that the nationality of Pelagius is doubtful, and think that he may have belonged to Armorican Bretagne. (Wiggers, i. 34.) This indeed is a clear anachronism.

² Polydore Vergil, Cantilopus, Caius, Ranulphus Cestrensis, Joannes Tinmuthiensis, quoted by Usher (Op. v. 253). Of these quotations the learned Father Garner says ruthlessly:—'Hæc nemo eruditus non facillè condonabit fabularum amatoribus, simulque rejicienda sentiet ad Merlini commenta.' Disq. in Marium Mercat. p. 133.

³ Isidori Pelusiotæ, l. i. Ep. 314.

⁴ Antiquities, p. 272.

'faith, and through shrinking with dread from being spoken of 'as *Pelagians*, be precipitated into the *sea* of Manicheeism.' From the fact that Pelagius appears to be a translation of a word that means 'sea,' coupled with the fact that he was also a Welshman, Archbishop Usher, grounding himself upon Camden,¹ argues that his patronymic was Morgan (*quasi* Mari-gena). We leave this to those learned in the Welsh tongue. We are satisfied to ascertain Pelagius to be a Welsh-born monk.

But what of his friend Celestius? The whole question of his nationality turns upon the interpretation of a passage in Jerome. Space will not allow us to give the conflicting views; we will only say that after a careful examination of them, we hold, with Baronius, Usher, Jansenius, and Noris, that, when in the preface to the third book of the Commentary on Jeremiah, the recluse of Bethlehem describes Pelagius as using as his mouth-piece 'a dog 'of Albion, a big and corpulent fellow, who seems more likely to 'be dangerous with his heels than his teeth; one bred from the 'Scotch race, the near neighbour to the British,' he cannot possibly be speaking of any one but Celestius. If this be so, Celestius belonged to that race which gave so many early examples of learning and acuteness, the race of Erigena and Duns,—the ancient Irish. And he too was in all probability a monk. Gennadius, a writer of the fifth century, says that he wrote some treatises *de monasterio*. But, says Father Garner, this does not mean that he wrote them '*from* a monastery,' but '*concerning* the monastic life.' Granted; but who but a monk ever wrote treatises concerning monachism? But Marius Mercator declares that Celestius was an advocate, and pleaded in the courts. Granted also; but a monk may very well have done this, inasmuch, as yet, there was no rule of monachism, and monks were travelling about mixed up in all the affairs of life. Some of them were even married and living in the bosom of their families.² In a well-known passage Augustine, condemning Pelagianism, says: 'This heresy sprang not from 'bishops, nor presbyters, nor from any ecclesiastics, but from a sort 'of monks' (*quibusdam veluti monachis*). The plural suggests both Pelagius and Celestius, and the contemptuous indefiniteness of the expression evidently points at their lay character. We know on the clearest evidence that Pelagius and Celestius were both laymen when their opinions began to be talked of, though the latter afterwards obtained orders. Dr. Wörter in his elaborate work devotes a chapter to the consideration whether Pelagianism

¹ Britannia, p. 494.

² Gennadius, *De Viris Illustribus*, p. 16; Garnerii, Marius Mercator, p. 140; *Vide* Bingham's *Antiquities*, B. vii. c. 2, 3.

³ Augustin, *de Gestis Palæst.*

was a natural development from monkery, and, as might be expected from a writer of highly orthodox views, decides in the negative.¹ But though the monks may not have been of necessity Pelagian, it is clear that the founders of Pelagianism were monks. It did not, however, follow from this that their assumption of the office of teacher would be calmly tolerated by the ecclesiastics. 'The office of a monk,' says Jerome, 'is not to teach but to mourn.' For laymen to presume to enter into ecclesiastical controversies was highly offensive to priests and bishops. 'This is a heresy preached by a layman,' writes Orsius with bitter contempt. 'To think of asking Pelagius, a layman, to sit down in an assembly of presbyters!' exclaims the same writer.²

But what brought these two monks of barbarous race to quit their western solitudes and to emerge into the light of the bright atmosphere of imperial Rome? What led them thus to cross the stream of history, to draw upon themselves the attentive gaze of the whole Christian world, and to become a mark for the keenest weapons directed by the most skilful hands? They were men in whose bosom the love of knowledge was strong and vehement. They were inquirers and seekers, and they approached the fountain head for information. They were conscious of powers which they wished to display before those able to appreciate them. They longed to encounter and test the strength of those great doctors of the faith, of whom they had heard much in the distant West. In the dearth of books learning was rigidly localized, and there was no resource for those who desired to gain access to the great minds of the world, but to travel. At what time Pelagius and Celestius quitted their western homes for this purpose cannot be ascertained, though it can pretty nearly be determined at what period they reached Rome. But, between leaving Britain and arriving at Rome, much may have intervened. It is probably to this period that the letter of Isidore of Pelusium alludes, when he describes Pelagius as going from one monastery to another, to taste the good cheer of the monks.³ This last cut we may put down to controversial bitterness, but we may take the journeying about as a fact. In Egypt the two western monks saw a whole population monachised, and did not fail to learn a lesson as to the degradation of human nature from some of the wild asceticism practised there. From thence probably

¹ He also gives a chapter to the connexion of Pelagianism with Druidism, at the end of which he comes to the common-sense conclusion that we know too little about it to say much.

² P. Orosii, *Apologet.* pp. 622, 623.

³ Isidorus Pelusiota, lib. i. p. 314, and Baron. *Ann.* v. 305; Jansen. *de Her.* Pel. i. 3.

they went to Constantinople, where they came to know and be esteemed by one whose friendship was indeed an honour. In the year 405 the great Chrysostom wrote to Olympias, 'Concerning Pelagius the monk I greatly grieve. Consider what crowns they deserve who bravely stand upright, when men who live in such mortification and self-denial are seen to be thus drawn away.'¹ He had learned to know and esteem the man, though he lamented his erroneous opinions. But all things gravitated towards Rome, and thither the two western monks soon found their way.

The imperial city had lost none of her attractions since she ceased to be the political capital of the West. The Emperor might live at Milan or Ravenna, or in Gaul or Britain, Rome was still the true head of the Western Empire. A mighty prestige belonged to that see, which had been founded while yet the city was the real mistress of the world, and deferential custom had accorded to its bishop a leading part, and an influential voice in all the manifold and ceaseless disputes of early Christianity. The faith now embraced on all sides as true, but not yet systematized, nor clothed with a recognised theology, drawing into its comprehensive grasp the varied speculations of numerous philosophies, was fruitful in questions of dispute and contention. In theological arguments victory is never yielded; it became necessary, therefore, to pass from the war of words to the more simple and definite settlement furnished by the dictum of an arbitrator. Who so fit to arbitrate in difficult questions of religious strife as the prelate who occupied the most illustrious see in Christendom, who presided in the city which witnessed the martyrdom of the greatest of the Apostles, and who was surrounded by the most glorious reminiscences of the mighty Christian struggle?

Rome had long been the head-quarters of literature, of law, and of art; it naturally became the head-quarters of religion, and gave edicts to the Christian world. This system was already growing in the fourth century. Enough of prestige surrounded the Bishop of Rome to make his brother bishops look deferentially to his opinion, while the attractions of the city were

¹ The fourth letter to Olympias, written when Chrysostom was in exile at Arabissa. This letter being a high testimony to Pelagius, and contradicting the slanders of Isidore and Orosius, Father Garner and Cardinal Noris have the singular dishonesty to assert that it was addressed by Chrysostom to another Pelagius, not to the British monk. Of this they have not the shadow of a proof but their own assertion. G. F. Wiggers has a theory of his own about the matter. 'Chrysostom,' he says, 'in this letter does not allude to the heresy of Pelagius, but to the fact of Pelagius having left the party of those who defended the innocence of Chrysostom.' This is ingenious, but scarcely satisfactory. (Wiggers, i. 35.)

sufficiently strong to draw all the great thinkers and inquirers to it as to a common centre. Here Jerome and Augustine had lately exhibited their vast acquirements and burning eloquence. Here Rufinus was living, the fame of whose learning had spread throughout Christendom. What wonder then if Pelagius and Celestius, men eagerly set on theological speculations, quickly found their way to Rome. They arrived there in the pontificate either of Siricius or Anastasius, in the last decade of the fourth century. At that period, the absorbing business, the great topic of interest at Rome was religion and the questions connected with it. The sojourn of Jerome in the Eternal City, and the eager zeal with which he had combated for the ascetic and monastic life against the secular clergy, had stirred society to its depths. The admiration of, and devotion to this life had become the passion of the place. The writings of Augustine and Jerome had produced an enthusiasm which was charged with deadly hostility to everything pleasing to the senses, or favourable to comfort and repose. Side by side with this there raged an extreme licentiousness, and heathenism in its spirit, though not in its outward rites, was still rampant. Into this Babel of opinions came the two western monks. They came like two of the ancient philosophers, to make a sedate examination of these matters which were being discussed with such fiery zeal and furious recriminations. They came to apply the subjective teaching of the Greek theology, which had never been carried out by its authors to its logical issues, to a practical consideration of human nature. They sought to discover how the great truth of the freedom of the will, and the manifest power which men have of choosing between two alternatives, could be reconciled with the extreme opinions which prevailed on the misery and helplessness of human nature, and the need of frightful austerities to mortify the flesh. We may, perhaps, assume that neither of them was quite unskilled in theological writing. The treatise ascribed to Celestius has been already mentioned. Pelagius also is placed by Gennadius in his list of writers. 'Pelagius, the heresiarch, before he was known as a heretic, wrote three books on the Faith in the Trinity, most useful for the studious, and with a view to practical life, he compiled a book of striking passages out of the divine Scriptures, with the chapters distinguished by headings, as had been done before by S. Cyprian.'¹

Of the personal peculiarities of these two pilgrims from the West, several details have been preserved, but these must be taken with caution, as coming from bitter enemies. Pelagius is

¹ Gennadius, *Catal. Vir. Illust.* p. 16.

described as bald, lame, and one-eyed; he is said to have been tall and stout, showing in his person no signs of mortification of the flesh, but one who allowed himself the luxuries of baths and banquets, and other such anti-ascetic monstrosities.¹ Dr. Wiggers, however, is not to be discouraged by this disparaging view of the *personnel* of his hero. In spite of Orosius, who may well be thought to have spoken in malice, he will have it that 'the exterior of Pelagius cannot have been to his disadvantage. One can see this even from the unfavourable description of his adversary Orosius. He was of imposing stature, carried himself erect, and was not negligent in his apparel.'² If we take the passage of Jerome, before referred to, as applying to Celestius, he too may be set down as a 'stout fellow, well nourished with Scotch porridge, and looking like one whose kick would be dangerous.' Probably, indeed, a very moderate amount of rotundity and comeliness would be sufficient to draw out the gall from the pen of the hermit of Bethlehem.

But, whatever were the personal peculiarities of the pair of friends, though their race was strange, their manners uncouth, none of this prevented them from rapidly rising into distinction and popularity at Rome. Neither did they fail quickly to obtain the cordial friendship of the good and the learned. Before the year 399, when Ruffinus left Rome for Aquileia, they had become intimately acquainted with him, and had learned from him those views adapted from the speculations of Origen, which were the foundation of all their theological system. Ruffinus lived in the house of Pammachius, who had been converted to Christianity from heathenism. This eminent man was of the senatorial rank, and was married to Paulina, the daughter of Paula, the friend of Jerome. Upon her death he went into religious retirement, and devoted all his wealth to charitable purposes. At the house of Pammachius the western monks must have met all that was foremost in the religious and learned world of Rome, and they themselves soon became important parts in the society of the great city. The reputation acquired by Pelagius at Rome reached Augustine in Africa. He had 'long been known to him, and he had heard the highest praises of him.' He is in his estimation 'a holy man, and very advanced Christian.' He is his 'beloved and much desired brother,' of whose safety he is delighted to hear, and whom he thanks most tenderly for his 'good feeling towards his littleness.'³ And there were other distinguished men whose friendship for Pelagius, at this period, testifies

¹ Orosius, *Apologet.* pp. 639, 666.

² Wiggers, *Pelagianismus* i. 34.

³ Augustinus de *Gestis Palæst.* Opera vii. 516 (Ed. 1616); De *Peccatorum mer.* et *rem.* Opera vii. 273.

strongly in his favour. The name of Pontius Nerepius Paulinus is familiar not only to the readers of church history, but also to the student of Gibbon. The career of this eminent man gave the infidel historian a good topic for one of his choice epigrammatic hits. 'He was successively consul, monk, and bishop, and dedicated the remains of his fortune and understanding to the service of the glorious martyr S. Felix.'¹ The letters and poems of Paulinus which remain, testify to his genius and taste, and it is a proof of the existence of kindred feelings in Pelagius that he was admitted to his friendship. 'We know,' writes Augustine to Paulinus, 'how you loved the Briton Pelagius as the servant of God. We know not, indeed, whether your love to him still continues. We too not only loved him, but also love him still, though the nature of our love towards him is changed. For then, indeed, we loved him because he seemed to us of right faith, but now we desire by God's mercy he may be delivered from those opinions inimical to the grace of God, which he is said to hold.'² There is reason, indeed, to suppose that Paulinus was a very intimate friend of Pelagius. It was to Paulinus that he addressed his letter on the subject of grace, when already murmurs and complaints were heard at Rome on the untheological language used by him. 'Let them read that Epistle,' he writes to Pope Innocent, in 417, 'which twelve years ago I wrote to that holy man Paulinus, the bishop, which for three hundred lines treats of nothing else but the grace and the help of God, and that we can do no good thing without God.' It is well to note in passing that Augustine himself took a very different view of this letter. 'I have read through that letter,' he writes, 'and have found it almost all taken up with the power and capacity of nature, and making the grace of Christ consist in this. But Christian grace is touched upon with such brevity, just mentioning it by name, that it suggests the idea that it is merely mentioned out of fear of the charge of having been entirely silent upon it.'³ The letter itself is lost. We are, however, here only concerned with the estimation which Pelagius had won, not with his theological obliquities; and in addition to the esteem of Chrysostom, Augustine, and Paulinus, we are told that he was able to produce testimonials from numerous bishops, speaking in the highest terms of his character.⁴ Intellectually the two monks stood as high as morally. Augustine writes—'Their abilities were great and acute.' Again he calls them

¹ *Decline and Fall*, chap. xxxi.

² Augustinus Ep. ad Paulinum Nolanum.

³ Augustinus de Gratia Christi, Opera vii. 296.

⁴ Augustinus de Gestis Palest. Opera vii. 517.

'most powerful and most renowned.' Pelagius is 'in the highest degree acute,' Celestius 'a man of most vigorous judgment.' The addresses and harangues of Pelagius are described as 'vehement and burning,' and his books as 'made popular by their bitter and eloquent style.'¹ It is true that Jerome affects to despise, ridicule and scoff at both Pelagius, and Celestius, declaiming against them as ignorant and incapable, as well as heretical. This, however, is only according to the ordinary method of this fierce polemic, who was never able to see the smallest merit in an adversary. The learned Bishop Jansen has well remarked:—'With all due deference to S. Jerome, I prefer to give them credit for genius and literary ability, not only on the authority of S. Augustine, but also from the plain facts of the case. For besides that their arguments gave no small amount of trouble to the most brilliant genius which the Church has ever possessed, even that one little treatise, against which the Book of Perfection is composed, is so full of vigorous and powerful arguments, that any man of sense can see that its authors are men of great subtilty, and well practised in philosophy.'² The letter to Demetrias, from which we give some extracts below, is admitted by all to be a remarkable composition. And the intimacy which Pelagius gained with the family of this lady, is a very strong proof of the high estimation in which he was held at Rome. The Anician family, to which she belonged, was the most noble and wealthy in the city, at the very head of the proud aristocracy of Rome. It was no slight thing for a monk of foreign race to have gained admittance to such a family in the capacity of friend and spiritual adviser.

The sojourn of Pelagius and Celestius at Rome extended over fifteen or sixteen years, but it is more difficult to say at what precise period they became suspected of false teaching. That which immediately moved Pelagius to declare against the received subjective teaching of his day, was, as he himself tells us, the popularity of the Confessions of S. Augustine. That remarkable work set forth, as he thought, in too abject language the utter self-abnegation and helplessness of humanity, and seemed to reflect upon the wisdom and goodness of the Creator, by the almost Manichean condemnation of human nature. Early in the fifth century the British monk had begun by lectures and short writings to testify against these views. The letter of Chrysostom which laments his fall, must date in 405, and his own explanatory letter to Paulinus of Nola must be given to the same year. But all are agreed that Pelagius

¹ Augustinus, Epp. ad Paulinum, ad Bonifacium, ad Julianum, De Naturâ et Gratia, De Gestis Iulianistius.

² Jansenius de Heres. Pelag. i. 2.

proceeded in his teaching with extreme caution and reserve. 'I began to hear from Rome,' says Augustine, 'that he was disputing against the grace of God, and although I was sorry for this, and had it upon the word of trustworthy persons, yet I had it not from himself, nor was there any book of his by which I could prove it.'¹

The first distinct utterance of the views of Pelagius was, the short Commentary or Notes on the Epistles of S. Paul. That these were written before his departure from Rome in 409 or 410, we have the express testimony of Marius Mercator: 'Ausus est ante vastationem Romæ in Apostolum Paulum commentarios condere.'² Yet in these notes no proof of the authorship is given, and their method is to question and object rather than to teach. To this, probably, we owe it that they have been preserved among the writings of his great antagonist S. Jerome, and, like the creed itself of Pelagius, have been often attributed to his adversary. They were intended more as hints and guides to his scholars and friends than as a work of controversy, from which Pelagius carefully shrank; and it was not till the year 412, when Augustine first opened his heavy battery upon his views in the 'Treatise to Marcellinus,' that they had come into the hands of the great African doctor.³ Up to the invasion of Alaric, Pelagius continued to teach and lecture at Rome. To this period we must refer those eloquent and burning exhortations to holy living of which Augustine speaks. At this time he doubtless numbered among his pupils the most distinguished and learned of his followers, Julian of Eclana. Memor, the father of Julian, was a bishop, and a beloved friend of Augustine; he was also a near connexion of Paulinus of Nola. Augustine, corresponding with the father about his 'Treatise on Music,' mentions the son with the tenderest affection. 'I dare not say that I love him more than I do you. But I may say that I long for him more, because I have more hope of seeing him. If you would suffer him to take a journey to visit me, he would be doing what befits him as a young man, for he can have no great cares to detain him at home, and he will bring you to me more expeditiously than you could come yourself.' Against the man thus tenderly addressed, Augustine afterwards hurled the most bitter and crushing invectives, in the heat of the great controversy in which he bore so prominent a part. Even at this very time Julian had already, as a pupil of

¹ Augustin. de Gestis Palest. Opera vii. 516.

² Marii Merc. Comm. cap. iii.

³ Father Garner supposes that these Expositions were made public in 409, and that before that time Celestius had written a book on Original Sin. Marius Mercator, p. 7; Noris, Hist. Pelag. p. 22.

Pelagius, received the seeds of those errors which afterwards bore such vigorous fruit.

Pelagius and Celestius quitted Rome sometime before the final siege and capture of the city by Alaric the Goth in 410. Abundant warning of the impending ruin had been given, and most of the chief families had left the city before the final catastrophe. Most of them also turned their steps towards Africa, in which country so many of the senatorial families possessed property. This was the case with the great and wealthy family of Demetrias, whose going to Africa may not improbably have been the cause that Pelagius and Celestius directed their course thither also. It is most likely that they took Sicily on their way, and, by their teaching there, produced those effects which were afterwards described in the letter of Hilary to Augustine. Pelagius was at this time earnestly desirous to see and discourse with Augustine. He went to Hippo, but the great doctor was not there, having gone to Carthage in the matter of the Donatist controversy. To Carthage Pelagius followed him, and was present at the disputation between the Donatists and the Catholics, in which Augustine took so prominent a part. He had several interviews with him, but they were short and hurried, so absorbed at that moment was Augustine in the Donatist strife. Then Pelagius left Africa, and took his way for Palestine, leaving Celestius behind him at Carthage. With Jerome, in Palestine, he did not long preserve the same friendly relations which he had hitherto preserved with Augustine. He began, it may be, to teach more freely his heretical opinions, and Jerome was not one to brook any opposition. In Palestine he had long reigned supreme amidst his band of admiring female devotees. The arrival of a popular theological teacher who ventured to take up a position independent of him, excited him to vigorous antagonism. Meanwhile Celestius, at Carthage, was already engaged in hot polemical strife. Professor Wiggers gives us an acute and lucid comparison of the characters of Pelagius and Celestius :—

‘Celestius differed from Pelagius in character as much as he did in age. Younger in years, he was far more impulsive in disposition than his master, who was already far advanced in life. Pelagius hated controversy, avoided bringing forward matters of theory for the mere object of disputing, and did not desire to claim the authority of a master. Celestius contended with zeal for the practical views of Pelagius, and, in the pure interest of truth, was eager that they should be acknowledged by others; and in this he met with much success. Thus Jerome, in his *Epistle to Ctesiphon*, says of him, that, though he was the scholar of Pelagius, he was rather the master and the leader of the whole army. Celestius laid hold of the doctrine of Pelagius more on the theoretical than on the practical side, on which alone Pelagius would have it regarded; and he seems to have attached more importance to the logical defence of its theoretical correctness, than to its practical application. Through this difference in

the character of the two men, the observation of Augustine upon them, which, as far as Pelagius is concerned, was not very unjust, may be better understood. "What difference is there," said he, "between Pelagius and Celestius, except that the latter was more open, the former more secret; the latter more obstinate, the former more deceitful; or, at least, the latter more candid, the former more crafty?" (*Aug. de Peccat. Orig. Op. vii. 300*).¹

To this difference of character we may, in all probability, attribute the divergence of the paths of Pelagius and Celestius after their retreat from Rome. While Pelagius, after a short stay in Africa, went to Jerusalem, and still desired to remain in comparative obscurity, Celestius stayed at Carthage, at that moment the head-quarters of the religious life of the world, and applied for admission into the order of priesthood. Apparently he was unconscious that the orthodoxy of his opinions would not stand the test of a fair examination. There were, however, some at Carthage who thought otherwise. Among these was Paulinus the deacon, the friend of S. Augustine, and the biographer of S. Ambrose. The zeal of Paulinus was excited by observing the popularity which the tenets of Celestius obtained among the noble Romans who were now sojourning in Africa,² and hearing of his intention of applying for holy orders, he publicly denounced him as a heretic, to Aurelius the Bishop of Carthage. A synod was summoned, Paulinus handed in the libel of accusation, and Celestius skilfully defended himself. From the account of the synod as given in Augustine's '*Treatise on Original Sin*,' we gather that Celestius did not directly deny the doctrine of the transmission of sin, but merely said that he was doubtful about it, and 'ready to agree with any man to whom God had given the grace of wisdom.' He had heard doctrine which differed from the usual teaching from those who were ordained presbyters of the Catholic Church. Being pressed to name those who had thus taught, he mentioned Rufinus. The other points of his examination all had reference to this opinion. It was clear that he did not hold the doctrine of original sin, although he admitted that baptism was necessary for infants. He urged that this was a speculative question, and did not touch the fundamentals of the faith. The synod, however, took a severer view, and excommunicated him. Orosius, the Spanish presbyter who figures prominently in this controversy, was at Carthage at the time, and writes in his *Apology*, with great glee: 'Celestius would fain reach the honour of the priesthood, but he was exposed, tried, convicted, and abhorred by the Church, and driven a fugitive from Africa.'³ He went, as

¹ Wiggers, *Augustinismus und Pelagianismus*, i. 39.

² "Per ora eorum qui ejus discipuli perebantur dogmata ejus fervebant." *Aug. de Gest. Pal.*

³ *Apologet.* p. 621.

Marius Mercator tells us, to Ephesus, having, however, probably taken Sicily on his way. On the other hand, Pope Zosimus afterwards wrote of this synod that the bishops there had judged nothing clearly in the matter of Celestius.¹ S. Augustine was not present at this Synod of Carthage (412), but the accounts of it soon reached him. He was still fully occupied in completing the overthrow of the Donatists; but the importance of this new subject of controversy at once demanded his attention. Standing like a mighty champion, ready to combat against every foe that either from within or without should assail the 'City of God,' even the faintest whispers of erroneous teaching were not neglected by him. He had trampled down Manicheism, with its monstrous system of the world of light, and the world of darkness; he had crushed the Donatists, with their concentrated sectarianism, and their views of discipline irreconcilable with the progress of the Church in the world. Suddenly, before he can rest from his toils, he is confronted with a new form of error. It is not now an error on the objective parts of the faith, the great external facts of the nature of the Holy Trinity, which had hitherto tasked the energies of the doctors of the Church. It was an error in those subjective parts, wherein, as yet, no definition had been given, no clear and authorised statements made. The task, however, must now no longer be delayed. Whispers and rumours of these opinions had been long heard, now they were openly professed, and defended before a synod of the Church. There was a danger lest the whole current theology as to the helplessness of nature, the dependence on grace, the power of the Sacraments, should be called in question.

From this point, then, dates the commencement of the Augustinian system of theology. The writings against the Manicheans and Donatists, the crushing of heathenism in the City of God, the Commentaries and Homilies of the illustrious Latin Father, do not represent his great and peculiar work. It is in his anti-Pelagian writings that the true theology of Augustine lies, and it was in the composition of these writings, and in the exigencies of the controversy, that his system was developed and worked out. In this system his genius and energy gave a final and decisive law to the theology of the West on the important topics of Free-will, Predestination, Grace, and Original Sin. 'The Gospels and Apostolic writings,' says Dean Milman, 'paused within the bounds of attainable human knowledge. Augustine fearlessly rushed forward, or was driven by his antagonists, and partly from the reasonings of a new religious philosophy, partly by general inferences from limited and particular phrases in the

¹ Tillémont, *Memoires*, xiii. 576.

'sacred writings, framed a complete, it must be acknowledged, and, as far as its own consistency, an harmonious system, but of which it was the inevitable tendency to give overpowering importance to problems on which Christianity had declined to utter any final or authoritative decrees.'¹ Shortly after the Synod of Carthage, when men's minds were full of these engrossing topics, the great doctor, whose fame was already the proud possession of the Universal Church, was applied to by several inquirers to solve their doubts on these matters. From Carthage Marcellinus the tribune and Honoratus, from Sicily the monk Hilarius, desire his help. He does not refuse the request.

'At last I was compelled,' he says, in his "Retractations," 'to write against the new Pelagian heresy, against which I had only spoken as occasion arose. Certain questions were sent to me from Carthage to answer in writing, and in doing so I composed three books, the first of which is entitled, "On the Deserts and Remission of Sins," in which the chief topics handled are the baptism of infants on account of original sin, and the Grace of God, by which we are justified, that is to say, made just, though in this life no one can keep God's commandments so perfectly as not to need to pray, "Forgive us our trespasses." These truths were opposed by the founders of the new heresy. But in these books I judged it better not to mention their names, thinking that this forbearance might contribute towards their restoration. I even mentioned the name of Pelagius with considerable praise. His life was highly spoken of by many, and I was opposing statements of his, not put forth in his own name, but as the sentiments of others. Celestius, his disciple, had already incurred excommunication in a trial before certain bishops at Carthage, at which I was not present.'

Marcellinus the tribune, to whom the book '*De Peccatorum meritis et remissione*' was addressed, was killed in a tumult in the spring of 413. This enables us to fix with perfect accuracy the date of the first anti-Pelagian writings of Augustine.

In the treatise which had been sent to Marcellinus, one statement had been made which puzzled the tribune extremely. Augustine had stated as a theoretical truth, that a man could be without sin in this life; and this Marcellinus could not reconcile with the statement that no example of this had ever been known, or was likely to be known. He earnestly desired, therefore, that Augustine would explain this contradiction. The request called forth Augustine's second treatise in the controversy '*De Spiritu et Literâ*.' This work well illustrates both the faults and the excellences of this famous theologian. It is verbose, discursive, and illogical, while, at the same time, it is eloquent and impressive, and full of deep appreciation of Scripture. The question of the possibility of perfection is in fact shelved, by the assertion of the undeniable proposition, 'All things are possible with God.' The weakness of human nature is pressed to the utmost limits,

¹ History of Christianity, iii. 264.

and the *practical* impossibility of perfection strongly insisted on.¹ In his reply to Hilarius, which followed soon after this work, Augustine discards even the theoretical possibility of perfection. Mr. Mozley observes, that he had stated this only as a pious sentiment, a case 'which would be a miracle contrary to all the established laws of the operation of grace ;'² but he forgets that he afterwards re-asserted it more strongly. As yet, the writings of Augustine on these subjects are explanatory and didactic, rather than severely polemical. The Pelagians had said but little, and there was considerable doubt as to the exact nature of their sentiments. But the next year (414) wrought a change. This brought to Augustine the more elaborate statement of the doctrine of Celestius, forwarded by Paulus and Eutropius, and produced in reply Augustine's treatise, '*De Perfectione Justitie.*' The definitions of Celestius are a good specimen of the fallacy of dilemmas. The following may serve as a sample :—

'He who says that man cannot be without sin, is first to be asked what is sin? Is it what can be avoided, or what cannot be avoided? If the latter, then it is not guilt; if the former, then a man can be without it. Again, is sin of free will, or of necessity? If of necessity, it is not sin; if of free will, it can be avoided. Again, what is sin? Is it a natural property, or an accident? If it is a natural property, it is not sin; if an accident, then it may be absent.'

And so on, through all the Categories. Celestius assumes a capable moral agent, having sufficient moral powers to answer to moral requirements. The great force of Augustine's reply is in showing that though this was once the condition of man, it is not so now. The sinfulness of man, though now unavoidable, is not free from blame, 'because it has been brought about solely 'by the free-will of man, that he has come to that necessity, 'which by the power of his own will alone he cannot overcome.' The definitions of Celestius might well have provoked even a more sharp reply than that which Augustine gave to them. They are harsh, antagonistic, and flippant. They affect the Socratic method, but they have a greater resemblance to the utterances of a Sophist seeking to entrap, than of a philosopher searching for the truth. In fact, they are a complete justification of the remark of Wiggers, quoted above, that Celestius held the doctrine of Pelagius on the theoretical rather than the practical side. It is evident that Pelagius attributed much more to divine help than Celestius did, and that in his view of the possibility of perfection, a considerable though inadequate allowance was made

¹ In this treatise occurs the extraordinary statement, that when the Gentiles are said by S. Paul to do *by nature* the things contained in the law, it is meant to speak of the Gentiles who become Christians doing by the aid of the Holy Spirit the things which God commands.

² *Augustinian doctrine of Predestination*, p. 59.

of God. He does not scruple to use the term (*salvatorium*), which, as Augustine observes, Celestius was doing. In this treatise Augustine makes much statements as to the possibility of perfection, than he does in those written in the former year. He declines to say only that it can happen, but also that it has happened and is happening. He appears almost inclined to agree with the Pelagians in this view; arguing, however, not as the Pelagians did, from the powers of nature, but from the omnipotence of the Holy Spirit. Here, then, we get a very distinct difference between the point of view and that of Jerome, the other great opponent of the Pelagian opinions. To the mind of Jerome, the doctrine of original sin was the most offensive and blasphemous notion which the Pelagians held; while in his views on original sin, he closely approached to the teaching of Pelagius. In the ranks of his contemporaries, Jerome was even greater than Augustine, although posterity has perhaps reversed the verdict. Augustine, he essentially differed from him as a controversialist. The hermit of Bethlehem was tempered by none of the sternness and courtesy which chastened the eloquence of Augustine. In his view, the man who differed from him was his deadly enemy, to be struck down with any weapon which should present itself. Rufinus was once his dear friend, but when he ventured to defend Origen, he was one who carried with him 'a whole arsenal of blasphemies, and who was ever looking for victims to attack with his poisonous and foul doctrine.' Melania, the widow, who had founded the Jerusalem Hospital for the poor, and who was for many years the object of Jerome's enthusiastic praises, was, because she adhered to the friend of Rufinus, to be stigmatized as, 'as black as her name in her villainy.'¹ So it was with Evagrius, the mild Egyptian monk, as it was with the presbyter Jovinian, who ventured to defend matrimony; and so now it was to be with Pelagius. 'In dictating,' writes S. Jerome, 'my Commentaries on Jeremiah at intervals, making up by industry for my want of leisure, when all of a sudden, the heresy of impassibility and asceticism, as taught by Pythagoras and Zeno—the heresy which had formerly been slain in Origen, and his disciples Rufinus, (Ruffinus), Evagrius of Pontus, and Jovinian—began to rise again, and to hiss forth its utterances, not only in the West but in the East, and to contaminate many in certain places, especially Sicily and Rhodes, and day by day to spread, publicly denying what they privately taught.'²

¹ a. i. 808. (Ed. 1609.)

² Sat. in Hieron. Comm. lib. iv. A similar passage occurs in the 15th book of the Commentary on Ezekiel, written shortly before.

It is evident, indeed, that before this was written an ill feeling had sprung up between Jerome and Pelagius. In the preface to the Third Book on Jeremiah, Jerome complains that Pelagius was sending all over the world 'letters, full of calumnies against him;' and again, in preface to the Fourth Book, he complains of 'those who were directing letters, charged with lies, and fraud, and perjury, all over the world, to corrupt the simple-minded, and to disseminate everywhere their blasphemies.' 'These men I have been compelled by the repeated expostulation of my brethren to answer, although long holding my peace, and de-vouring my grief in silence. Yet I have not so far broken all bounds, as to write against them by name. I would rather that they should be corrected than disgraced. I am no enemy to the men, but to their error. It is true that they desire to revenge themselves upon me for old attacks upon their masters, Ruffinus and Jovinian, but in so doing, they only show themselves helpless, and without the power of writing. They can't even revile in their own words.' These passages appear to have been overlooked by Professor Wiggers, when in describing the residence of Pelagius in Jerusalem, he reckons 'the holy Jerome' as in the number of his friends; neither do they altogether accord with his description of Pelagius, as mild, unassuming, and retiring.¹ Certainly, if we are to give Jerome credit for the forbearance which he professes to have exercised, it says much for the standing of Pelagius at Jerusalem, and the influence which he had acquired there. It was not the wont of this famous polemic to be thus reticent and backward with his pen. The fact is, that Pelagius had ingratiated himself with John Bishop of Jerusalem, and that he had a powerful party at his back.

The first direct attack made by Jerome on the opinions of Pelagius, was thrown into the form of a letter, addressed to Ctesiphon, some of whose family would appear to have been infected with the new views. In writing this he had the advantage of having before him a more definite statement of the Pelagian opinions than Augustine had when he wrote the first of the treatises mentioned above. About the end of 413, two writings of Pelagius were made public. The one was a consolatory and hortatory letter, addressed to a widow named Livania, the other an Epistle to Demetrias, the noble virgin of the great Anician family, who after her flight from Rome had dedicated herself to the religious life in Africa. About the first of these writings much obscurity prevails. Pelagius was charged in the Jerusalem council with having written strange encouragements to self-righteousness; but he distinctly

¹ Wiggers, *Pelagianismus*, i. 189.

and emphatically denied them to be his, and declared himself ready to anathematize, not indeed as heretical, but as foolish, any one who could have written them.¹ With regard to the other letter the case is different. Pelagius freely owned this, and referred to it as expressing his views, in his defence addressed to Pope Innocent. This letter remains to us now, having, singularly enough, been attributed to Jerome, the man most eager to write against it. The Venerable Bede was the first to detect that it was not a composition of Jerome: observing the peculiar strain of its sentiments, he attributed it to Julian of Eclana. The elegance of its composition is admitted by all. Among many objectionable sentiments there are to be found some very striking passages, and many which go far to impugn the notion commonly entertained of Pelagius that he denied the necessity of grace. Speaking of man being created with free will, he says:—

‘You should be on your guard against supposing, with the unlearned common people, that man was not made good, because he had the power of doing evil, and because good was not a necessity to him. If you look at this matter carefully and thoughtfully, you will see that the condition of man is higher for that very reason for which men think it lower. For in this power to discriminate, in this freedom to choose either side, the glory of the rational soul consists. This is the very honour and dignity of human nature; without this there could be no praise nor reward due to the good, nor any such thing as virtue. Virtue could not be voluntary, unless vice were possible. The merciful Creator willed us to have the power of doing both, but to do only one, namely, that which He commanded. Hence our power of doing evil is actually a good. The rational creature is superior to other creatures in this point, that, whereas good to them is matter of condition and necessity, to him it is matter of choice. It is impious, therefore, for those who do wrong to accuse human nature.² The fault is in themselves. Even in the heathen, who are without knowledge of God, the good of human nature is sometimes exhibited. What, then, cannot Christians do, whose nature and life have been fashioned to better things by Christ, and who are also aided by the assistance of divine grace?³ Let each look into himself with careful attention. What, I pray you, is it which excites shame and dread at sin, and makes us blush and grow pale? Why, even in small crimes, do we shrink from witnesses? why do we feel the pangs of consciousness; while, on the other hand, if we do right, we are steadfast, undismayed, and willing to be seen of all men? There is, I say, in our souls a natural holiness, so to speak, which, presiding in the citadel of the mind, exercises judgment of good and bad, approves of honourable and right actions, condemns evil works, and, according to the testimony of the conscience, distributes the different parts by a certain law of its own. This is not to be deceived by any ingenuity or speciousness; it convicts or acquits us by our own thoughts, most faithful and most true witnesses. It is this law which the Apostle mentions in his

¹ Augustin. de Gestis Palest. Op. vii. 510.

² It was probably in reference to this passage that Jerome wrote: ‘A me nunquam audies malam esse naturam.’

³ ‘Quorum in melius per Christum natura et vita instructa est, et qui divinæ quoque gratiæ juvantur auxilio.’

Epistle to the Romans, as by it the Gentiles being a law unto themselves. It was by this law that all the saints who lived between Adam and Moses were able to please God. . . . But if before the giving of the law and the coming of the Saviour, some are said to have lived righteously, how much more, after the glory of His advent, ought we to believe this to be possible for us, who are fashioned by the grace of Christ, and born again to the better man, atoned for and cleansed by His blood, and excited by His example to perfect righteousness. Let us remember the words of the Apostle Paul, "For sin shall not have dominion over you, for ye are not under the law, but under grace."¹

It is not to be denied that this is a favourable extract, and that there are other passages in this epistle which are open to the charge of an undue exaggeration of the powers of nature; yet if we compare the letter as a whole with those of Augustine, Jerome, and Prosper, written to the same lady, it perhaps may not suffer by comparison. Neither of the epistles could we, with our sober modern views, unreservedly endorse. Augustine has a highly objectionable passage, in which he bids the mother of Demetrias to be humbled far below her own daughter, on account of the latter's choice of holy virginity.² Prosper exalts this as the highest development of the most perfect sanctity. But all exaggerations are outdone by Jerome, who writes:—

'All the Churches of Asia exulted and leaped for joy. Through the cities, the towns, the villages, and even the tents of the desert, the mighty news went. All the islands between Africa and Italy were filled with this report, and with swift feet the rejoicings ran still further on. Then did Italy lay aside her garments of mourning, and the walls of Rome, half-overthrown, recovered a part of their ancient splendour, believing that God was propitiated by the perfect conversion of His chosen one. You might fancy that the Gothic army was destroyed, and that the motley crowd of traitors and slaves had fallen under the thunderbolt of the Lord. Not so did the Roman people raise itself up after Trebia, Thrasimenus, and Cannæ,³ &c.

The great ecclesiastics vied with each other in celebrating the splendid devotion of this splendid proselyte, and they also somewhat zealously contended one with another for the first place of influence and direction with her. Augustine, in his letter to Juliana, attributes the act of Demetrias to the effect of his own preaching. Jerome and Pelagius both ostentatiously declare

¹ Compare with this the well-known passage in Bishop Butler: 'There is a superior principle of reflection or conscience in every man which distinguishes between the internal principles of the heart as well as his external actions; which passes judgment upon himself and them; pronounces determinately some actions to be in themselves just, right, good; others to be in themselves evil, wrong, unjust; which, without being consulted, without being advised with magisterially, exerts itself, and approves or condemns him the doer of them; and which, if not forcibly stopped, naturally and always of course goes on to anticipate a higher and more effectual sentence which shall hereafter second and approve its own.'—Butler, Sermon ii.

² Augustini Opera, ii. 227.

³ Hieron. Opera, i. 67. (Ed. 1609.)

that they had been specially invited to write their epistles by the mother of the holy maiden, while Prosper openly attacks Pelagius and his advice, and bids Demetrias beware of it. Not less vehement and earnest was Jerome's warning against Pelagius than that of Prosper, although he did not mention Pelagius by name. For a more full account of the dangerous nature of his opinions, he refers Demetrias to another writing, which is, doubtless, his epistle to Ctesiphon, the first of his anti-Pelagian writings. In this epistle, Jerome compares the opinions of Pelagius to those of the heathen philosophers, and also declares that they are nothing but a reproduction of the exploded errors of Manes, Evagrius, Priscillian, and Jovinian:—

'They speak indeed of the grace of God, but they make this grace to consist simply in the constitution of man's nature and the gift of free-will. They deny that they need God's assisting grace, for this would be to impair free-will. Hence they take away the need of prayer, fasting, and self-denial. . . . If a Christian may be without sin if he wills, then all Christians would be so, for what Christian would not will this? . . . You will accuse me of being a Manichean, but without foundation. You will never hear *me* accusing nature of being evil. Speak out, I pray you, what you teach to your disciples privately. This is the only heresy which blushes to avow its doctrines.'

The epistle to Ctesiphon is only a hasty protest against the Pelagian opinions, not a regular theological refutation of them. But it is valuable as showing what appeared to the mind of Jerome the most salient and most reprehensible points in the views of Pelagius. He does not, as Augustine, dwell upon the topic of original sin, and insist upon the necessity of a certain theory of the mischief wrought by Adam's fall. Not one word of this appears in Jerome's letter, and it would almost seem by his language that he wished to disclaim Augustine's view. That which appeared to Jerome most worthy of condemnation in the Pelagian teaching, was the assertion of the possibility of reaching perfection in this life; and he thought he had found a fatal inconsistency which demonstrated the absurdity of this position, when he brought forward the assertion of Pelagius, that perfection could be, but never was. This was exactly the position taken by Augustine in his treatise to Marcellinus, and to explain which he wrote the second treatise, '*De Spiritu et Litera*.' In fact, there was but little similarity in the theological point of view of Augustine and Jerome. The one was a metaphysician who formed systems which might, indeed, involve some opposition to practical truths, but which were harmonious as a whole, and were defended with great eloquence and skill. The other was not a system-maker but an expositor, contending zealously and with vast resources of learning and argument, for what seemed to him the literal meaning of Scripture, without much

regard to the consistency of his views as a whole. With him the necessity for the mortification of the body was the uppermost thought, and the thing most to be condemned in Pelagius was his assertion of the power of the will, and of the moral strength belonging to the Christian man. His main attack upon these views Jerome determined to throw into the form of a dialogue. 'I had written shortly to Ctesiphon,' he says, 'being pressed for time; this treatise will follow the Socratic method, and set forth what can be said on both sides. And let not any one think that I am prompted to write by envy. It has never been my custom to spare heretics. The enemies of the Church have always been my enemies.' The interlocutors in the dialogue are Atticus and Critobulus, the former representing the opinions of Jerome, the latter those of Pelagius. We now have no further complaints from Jerome as to concealment on the part of Pelagius. Since the letter to Ctesiphon had been written, Pelagius had made public his book, '*De Naturâ*,' which contains the full statement of his opinions. It is from this that his opponent takes the statements which he has to answer. But it is still the question of the possibility of perfection which most engages him. Very little is said of the views as to grace and original sin. With regard to the first, Jerome contended for the Catholic doctrine of co-operating grace. The Pelagian view was, that the grace of God was given to man once for all in his creation, and in the moral power of his nature, and that by this he could move towards good. Against this, Jerome argues for the need of special help in each particular action. 'The free-will of man must always be preserved, yet we must not deny the need of the special help of God.' He thus stands mid-way between Pelagius and Augustine in his views on grace. As regards original sin, he is even more opposed to Augustine's theology. In the view of the latter each individual of the human race committed an actual *personal* sin by Adam their representative; in the view of Jerome, it is an *imputed* guilt, the sin is *non proprium sed alienum*. Pelagius denied both actual and imputed guilt, and looked upon the transgression of Adam in the light of a great misfortune for the human race, bringing in the practice of sin and the punishment of death. The very objectionable language in which the Pelagians expressed their view of the possibility of perfection (that it is *easy* for a man to keep the commandments of God if he pleased), is fitly chastised by Jerome; but he is less happy in establishing the theoretical falsity of the doctrine of perfectibility. It is to be observed that the Pelagians only contended for this *quoad* human nature. They never attempted to place *absolute perfection* within the reach of humanity. Again here Jerome would connect the

Pelagian views with ancient heresies, and with the tenets of the heathen philosophers. In this, too, he differs from Augustine, who was constantly declaring that this was a new and unheard of heresy. It is, however, pleasant to be able to observe that though there were theological differences there was a thoroughly substantial agreement between these two great doctors. The elegant compliment with which S. Jerome acknowledges his contemporary's labours deserves to be quoted:—
 'Scripsit dudum vir sanctus et eloquens Episcopus Augustinus
 'ad Marcellinum, unde supersedendum huic labori censeo ne
 'dicatur mihi illud Horatii—

"In silvam ne ligna feras."

'Aut enim eadem diceremus ex superfluo, aut si nova volumus dicere clarissimo ingenio occupata sunt meliora.'

The next chapter in this controversy introduces us to Augustine engaged with Pelagius. His former writings had been directed against the views of Celestius, but at the request of Timasius and Jacobus, two young men well known to him, who had become disciples of Pelagius, he undertakes to refute the book of Pelagius 'On Human Nature,' before alluded to. This book had been drawn from Pelagius by Jerome's Epistle to Ctesiphon, and had been already answered in the Dialogues. But Augustine could not remain silent on such an occasion. This book appeared to contradict his most cherished opinions. It was in his view perilous to souls. 'It was clear to me,' he writes, 'how dangerous to Christian health was the poison of that perverseness.' Our ideas of the work of Pelagius must be drawn from the quotations of his opponents. 'I assert,' he writes, 'that man can be without sin. What do you say? That a man *cannot* be without sin? It is not a question of *is* and *is not*, but of *can* and *cannot*. You will admit the *can*, but you will say it must be by the grace of God. I am much obliged to you, inasmuch as this my assertion which for a long time you were opposing, now you are not satisfied with ceasing to oppose, or even with admitting, but you do not shrink from actually proving it. For to say, "It is possible, but by this or that," what is but not only to consent to the possibility of a thing, but even to show its mode, and no one can more prove possibility than he who proves the mode, for the mode cannot exist without the thing. But you will say, inasmuch as you do not mention the grace of God in this place, you deny it. I answer, Is it I who deny it who acknowledge the existence of the thing, and thus also acknowledge that through which the thing can be done? Or is it you who deny it, who by denying the thing

¹ De Geat. Palaest. Op. vii. 516.

'certainly deny that by which the thing can be done? Whether it be by grace, or assistance, or mercy, or whatever it be, by which man can be without sin, he admits this who admits the thing itself.'

This may suffice for a specimen of the logomachies with which this treatise was filled, and which had perplexed the minds of the two young men, so as to make them appeal to Augustine for direction. But sophisms could not mislead Augustine, whose acute glance instantly detected the weak points in his opponent's statements. He follows up Pelagius through all his logical quibbles, and certainly proves him to have *undervalued* the weakness of nature and the need of divine grace. No one, however, who reads the treatise *De Naturâ et Gratiâ* can fail to be convinced that Pelagius was not an absolute denier of divine grace, and even if we had nothing else to guide us save the statements which are here refuted, we must admit that there were many senses in which Pelagius admitted the need of grace. An excellent modern theologian seems to us to state the case correctly: 'A verbal confusion of nature with grace is undoubtedly to be found in the language of the Pelagians. . . . But it does not appear that the Pelagian limits the idea of grace, either to nature in the sense of the powers with which man was originally endowed at his creation, or to the outward helps of the divine law. On the contrary, he includes in it those internal divine impulses and spiritual assistances commonly denoted by the word.'¹ Throughout this treatise Augustine, very differently from Jerome, preserves a respectful and courteous tone towards his opponent, and intersperses frequent compliments on his talents and ingenuity. It is a beautiful specimen of Christian controversy in a right spirit. 'I refuted those views,' Augustine writes to Paulinus, 'for the sake of those who held them; but in such a manner that he too, their teacher, might not be hindered by any personal irritation from amending them, and that the mischief of error might be destroyed without pain being inflicted on its author.' The two young men, Timasius and Jacobus, for whom Augustine wrote, were struck and convinced by his arguments, and their letter of thanks and gratitude must have well repaid him for the trouble which he had taken in satisfying their request. 'We have been refreshed and cheered,' they write, 'by the grace of God ministered by thee, most blessed lord and venerable father, so that we may rightly say, "He sent His word and healed them." Truly we find that your holiness has sifted the text of that book to such

¹ Augustin. de Naturâ et Gratiâ, Op. vii. 279.

² Mozley on Augustinian doctrine of Predestination, p. 53.

'a degree, that we are amazed at the answers given to each separate head. One thing alone pains us in the midst of such great benefits, that is, that we are so late in perceiving the glory of this noble gift of the grace of God. . . . We thank you, for that now we can explain to others those things which we ourselves believe.' Here, at any rate, Augustine saw some fruit of his labours, and was encouraged to go on vigorously in combating the doctrines which appeared to him so dangerous to the faith.

Orosius has several times been mentioned in speaking of the growing controversy, as taking an important part therein. The account of his first acquaintance with Augustine leads us into some very interesting matter. The question of the origin and nature of the soul was one which engaged the Platonizing apocryphalists of the Alexandrian doctors, and also attracted the anti-materialist Manicheans and Priscillianists. Augustine, mixed up as he was in all the controversies of the age, could not avoid discussing it. In one of his treatises, written before he was much engaged in controversy, he had spoken at considerable length on this point, but without arriving at any conclusion on it. Speaking of the two theories of separate creation and propagation, he exclaims, 'But what boots it to spend more labour upon it? I myself am ever doubtful and shifting between the two views. Sometimes I favour one and sometimes the other.'¹ But this state of indecision did not long continue. The Manichean controversy came on, and one of his earliest treatises was on this subject. It bore the somewhat strange title of '*De Quantitate Animæ*.' 'I wrote a dialogue,' he says, in his *Retractations*, 'in which many questions concerning the soul are discussed, its origin, its quality, its quantity, why it was given to the body, what it was made by its junction with the body, what it becomes on its departure from the body.' The main object of the treatise seems to be to show, as against the Manicheans, that, in some sense, materiality may be truly predicated of the soul as well as of the body. Hence Augustine was led to say that the soul, on its union with the body, brings with it all its faculties, and that its learning was nothing more than reminiscence. He explained that in adopting this Platonic doctrine, he did not mean to adopt the view of Plato as to the previous existence of souls, a question which he still leaves undecided. But in his next work against the Manicheans ('*De Libero Arbitrio*') he is more full. Here he states the four-fold view of the origin of souls, and asserts that either of the theories may be held, the Church having ruled nothing in the matter.

¹ Augustinus de Genesi, Opera, iii. 233.

Evidently, however, he is at this time inclined to favour the theory of separate creation. The Manicheans had written the wildest fancies as to the evils of creation, and Augustine grapples with them all.

This treatise brought an application to him from Orosius for further explanation. In Spain, where he lived, a sect called Priscillianists professed a sort of union between the Gnostic and Manichean views, and Orosius was perplexed with their speculations. Augustine, with that admirable readiness with which he always lent himself to the aid of those who were in doubt or difficulty, at once wrote a short treatise in reply to his inquiries. He here more clearly states the separate-creation view of the origin of souls.¹ But when he was involved in the Pelagian controversy, he found this view exceedingly inconvenient. How upon the ground of it could he explain his theory of original sin? Accordingly, he soon began to waver in his views as to the separate-creation origin, and to incline to another account. We have traces of this in his treatise to Marcellinus; and when Orosius, eager to obtain more instruction on this and similar topics, went to pay Augustine a visit in Africa, he found the great doctor of another mind in this matter. Desiring, however, that Orosius should have the fullest satisfaction, he wrote a letter to Jerome on the subject, which he gave to Orosius to carry.

'I wrote,' he says, 'to the holy presbyter Jerome, concerning the origin of the soul, consulting him how that opinion which he had put forth in his letter to Marcellinus,² namely, that souls were separately created in each individual at their birth, could be held without shaking the firm belief of the Church that "in Adam all die," and that infants, unless they be freed by the grace of Christ, which operates in them by baptism, are drawn into condemnation. The opportunity of sending this to Jerome was given me by Orosius, a most pious and studious youth, who came to me from farthest Spain, purely out of zeal for the Scriptures. I was sorry indeed to lose him, but I persuaded him to go to Jerome.'³

In the letter to Jerome, he thus describes the subject in which Orosius was interested. Having settled that the soul must have contracted guilt previously to its union with the body, he then asks, *Where did it contract this guilt?*

'In a book on free-will which I wrote some years ago, I mentioned four opinions as to the origin of souls, either of which it was permissible to hold. (1) Either they are *propagated* from the soul of the first man, or (2) newly *created* for each individual, or (3) *sent* by God from a previous state

¹ Augustin. ad Orosium, Op. vii. 234.

² The letter of Jerome to Marcellinus does not contain any opinion as to the origin of souls, but only a reference to what he had written on the subject against Rufinus, where he defends the Creation theory. He calls it *maximè ecclesiastica questio*, and shows evident repugnance to entering upon it, referring Marcellinus to the 'Sanctus et eruditus Episcopus Augustinus,' just as Augustine referred Orosius to him.

³ Augustin. Ep. ad Euodium.

of existence, or (4) *come* of themselves into bodies. . . . On these I should be glad to have your judgment. . . . If the souls of each are created when they are born, where do the souls of infants contract sin, so as to need the sacrament of baptism? Or, if they are not guilty of sin, tell me how can they be justly bound by a sin which is not theirs? . . . We must also take into account temporal evils which the soul may have to suffer from partnership with a diseased body. Can the justice of these be defended on this supposition? I confess that the reasons I myself gave in my book on free-will do not now satisfy me.¹

Was it simply on abstract grounds that Augustine thus changed his views, or was it, also, that on the separate-creation view of the origin of the soul, the Pelagians could not be refuted? In the propagation theory which he had now adopted, and henceforth so zealously defended, the soul being propagated from the soul of Adam, as the body from his body, the *personal* share of each individual in the sin of Adam could be maintained. Jerome, who did not perceive the necessity of adjusting all other opinions to suit the great central dogma of original sin, declined to give an opinion on the matter.

The arrival of Orosius in Jerusalem, on this errand, had an important bearing on the fortunes of Pelagius. He had quitted Augustine in the heat of the Pelagian controversy, and while he was still busy with the composition of his book, '*De Naturâ et Gratiâ*;' and he arrived in Palestine only to find Jerome employed in similar labours. His arrival falls in the beginning of the year 415, the time when the Dialogues against the Pelagians were published. There was no lack of controversial zeal in Jerome; but the arrival of Orosius doubtless stimulated it to greater intensity. In the view of Dr. Wiggers, Orosius was sent by Augustine with the set purpose of bringing things to a crisis in the East against the Pelagians.

'Augustine believed that he had found in him the man whom he could make use of for his design. He acquainted him with all that had been transacted in Africa against Pelagius, and Celestius furnished him with his own writings against the Pelagians, and despatched him to Palestine to set in movement the East also against Pelagius and his doctrine. On the difficult question of the origin of souls, which was of very critical importance to the doctrine of original sin, he referred him, artfully enough, to Jerome, as he had previously referred similar questions to Augustine.'²

We are inclined to think the German Professor somewhat overrates the *art* of Augustine in these matters. But, at any rate, the messenger was himself in zealous earnest in the cause; and, not long after his arrival in Palestine, the effect of his zeal was seen in the summons issued by John, Bishop of Jerusalem, for a synod to meet to consider these doctrines. Of this synod,

¹ Augustin. ad Hieron. Op. ii. 34.

² Wiggers, Augustinismus und Pelagianismus, i. 190.

we have an ample account from the pen of Orosius himself. It so happened that, out of the proceedings there, a charge of blasphemy grew up against Orosius; and in order to exculpate himself from this, and at the same time to attack with his utmost power the Pelagians, he composed his Book of Apology, which has come down to us.

Orosius gives us some very lively descriptions. 'There stands,' he writes of Pelagius, 'most savage in his pride, the Goliath, swelling with carnal power, believing that he of himself can do all things; clad in abundance of vestments, and having his armour-bearer behind him; who, though he himself does not fight, supplies him with weapons of brass and steel.' The armour-bearer was Annianus, a deacon, who had espoused with great zeal the Pelagian views, and had answered Jerome's Epistle to Ctesiphon.¹ Orosius, appearing in the synod, alleged the condemnation which had been spoken by Augustine of the views of Pelagius and Celestius. 'What is Augustine to me?' exclaimed the Briton of bold front. The Latin presbyters quailed at the blasphemy, but the Greek bishops were not so moved. 'Consider me as Augustine,' exclaimed John, the Bishop of Jerusalem, 'and answer to what is alleged against you.' Then Pelagius owned to the charge that he held that a man could be without sin if he would. 'If he adds "by the help of God" it is blasphemy to say otherwise,' exclaimed Bishop John. Orosius, seeing the tide setting against him, exclaimed, 'This is a Latin heresy; it must be tried in Latin districts, and before Latin judges.' Bishop John, seeing in this a way of escape from condemning Pelagius, readily assented. 'It shall be remitted to the holy Innocent, pope of Rome, and we will follow what he decides.'²

In Bishop John's account of the synod, the matter is stated more favourably for Pelagius. The Bishop alleged S. Paul's words, 'But not I, but the grace of God which was in me.' Then Pelagius said, 'I also believe thus. Let him be anathema that says that a man can come to proficiency in all virtue without the help of God.'³

But now some unexpected allies arrived to Orosius and Jerome. Two bishops of Gaul, who had been expelled their country (it does not clearly appear for what reason), Heros and Lazarus, came to Palestine, and, at the suggestion of Jerome, readily became the accusers of Pelagius. They were Latin prelates denouncing a Latin heretic, and, as such, might be supposed likely to have weight. Fourteen bishops of Palestine met at Diospolis, the ancient Lydda, to try the charge; but, strange to

¹ Garnerus disq. in Marium Mercat. p. 141.

² P. Orosii Apologet. 620—625.

³ Augustin. de Gest. Palest.

say, the accusers were not forthcoming. Whether they were influenced by this, or whether the dexterity and ready retractations of Pelagius outwitted them, the fathers at Diospolis pronounced a complete acquittal of Pelagius, and decreed that he was 'a true member of the Church, and a Catholic.'

The decision is of no great importance, as the bishops were no doubt very ill calculated to judge of the terms of the Latin heresy; but it is interesting as bringing out differences in the controversial character of Jerome and Augustine. The former was perfectly furious. He denounces the council in no measured terms, as 'that miserable synod of Diospolis, in which the heresiarch Pelagius by his trickery imposed upon his judges, and was acquitted through sheer ignorance.' But Augustine, with greater insight and policy, took a more prudent view. It would never do to admit that a synod of bishops had really approved of these views. It was necessary to show that the real sentiments of Pelagius had never been before them; that no decision had been pronounced upon these, and that, under the circumstances, the fathers at Diospolis could not have decided otherwise than they did. To prove this was the object of Augustine's elaborate work, '*De Gestis Palæstinis*,'² which, containing a review of the whole controversy from the first, is the chief repository for materials in this history. 'I do not,' says Augustine, 'impeach the judgment either of carelessness or of unfairness, or of any approval of the impious doctrines; but, commending the judgment as it deserves, I nevertheless say that Pelagius, in the view of those to whom he is better known, is not, as it seems to me, to be acquitted. For the members of the synod, judging about a matter of which they knew but little, and in the absence of those who had drawn up the paper against him, were not able to examine the man more closely; yet, as to the heresy itself, if only its supporters will follow their judgment, they altogether decided against it.' There were also other matters which Augustine needed to explain, besides the actual force of the sentence at Diospolis. Pelagius had produced at the synod many laudatory letters from bishops, and among others the affectionate letter from Augustine himself, which has been quoted above. It would perhaps have been better had Augustine left this, as it was, an ordinary letter of civility, than that he should have tried to explain it as having some deep meaning of religious warning, which its language scarcely seems to bear out.

In the meantime Pelagius was not slow to use all the advan-

¹ Hieron. Ep. 81.

² This treatise was long unknown, but was discovered at Fiesole about the end of the sixteenth century. G. J. Vossii, *Hist. Pelag.* p. 53.

tage which the acquittal at Diospolis gave him. He wrote to a presbyter who had warned him against making a schism in the Church, reminding him with triumph that his doctrine had now been approved by a synod of fourteen bishops. He ventured even to challenge the approval of the great Bishop of Hippo himself, sending to him an account of the synod, which, as Augustine afterwards discovered, was not altogether to be depended upon for its accuracy. Even still more reprehensible consequences followed this synod. The triumph of their champion excited his followers to make violent demonstrations against his vanquished opponents, and, secretly urged on by Bishop John, a mob of Pelagians visited Jerome's retreat at Bethlehem, and violently attacked him and the devout ladies and students who lived under his direction. In this outrage a deacon was killed, the buildings of the monastery were set on fire, and Jerome himself was obliged to take refuge in a fortified tower, which resisted the fury of the assailants. Pelagius, as it appears, was not implicated in these atrocities. The severe reproof addressed by Pope Innocent to Bishop John, fixes the blame on the true culprit, who was urged on by jealousy of the great fame of Jerome. Augustine also wrote to Bishop John a kind but grave letter, pointing out the fundamental errors of Pelagius.

But there was another point on which Augustine was still more interested. How would the Bishop of Rome treat this decree of the Palestine synod? It was greatly in the interest of him who already affected to be universal bishop, to confirm the decrees of provincial councils. This would encourage reference to him on all occasions, and foster the notion of his consent being necessary for the validity of any sentence of the Church.¹ Would Innocent, the present occupant of the Roman See, thus treat the Synod of Diospolis, or would the influence of Augustine be sufficient to prevent him from doing so? In order to bring to bear upon the Pope an influence which should outweigh that of the Synod of Diospolis, Augustine at once set to work to organize the meeting of two synods in Africa, at both of which a greater number of bishops should be present than had convened at Diospolis. One of these was to be held at Carthage, and presided over by Aurelius, bishop there, the firm friend of Augustine, and who had already, five years before, condemned the tenets of Celestius. This synod met in the year 416, and was attended by sixty-eight bishops. The result of their labours was communicated in a letter to Pope Innocent. They did not think it necessary to invite Pelagius or Celestius. Orosius, who had now returned to Carthage, appeared to give evidence, and

¹ Wiggers, *Pelagianismus*, i. 202.

produced the letters of Heros and Lazarus; whereupon the council declared that they 'perceived that Pelagius and Celestius were guilty of nefarious and cursed error,' and called upon the Pope to anathematize it in spite of what had been done at Diospolis.¹ The reply of Pope Innocent shows that the African bishops had acted politicly. 'You have indeed done well,' he says, 'in passing your sentence, but especially in consulting us 'about it, inasmuch as from the Apostolical See all episcopacy 'and its authority proceeds, and whatsoever is done in the 'remotest corners ought not to be considered concluded until it 'is brought before this see for its approbation. From this see 'all the other churches in the world are to learn what to command, whom to absolve, whom to condemn.' The proceedings of the Council of Milevis, at which Augustine and sixty other bishops were present, were somewhat similar. They, too, condemned strongly the new heresies, and appealing to Pope Innocent, called upon him by his authority, 'drawn from the bright light of the Scriptures,' to make the heretics submit.² But there was something in the letter from Milevis which offended the haughty Bishop of Rome. 'I do not suppose,' he writes, 'that men so wise as you are ignorant, especially as by your 'very action you seem to establish it, that to every province in 'the empire responses flow forth from the apostolical fountain. 'As often as the matter of faith is in question, all our brethren 'and fellow-bishops ought always to refer to Peter, that is to say, 'to the bearer of his name and honour, for the common benefit 'of all the churches in the world.' The African bishops were made to pay the price of the independency of their church for the support accorded to them by the Pope in this matter, and it is well pointed out by Neander and C. F. Walch, that these references to Rome and the Pope's decision on them formed a very decided and marked step in the growth of the power of the Papal chair. Besides the synodical epistles, a private letter was also addressed to Innocent by five of the leading African bishops, urging him without delay to examine Pelagius, and thus to neutralize his acquittal at Diospolis. The Pope answers that he had indeed heard of the proceedings at Diospolis through certain laymen, but he had not had them brought formally before him. He declines to summon Pelagius, but points out that if he wishes to clear himself he must appear before him. He censures the books of Pelagius sent to him in the strongest terms.

All things, indeed, were proceeding satisfactorily towards the complete condemnation of the heresy, when of a sudden a difficulty intervened. The difficulty was caused by a change in the

¹ *Bisæi Concilia*, i. 702.² *Ibid*, i. 706.

personnel of the infallible successor of St. Peter. Innocent, a Latin, had been ready, after his own fashion, to establish the theology of Augustine. Zosimus, a Greek, who succeeded him, was much more ready to endorse the philosophical speculation of Pelagius. The subjective in religion was the peculiar interest of Western Christendom; the Eastern Church was almost exclusively concerned with the objective. 'With the former anthropology, with the latter theology in its most restricted sense, was all-important. In the Oriental Church it was simply held to be essential to affirm grace and free-will at the same time, without attempting to define exactly the relation of the two to each other; it was only sought carefully to avoid everything that might seem to favour arbitrary will on the part of God in the election of man, an unconditional predetermination which might seem to impair the doctrine of the divine love and justice, and of man's free-will.'¹ Zosimus would be sure to regard the subjects in dispute from a Greek point of view; and as a pope cannot plead ignorance, Celestius immediately on his accession appeared at Rome, and called for a reversal of the sentence of the Synod of Carthage, pronounced six years ago against him. Since his condemnation he had been living chiefly at Ephesus, but had also visited Constantinople, from whence he had been removed on some other grounds than those of false doctrine, by Bishop Atticus. Having influential friends at Rome, he obtained a hearing at once. 'Though much engaged,' writes the Pope, 'in the cares and anxieties of ecclesiastical business, yet, postponing all things, we gave him a hearing in the basilica of S. Clement, the disciple of the blessed Peter, and a faithful martyr, that the authority of so great a priest might help our inquiry.' The profession of Celestius was skilfully worded. He dwelt at length on the objective parts of his creed in which he did not differ from the Church, but the points in which he had been accused of heresy he smoothed over by saying:—

'If some points have been started which are beyond and beside the faith, I have never endeavoured to establish these by definite authority, as the author of a new dogma; but what we have drawn from the fountain of the prophets and apostles, we offer to your apostolical judgment, that if any error has, through my defective knowledge, crept in, it may be corrected by your sentence.'²

He nevertheless distinctly and in terms denied the doctrine of original sin, and, if there had been any doubt about his teaching, there were sufficient writings of his, public and well known, to which the Pope might have referred. It is idle for the apologists

¹ Neander, Ch. Hist. iv. 279. (Ed. Bohn.)

² Augustin. de Peccat. Orig. Op. vii. 302.

of the infallibility to pretend that there was any concealment of doctrine which Zosimus could not have easily seen through; and when, after several interviews, and a careful consideration of the subject, the Pope solemnly declared him orthodox, and administered a rebuke to the Council of Carthage for condemning him, he did, in fact, very distinctly and decidedly contradict his predecessor, Innocent. But the orthodox were destined to be still further scandalized by this most inconvenient Pope. Immediately after the acquittal of Celestius, there came to Rome from the Bishop of Jerusalem who had succeeded John, letters highly commendatory of Pelagius, and Pelagius himself forwarded his confession of faith which had been drawn up for, and was addressed to, Pope Innocent. To this creed of Pelagius we naturally turn as to the most authentic and distinct expression of his belief. After orthodox statements as to the doctrine of the Trinity, the Incarnation, Resurrection of the Body, Infant Baptism, the Authority of Scripture, &c., he goes on:—

‘We do also abhor the blasphemy of those who say that any impossible thing is commanded by God to man, or that the commandments of God cannot be performed by any one man, though they may be by all men taken together. Also, we anathematize those who say that the Son of God did speak what is false by the necessity of the flesh, and that because of his human nature he could not do all things that he would. We do so own free-will as to allow that we always stand in need of God’s help, and we believe those to be in error who say, with Manes, that we cannot avoid sin, as well as those who say, with Jovinian, that a man cannot sin. For both of these notions take away the freedom of the will. But we say that a man is always in that state that he may sin, or may not sin, so as to own ourselves always to be free as to our will.’¹

With respect to this creed, some very curious literary history may be noted. The expressions as to the peccability of the Saviour are levelled at S. Jerome, who had maintained this doctrine in the ‘Dialogues against the Pelagians.’ Some theologian, meeting with this emphatic protest against what was held to be a blasphemous doctrine, attributed the composition in which it occurred to S. Augustine. Then an ignorant collector of Augustine’s works transferred the whole creed to him; and in the earlier editions of that Father’s writings, the reader will find it duly printed as the 191st Sermon, *De Tempore*. But what is still more remarkable, Vossius, the great Dutch divine, whose name is generally (and very deservedly) coupled with the epithet *doctissimus*, in his history of the Pelagian controversy (p. 487), quotes the words as those of Augustine. Our own equally learned Bishop Bull, and Le Clerc, another famous erudite, unsuspectingly followed him. The Bishop even goes so far as to

¹ *Binei Concilia*, i. 715.

call the passage 'a well-known passage of S. Augustine.' (Harmony, pt. i. 86, pt. ii. 168. Ang. Cath. Library.) The Oxford translators and editors of Bull have left the blunder uncorrected. It was, however, pointed out as regards Vossius by Archbishop Usher (Works, iv. 13, ed. Elrington), and also by Wall in his excellent and most accurate work on Infant Baptism, i. 348. But even this does not exhaust the curious facts connected with this creed. Having been attributed to Augustine, it was also, still more strangely, attributed to Jerome, and, as his, was read and unanimously adopted at the Council of Frankfort, A.D. 800.¹ So many of the orthodox having mistaken this creed as representing the faith of the Church, it is less to be wondered at that Pope Zosimus should have given it his approval. In his letter to the African bishops, he tells them that the writings of Pelagius had been read in an assembly. 'Would that any of you, my beloved brethren, had been able to be present on that occasion. The joy and wonder of all in the assembly were astonishing. They could scarcely keep from weeping to think that such men should have had their faith impugned. Was there any point in which the grace and help of God was omitted? How, indeed, could other language be used on this subject without that blasphemy which is said never to obtain forgiveness.'² Such was the complete and hearty approval which the Pope extended to those who had been voted heretics by two formal councils approved by his predecessor; a very awkward document for the defenders of the infallibility of the Papal chair. The language of Zosimus is so hearty and enthusiastic that it almost causes us regret to find that, within a few months, he was obliged to retract and annul this vigorous approval, and to excommunicate and condemn the same men whose 'perfect faith' he had so much commended. The activity and zeal of Augustine proved stronger than the consistency of the Pope, and the altered tone of the African bishops soon showed to the astonished Zosimus that he had made a grand mistake.

'We determine,' writes the Council of two hundred and eighteen bishops assembled at Carthage (November 417 A.D.), 'that the sentence against Pelagius and Celestius, put forth by the venerable Bishop Innocent from the chair of the blessed Apostle Peter, shall remain in full force until, by the most open confession, they admit that we are helped in each single act of righteousness, not only as to knowing, but also as to performing the act, and also that without that grace we are not able to be possessed of any true piety, or to think, speak, or do anything that is right.'³

This was rather a trying rebuff to the pontiff, and it is possible that he might have stood on his offended dignity, but tumults

¹ Vossius, *Hist. Pelag.* p. 18.

² *Binei Concilia*, i. 718.

³ Wiggers, *Pelagianismus*, i. 210.

broke out in Rome, and Augustine bringing his influence to bear on Count Valerian, the Governor of Africa, was able to influence the Court of Ravenna to interest itself in the question. The Pope was obliged to yield. The letter in which he paves the way for a reconsideration of the matter, is a singular specimen of the union of the most arrogant pretensions with a real defeat and retraction.

‘Although,’ writes the defeated Pope, ‘the tradition of the Fathers gives such great authority to the Apostolic See that no one ought to dare to dispute its judgment; and this is confirmed by the canons and rules of the Church, and by the fact that ecclesiastical discipline always runs in the name of Peter, from whom it descends; . . . yet, notwithstanding this our great authority, we have always been anxious to take you into our councils, and to refer matters to you, not for that we are ignorant, or that we were likely to injure the Church, but out of feeling of Christian brotherhood. This man (Celestius) has been accused by you, and he has appealed to us. He demands that his accusers should meet him face to face, and he declares that false rumours have been spread concerning him. We have already written to you about him, and we believe that we sufficiently answered the letters you addressed to us. Since then, however, we have examined the long letter brought to us from you by Marcellinus, the sub-deacon, and we regret to find that you think that we have trusted Celestius in all things, and given an absolute approval to all his work. Nothing of importance ought to be done rashly, and all decisions require the greatest deliberation. Be assured that we have changed and decided nothing, but have left all things in precisely the same state in which they were when I last wrote to you.’

Taking refuge thus in an obscurity which, while it befitted his dignity, prepared also the way for his abandonment of Celestius and his espousal of the cause now evidently to triumph, Zosimus hoped to save the credit of the Apostolic See. It will be difficult, however, for his apologists to excuse him from the charge urged against him by Julian, that either he was so ignorant of theology as not to recognise in the statements of Celestius and Pelagius any difference from the orthodox views, or else that he was so false, that after giving them an approval he withdrew it unconvinced, because of the strength of the opposition made to them. With the zeal of a new proselyte, and the bitterness arising from having been obliged to stultify himself, Zosimus now determined to follow up the Pelagians without scruple or hesitation. On the other hand, the arm of the State was also ready to strike. Shortly after the despatch of the Pope’s letter to Africa (418), came forth the ‘sacred rescript’ from the Court of Ravenna, condemning the Pelagians. The bombastic and high-flown style of this document is remarkable:—

‘We are informed by common rumour that a new form of crafty cunning has suddenly displayed itself to disturb the brightness of Catholic sim-

and the *practical* impossibility of perfection strongly insisted on.¹ In his reply to Hilarius, which followed soon after this work, Augustine discards even the theoretical possibility of perfection. Mr. Mozley observes, that he had stated this only as a pious sentiment, a case 'which would be a miracle contrary to all the established laws of the operation of grace ;'² but he forgets that he afterwards re-asserted it more strongly. As yet, the writings of Augustine on these subjects are explanatory and didactic, rather than severely polemical. The Pelagians had said but little, and there was considerable doubt as to the exact nature of their sentiments. But the next year (414) wrought a change. This brought to Augustine the more elaborate statement of the doctrine of Celestius, forwarded by Paulus and Eutropius, and produced in reply Augustine's treatise, '*De Perfectione Justitiæ.*' The definitions of Celestius are a good specimen of the fallacy of dilemmas. The following may serve as a sample :—

'He who says that man cannot be without sin, is first to be asked what is sin? Is it what can be avoided, or what cannot be avoided? If the latter, then it is not guilt; if the former, then a man can be without it. Again, is sin of free will, or of necessity? If of necessity, it is not sin; if of free will, it can be avoided. Again, what is sin? Is it a natural property, or an accident? If it is a natural property, it is not sin; if an accident, then it may be absent.'

And so on, through all the Categories. Celestius assumes a capable moral agent, having sufficient moral powers to answer to moral requirements. The great force of Augustine's reply is in showing that though this was once the condition of man, it is not so now. The sinfulness of man, though now unavoidable, is not free from blame, 'because it has been brought about solely 'by the free-will of man, that he has come to that necessity, 'which by the power of his own will alone he cannot overcome.' The definitions of Celestius might well have provoked even a more sharp reply than that which Augustine gave to them. They are harsh, antagonistic, and flippant. They affect the Socratic method, but they have a greater resemblance to the utterances of a Sophist seeking to entrap, than of a philosopher searching for the truth. In fact, they are a complete justification of the remark of Wiggers, quoted above, that Celestius held the doctrine of Pelagius on the theoretical rather than the practical side. It is evident that Pelagius attributed much more to divine help than Celestius did, and that in his view of the possibility of perfection, a considerable though inadequate allowance was made

¹ In this treatise occurs the extraordinary statement, that when the Gentiles are said by S. Paul to do *by nature* the things contained in the law, it is meant to speak of the Gentiles who become Christians doing by the aid of the Holy Spirit the things which God commands.

² Augustinian doctrine of Predestination, p. 59.

for the grace of God. He does not scruple to use the term assistance (*adjutorium*), which, as Augustine observes, Celestius shrinks from doing. In this treatise Augustine makes much stronger statements as to the possibility of perfection, than he had done in those written in the former year. He declines to deny not only that it can happen, but also that it has happened and is happening. He appears almost inclined to agree with the Pelagians in this view; arguing, however, not as the Pelagians did, from the powers of nature, but from the omnipotence of the grace of God. Here, then, we get a very distinct difference between his point of view and that of Jerome, the other great combatant of the Pelagian opinions. To the mind of Jerome, perfectibility was the most offensive and blasphemous notion which the Pelagians held; while in his views on original sin, he very closely approached to the teaching of Pelagius. In the judgment of his contemporaries, Jerome was even greater than Augustine, although posterity has perhaps reversed the verdict. At any rate, he essentially differed from him as a controversialist. The zeal of the hermit of Bethlehem was tempered by none of the amenities and courtesy which chastened the eloquence of Augustine. In his view, the man who differed from him was his deadly enemy, to be struck down with any weapon which should present itself. Rufinus was once his dear friend, but when he ventured to translate Origen, he was one who carried with him 'a whole ship-load of blasphemies, and who was ever looking for victims to assail with his poisonous and foul doctrine.' Melania, the Roman matron, who had founded the Jerusalem Hospital for pilgrims, and who was for many years the object of Jerome's most enthusiastic praises, was, because she adhered to the friendship of Rufinus, to be stigmatized as, 'as black as her name in perfidious villainy.'¹ So it was with Evagrius, the mild Egyptian monk; so it was with the presbyter Jovinian, who ventured to defend matrimony; and so now it was to be with Pelagius. 'I was dictating,' writes S. Jerome, 'my Commentaries on Jeremiah at intervals, making up by industry for my want of leisure, when all of a sudden, the heresy of impassibility and sinlessness, as taught by Pythagoras and Zeno—the heresy which had formerly been slain in Origen, and his disciples Grunnius, (Rufinus), Evagrius of Pontus, and Jovinian—began to gain strength again, and to hiss forth its utterances, not only in the West but in the East, and to contaminate many in certain islands, especially Sicily and Rhodes, and day by day to spread, its authors publicly denying what they privately taught.'

¹ Hieron. Opera, i. 808. (Ed. 1609.)

² Hieron. Præfat. in Hiermiæ Comm. lib. iv. A similar passage occurs in the Preface to the sixth book of the Commentary on Ezekiel, written shortly before.

It is evident, indeed, that before this was written an ill feeling had sprung up between Jerome and Pelagius. In the preface to the Third Book on Jeremiah, Jerome complains that Pelagius was sending all over the world 'letters, full of calumnies against him;' and again, in preface to the Fourth Book, he complains of 'those who were directing letters, charged with lies, and fraud, and perjury, all over the world, to corrupt the simple-minded, and to disseminate everywhere their blasphemies.' 'These men I have been compelled by the repeated expostulation of my brethren to answer, although long holding my peace, and devouring my grief in silence. Yet I have not so far broken all bounds, as to write against them by name. I would rather that they should be corrected than disgraced. I am no enemy to the men, but to their error. It is true that they desire to revenge themselves upon me for old attacks upon their masters, Ruffinus and Jovinian, but in so doing, they only show themselves helpless, and without the power of writing. They can't even revile in their own words.' These passages appear to have been overlooked by Professor Wiggers, when in describing the residence of Pelagius in Jerusalem, he reckons 'the holy Jerome' as in the number of his friends; neither do they altogether accord with his description of Pelagius, as mild, unassuming, and retiring.¹ Certainly, if we are to give Jerome credit for the forbearance which he professes to have exercised, it says much for the standing of Pelagius at Jerusalem, and the influence which he had acquired there. It was not the wont of this famous polemic to be thus reticent and backward with his pen. The fact is, that Pelagius had ingratiated himself with John Bishop of Jerusalem, and that he had a powerful party at his back.

The first direct attack made by Jerome on the opinions of Pelagius, was thrown into the form of a letter, addressed to Ctesiphon, some of whose family would appear to have been infected with the new views. In writing this he had the advantage of having before him a more definite statement of the Pelagian opinions than Augustine had when he wrote the first of the treatises mentioned above. About the end of 413, two writings of Pelagius were made public. The one was a consolatory and hortatory letter, addressed to a widow named Livania, the other an Epistle to Demetrias, the noble virgin of the great Anician family, who after her flight from Rome had dedicated herself to the religious life in Africa. About the first of these writings much obscurity prevails. Pelagius was charged in the Jerusalem council with having written strange encouragements to self-righteousness; but he distinctly

¹ Wiggers, *Pelagianismus*, i. 189.

and emphatically denied them to be his, and declared himself ready to anathematize, not indeed as heretical, but as foolish, any one who could have written them.¹ With regard to the other letter the case is different. Pelagius freely owned this, and referred to it as expressing his views, in his defence addressed to Pope Innocent. This letter remains to us now, having, singularly enough, been attributed to Jerome, the man most eager to write against it. The Venerable Bede was the first to detect that it was not a composition of Jerome: observing the peculiar strain of its sentiments, he attributed it to Julian of Eclana. The elegance of its composition is admitted by all. Among many objectionable sentiments there are to be found some very striking passages, and many which go far to impugn the notion commonly entertained of Pelagius that he denied the necessity of grace. Speaking of man being created with free will, he says:—

‘You should be on your guard against supposing, with the unlearned common people, that man was not made good, because he had the power of doing evil, and because good was not a necessity to him. If you look at this matter carefully and thoughtfully, you will see that the condition of man is higher for that very reason for which men think it lower. For in this power to discriminate, in this freedom to choose either side, the glory of the rational soul consists. This is the very honour and dignity of human nature; without this there could be no praise nor reward due to the good, nor any such thing as virtue. Virtue could not be voluntary, unless vice were possible. The merciful Creator willed us to have the power of doing both, but to do only one, namely, that which He commanded. Hence our power of doing evil is actually a good. The rational creature is superior to other creatures in this point, that, whereas good to them is matter of condition and necessity, to him it is matter of choice. It is impious, therefore, for those who do wrong to accuse human nature.² The fault is in themselves. Even in the heathen, who are without knowledge of God, the good of human nature is sometimes exhibited. What, then, cannot Christians do, whose nature and life have been fashioned to better things by Christ, and who are also aided by the assistance of divine grace?³ Let each look into himself with careful attention. What, I pray you, is it which excites shame and dread at sin, and makes us blush and grow pale? Why, even in small crimes, do we shrink from witnesses? why do we feel the pangs of consciousness; while, on the other hand, if we do right, we are steadfast, undismayed, and willing to be seen of all men? There is, I say, in our souls a natural holiness, so to speak, which, presiding in the citadel of the mind, exercises judgment of good and bad, approves of honourable and right actions, condemns evil works, and, according to the testimony of the conscience, distributes the different parts by a certain law of its own. This is not to be deceived by any ingenuity or speciousness; it convicts or acquits us by our own thoughts, most faithful and most true witnesses. It is this law which the Apostle mentions in his

¹ Augustin. de Gestis Palest. Op. vii. 510.

² It was probably in reference to this passage that Jerome wrote: ‘A me nunquam audies malam esse naturam.’

³ ‘Quorum in melius per Christum natura et vita instructa est, et qui divinæ quoque gratiæ juvantur auxilio.’

Epistle to the Romans, as by it the Gentiles being a law unto themselves. It was by this law that all the saints who lived between Adam and Moses were able to please God. . . . But if before the giving of the law and the coming of the Saviour, some are said to have lived righteously, how much more, after the glory of His advent, ought we to believe this to be possible for us, who are fashioned by the grace of Christ, and born again to the better man, atoned for and cleansed by His blood, and excited by His example to perfect righteousness. Let us remember the words of the Apostle Paul, "For sin shall not have dominion over you, for ye are not under the law, but under grace."¹

It is not to be denied that this is a favourable extract, and that there are other passages in this epistle which are open to the charge of an undue exaggeration of the powers of nature; yet if we compare the letter as a whole with those of Augustine, Jerome, and Prosper, written to the same lady, it perhaps may not suffer by comparison. Neither of the epistles could we, with our sober modern views, unreservedly endorse. Augustine has a highly objectionable passage, in which he bids the mother of Demetrias to be humbled far below her own daughter, on account of the latter's choice of holy virginity.² Prosper exalts this as the highest development of the most perfect sanctity. But all exaggerations are outdone by Jerome, who writes:—

"All the Churches of Asia exulted and leaped for joy. Through the cities, the towns, the villages, and even the tents of the desert, the mighty news went. All the islands between Africa and Italy were filled with this report, and with swift feet the rejoicings ran still further on. Then did Italy lay aside her garments of mourning, and the walls of Rome, half-overthrown, recovered a part of their ancient splendour, believing that God was propitiated by the perfect conversion of His chosen one. You might fancy that the Gothic army was destroyed, and that the motley crowd of traitors and slaves had fallen under the thunderbolt of the Lord. Not so did the Roman people raise itself up after Trebia, Thrasimene, and Cannæ,"³ &c.

The great ecclesiastics vied with each other in celebrating the splendid devotion of this splendid proselyte, and they also somewhat zealously contended one with another for the first place of influence and direction with her. Augustine, in his letter to Juliana, attributes the act of Demetrias to the effect of his own preaching. Jerome and Pelagius both ostentatiously declare

¹ Compare with this the well-known passage in Bishop Butler: "There is a superior principle of reflection or conscience in every man which distinguishes between the internal principles of the heart as well as his external actions; which passes judgment upon himself and them; pronounces determinately some actions to be in themselves just, right, good; others to be in themselves evil, wrong, unjust; which, without being consulted, without being advised with magisterially, exerts itself, and approves or condemns him the doer of them; and which, if not forcibly stopped, naturally and always of course goes on to anticipate a higher and more effectual sentence which shall hereafter second and approve its own."—Butler, Sermon ii.

² Augustini Opera, ii. 227.

³ Hieron. Opera, i. 67. (Ed. 1609.)

that they had been specially invited to write their epistles by the mother of the holy maiden, while Prosper openly attacks Pelagius and his advice, and bids Demetrias beware of it. Not less vehement and earnest was Jerome's warning against Pelagius than that of Prosper, although he did not mention Pelagius by name. For a more full account of the dangerous nature of his opinions, he refers Demetrias to another writing, which is, doubtless, his epistle to Ctesiphon, the first of his anti-Pelagian writings. In this epistle, Jerome compares the opinions of Pelagius to those of the heathen philosophers, and also declares that they are nothing but a reproduction of the exploded errors of Manes, Evagrius, Priscillian, and Jovinian:—

'They speak indeed of the grace of God, but they make this grace to consist simply in the constitution of man's nature and the gift of free-will. They deny that they need God's assisting grace, for this would be to impair free-will. Hence they take away the need of prayer, fasting, and self-denial. . . . If a Christian may be without sin if he wills, then all Christians would be so, for what Christian would not will this? . . . You will accuse me of being a Manichean, but without foundation. You will never hear *me* accusing nature of being evil. Speak out, I pray you, what you teach to your disciples privately. This is the only heresy which blushes to avow its doctrines.'

The epistle to Ctesiphon is only a hasty protest against the Pelagian opinions, not a regular theological refutation of them. But it is valuable as showing what appeared to the mind of Jerome the most salient and most reprehensible points in the views of Pelagius. He does not, as Augustine, dwell upon the topic of original sin, and insist upon the necessity of a certain theory of the mischief wrought by Adam's fall. Not one word of this appears in Jerome's letter, and it would almost seem by his language that he wished to disclaim Augustine's view. That which appeared to Jerome most worthy of condemnation in the Pelagian teaching, was the assertion of the possibility of reaching perfection in this life; and he thought he had found a fatal inconsistency which demonstrated the absurdity of this position, when he brought forward the assertion of Pelagius, that perfection could be, but never was. This was exactly the position taken by Augustine in his treatise to Marcellinus, and to explain which he wrote the second treatise, '*De Spiritu et Literâ*.' In fact, there was but little similarity in the theological point of view of Augustine and Jerome. The one was a metaphysician who formed systems which might, indeed, involve some opposition to practical truths, but which were harmonious as a whole, and were defended with great eloquence and skill. The other was not a system-maker but an expositor, contending zealously and with vast resources of learning and argument, for what seemed to him the literal meaning of Scripture, without much

regard to the consistency of his views as a whole. With him the necessity for the mortification of the body was the uppermost thought, and the thing most to be condemned in Pelagius was his assertion of the power of the will, and of the moral strength belonging to the Christian man. His main attack upon these views Jerome determined to throw into the form of a dialogue. 'I had written shortly to Ctesiphon,' he says, 'being pressed for time; this treatise will follow the Socratic method, and set forth what can be said on both sides. And let not any one think that I am prompted to write by envy. It has never been my custom to spare heretics. The enemies of the Church have always been my enemies.' The interlocutors in the dialogue are Atticus and Critobulus, the former representing the opinions of Jerome, the latter those of Pelagius. We now have no further complaints from Jerome as to concealment on the part of Pelagius. Since the letter to Ctesiphon had been written, Pelagius had made public his book, '*De Naturâ*,' which contains the full statement of his opinions. It is from this that his opponent takes the statements which he has to answer. But it is still the question of the possibility of perfection which most engages him. Very little is said of the views as to grace and original sin. With regard to the first, Jerome contended for the Catholic doctrine of co-operating grace. The Pelagian view was, that the grace of God was given to man once for all in his creation, and in the moral power of his nature, and that by this he could move towards good. Against this, Jerome argues for the need of special help in each particular action. 'The free-will of man must always be preserved, yet we must not deny the need of the special help of God.' He thus stands mid-way between Pelagius and Augustine in his views on grace. As regards original sin, he is even more opposed to Augustine's theology. In the view of the latter each individual of the human race committed an actual *personal* sin by Adam their representative; in the view of Jerome, it is an *imputed* guilt, the sin is *non proprium sed alienum*. Pelagius denied both actual and imputed guilt, and looked upon the transgression of Adam in the light of a great misfortune for the human race, bringing in the practice of sin and the punishment of death. The very objectionable language in which the Pelagians expressed their view of the possibility of perfection (that it is *easy* for a man to keep the commandments of God if he pleased), is fitly chastised by Jerome; but he is less happy in establishing the theoretical falsity of the doctrine of perfectibility. It is to be observed that the Pelagians only contended for this *quoad* human nature. They never attempted to place *absolute perfection* within the reach of humanity. Again here Jerome would connect the

Pelagian views with ancient heresies, and with the tenets of the heathen philosophers. In this, too, he differs from Augustine, who was constantly declaring that this was a new and unheard of heresy. It is, however, pleasant to be able to observe that though there were theological differences there was a thoroughly substantial agreement between these two great doctors. The elegant compliment with which S. Jerome acknowledges his contemporary's labours deserves to be quoted:—
 'Scripsit dudum vir sanctus et eloquens Episcopus Augustinus
 'ad Marcellinum, unde supersedendum huic labori censeo ne
 'dicatur mihi illud Horatii—

"In silvam ne ligna feras."

'Aut enim eadem diceremus ex superfluo, aut si nova voluerimus dicere clarissimo ingenio occupata sunt meliora.'

The next chapter in this controversy introduces us to Augustine engaged with Pelagius. His former writings had been directed against the views of Celestius, but at the request of Timasius and Jacobus, two young men well known to him, who had become disciples of Pelagius, he undertakes to refute the book of Pelagius 'On Human Nature,' before alluded to. This book had been drawn from Pelagius by Jerome's Epistle to Ctesiphon, and had been already answered in the Dialogues. But Augustine could not remain silent on such an occasion. This book appeared to contradict his most cherished opinions. It was in his view perilous to souls. 'It was clear to me,' he writes, 'how dangerous to Christian health was the poison of that perverseness.' Our ideas of the work of Pelagius must be drawn from the quotations of his opponents. 'I assert,' he writes, 'that man can be without sin. What do you say? That a man *cannot* be without sin? It is not a question of *is* and *is not*, but of *can* and *cannot*. You will admit the *can*, but you will say it must be by the grace of God. I am much obliged to you, inasmuch as this my assertion which for a long time you were opposing, now you are not satisfied with ceasing to oppose, or even with admitting, but you do not shrink from actually proving it. For to say, "It is possible, but by this or that," what is but not only to consent to the possibility of a thing, but even to show its mode, and no one can more prove possibility than he who proves the mode, for the mode cannot exist without the thing. But you will say, inasmuch as you do not mention the grace of God in this place, you deny it. I answer, Is it I who deny it who acknowledge the existence of the thing, and thus also acknowledge that through which the thing can be done? Or is it you who deny it, who by denying the thing

¹ De Gestis Palaest. Op. vii. 516.

'certainly deny that by which the thing can be done? Whether
'it be by grace, or assistance, or mercy, or whatever it be, by
'which man can be without sin, he admits this who admits the
'thing itself.'¹

This may suffice for a specimen of the logomachies with which this treatise was filled, and which had perplexed the minds of the two young men, so as to make them appeal to Augustine for direction. But sophisms could not mislead Augustine, whose acute glance instantly detected the weak points in his opponent's statements. He follows up Pelagius through all his logical quibbles, and certainly proves him to have *undervalued* the weakness of nature and the need of divine grace. No one, however, who reads the treatise *De Naturâ et Gratiâ* can fail to be convinced that Pelagius was not an absolute denier of divine grace, and even if we had nothing else to guide us save the statements which are here refuted, we must admit that there were many senses in which Pelagius admitted the need of grace. An excellent modern theologian seems to us to state the case correctly: 'A verbal confusion of nature with grace is undoubtedly to be found in the language of the Pelagians. . . . But it does not appear that the Pelagian limits the idea of grace, either to nature in the sense of the powers with which man was originally endowed at his creation, or to the outward helps of the divine law. On the contrary, he includes in it those internal divine impulses and spiritual assistances commonly denoted by the word.'² Throughout this treatise Augustine, very differently from Jerome, preserves a respectful and courteous tone towards his opponent, and intersperses frequent compliments on his talents and ingenuity. It is a beautiful specimen of Christian controversy in a right spirit. 'I refuted those views,' Augustine writes to Paulinus, 'for the sake of those who held them; but in such a manner that he too, their teacher, might not be hindered by any personal irritation from amending them, and that the mischief of error might be destroyed without pain being inflicted on its author.' The two young men, Timasius and Jacobus, for whom Augustine wrote, were struck and convinced by his arguments, and their letter of thanks and gratitude must have well repaid him for the trouble which he had taken in satisfying their request. 'We have been refreshed and cheered,' they write, 'by the grace of God ministered by thee, most blessed lord and venerable father, so that we may rightly say, "He sent His word and healed them." Truly we find that your holiness has sifted the text of that book to such

¹ Augustin. de Naturâ et Gratiâ, Op. vii. 279.

² Mozley on Augustinian doctrine of Predestination, p. 53.

'a degree, that we are amazed at the answers given to each separate head. One thing alone pains us in the midst of such great benefits, that is, that we are so late in perceiving the glory of this noble gift of the grace of God. . . . We thank you, for that now we can explain to others those things which we ourselves believe.' Here, at any rate, Augustine saw some fruit of his labours, and was encouraged to go on vigorously in combating the doctrines which appeared to him so dangerous to the faith.

Orosius has several times been mentioned in speaking of the growing controversy, as taking an important part therein. The account of his first acquaintance with Augustine leads us into some very interesting matter. The question of the origin and nature of the soul was one which engaged the Platonizing apocryphalists of the Alexandrian doctors, and also attracted the anti-materialist Manicheans and Priscillianists. Augustine, mixed up as he was in all the controversies of the age, could not avoid discussing it. In one of his treatises, written before he was much engaged in controversy, he had spoken at considerable length on this point, but without arriving at any conclusion on it. Speaking of the two theories of separate creation and propagation, he exclaims, 'But what boots it to spend more labour upon it? I myself am ever doubtful and shifting between the two views. Sometimes I favour one and sometimes the other.'¹ But this state of indecision did not long continue. The Manichean controversy came on, and one of his earliest treatises was on this subject. It bore the somewhat strange title of '*De Quantitate Animæ*.' 'I wrote a dialogue,' he says, in his *Retractations*, 'in which many questions concerning the soul are discussed, its origin, its quality, its quantity, why it was given to the body, what it was made by its junction with the body, what it becomes on its departure from the body.' The main object of the treatise seems to be to show, as against the Manicheans, that, in some sense, materiality may be truly predicated of the soul as well as of the body. Hence Augustine was led to say that the soul, on its union with the body, brings with it all its faculties, and that its learning was nothing more than reminiscence. He explained that in adopting this Platonic doctrine, he did not mean to adopt the view of Plato as to the previous existence of souls, a question which he still leaves undecided. But in his next work against the Manicheans ('*De Libero Arbitrio*') he is more full. Here he states the four-fold view of the origin of souls, and asserts that either of the theories may be held, the Church having ruled nothing in the matter.

¹ Augustinus de Genesi, Opera, iii. 233.

Evidently, however, he is at this time inclined to favour the theory of separate creation. The Manicheans had written the wildest fancies as to the evils of creation, and Augustine grapples with them all.

This treatise brought an application to him from Orosius for further explanation. In Spain, where he lived, a sect called Priscillianists professed a sort of union between the Gnostic and Manichean views, and Orosius was perplexed with their speculations. Augustine, with that admirable readiness with which he always lent himself to the aid of those who were in doubt or difficulty, at once wrote a short treatise in reply to his inquiries. He here more clearly states the separate-creation view of the origin of souls.¹ But when he was involved in the Pelagian controversy, he found this view exceedingly inconvenient. How upon the ground of it could he explain his theory of original sin? Accordingly, he soon began to waver in his views as to the separate-creation origin, and to incline to another account. We have traces of this in his treatise to Marcellinus; and when Orosius, eager to obtain more instruction on this and similar topics, went to pay Augustine a visit in Africa, he found the great doctor of another mind in this matter. Desiring, however, that Orosius should have the fullest satisfaction, he wrote a letter to Jerome on the subject, which he gave to Orosius to carry.

'I wrote,' he says, 'to the holy presbyter Jerome, concerning the origin of the soul, consulting him how that opinion which he had put forth in his letter to Marcellinus,² namely, that souls were separately created in each individual at their birth, could be held without shaking the firm belief of the Church that "in Adam all die," and that infants, unless they be freed by the grace of Christ, which operates in them by baptism, are drawn into condemnation. The opportunity of sending this to Jerome was given me by Orosius, a most pious and studious youth, who came to me from farthest Spain, purely out of zeal for the Scriptures. I was sorry indeed to lose him, but I persuaded him to go to Jerome.'³

In the letter to Jerome, he thus describes the subject in which Orosius was interested. Having settled that the soul must have contracted guilt previously to its union with the body, he then asks, *Where* did it contract this guilt?

'In a book on free-will which I wrote some years ago, I mentioned four opinions as to the origin of souls, either of which it was permissible to hold. (1) Either they are *propagated* from the soul of the first man, or (2) newly *created* for each individual, or (3) *sent* by God from a previous state

¹ Augustin. ad Orosium, Op. vii. 234.

² The letter of Jerome to Marcellinus does not contain any opinion as to the origin of souls, but only a reference to what he had written on the subject against Rufinus, where he defends the Creation theory. He calls it *maximè ecclesiastica questio*, and shows evident repugnance to entering upon it, referring Marcellinus to the 'Sanctus et eruditus Episcopus Augustinus,' just as Augustine referred Orosius to him.

³ Augustin. Ep. ad Euodium.

of existence, or (4) *come* of themselves into bodies. . . . On these I should be glad to have your judgment. . . . If the souls of each are created when they are born, where do the souls of infants contract sin, so as to need the sacrament of baptism? Or, if they are not guilty of sin, tell me how can they be justly bound by a sin which is not theirs? . . . We must also take into account temporal evils which the soul may have to suffer from partnership with a diseased body. Can the justice of these be defended on this supposition? I confess that the reasons I myself gave in my book on free-will do not now satisfy me.¹

Was it simply on abstract grounds that Augustine thus changed his views, or was it, also, that on the separate-creation view of the origin of the soul, the Pelagians could not be refuted? In the propagation theory which he had now adopted, and henceforth so zealously defended, the soul being propagated from the soul of Adam, as the body from his body, the *personal* share of each individual in the sin of Adam could be maintained. Jerome, who did not perceive the necessity of adjusting all other opinions to suit the great central dogma of original sin, declined to give an opinion on the matter.

The arrival of Orosius in Jerusalem, on this errand, had an important bearing on the fortunes of Pelagius. He had quitted Augustine in the heat of the Pelagian controversy, and while he was still busy with the composition of his book, '*De Naturâ et Gratiâ*;' and he arrived in Palestine only to find Jerome employed in similar labours. His arrival falls in the beginning of the year 415, the time when the Dialogues against the Pelagians were published. There was no lack of controversial zeal in Jerome; but the arrival of Orosius doubtless stimulated it to greater intensity. In the view of Dr. Wiggers, Orosius was sent by Augustine with the set purpose of bringing things to a crisis in the East against the Pelagians.

'Augustine believed that he had found in him the man whom he could make use of for his design. He acquainted him with all that had been transacted in Africa against Pelagius, and Celestius furnished him with his own writings against the Pelagians, and despatched him to Palestine to set in movement the East also against Pelagius and his doctrine. On the difficult question of the origin of souls, which was of very critical importance to the doctrine of original sin, he referred him, artfully enough, to Jerome, as he had previously referred similar questions to Augustine.'²

We are inclined to think the German Professor somewhat overrates the *art* of Augustine in these matters. But, at any rate, the messenger was himself in zealous earnest in the cause; and, not long after his arrival in Palestine, the effect of his zeal was seen in the summons issued by John, Bishop of Jerusalem, for a synod to meet to consider these doctrines. Of this synod,

¹ Augustin. ad Hieron. Op. ii. 34.

² Wiggers, Augustinismus und Pelagianismus, i. 190.

we have an ample account from the pen of Orosius himself. It so happened that, out of the proceedings there, a charge of blasphemy grew up against Orosius; and in order to exculpate himself from this, and at the same time to attack with his utmost power the Pelagians, he composed his Book of Apology, which has come down to us.

Orosius gives us some very lively descriptions. 'There stands,' he writes of Pelagius, 'most savage in his pride, the Goliath, swelling with carnal power, believing that he of himself can do all things; clad in abundance of vestments, and having his armour-bearer behind him; who, though he himself does not fight, supplies him with weapons of brass and steel.' The armour-bearer was Annianus, a deacon, who had espoused with great zeal the Pelagian views, and had answered Jerome's Epistle to Ctesiphon.¹ Orosius, appearing in the synod, alleged the condemnation which had been spoken by Augustine of the views of Pelagius and Celestius. 'What is Augustine to me?' exclaimed the Briton of bold front. The Latin presbyters quailed at the blasphemy, but the Greek bishops were not so moved. 'Consider me as Augustine,' exclaimed John, the Bishop of Jerusalem, 'and answer to what is alleged against you.' Then Pelagius owned to the charge that he held that a man could be without sin if he would. 'If he adds "by the help of God" it is blasphemy to say otherwise,' exclaimed Bishop John. Orosius, seeing the tide setting against him, exclaimed, 'This is a Latin heresy; it must be tried in Latin districts, and before Latin judges.' Bishop John, seeing in this a way of escape from condemning Pelagius, readily assented. 'It shall be remitted to the holy Innocent, pope of Rome, and we will follow what he decides.'²

In Bishop John's account of the synod, the matter is stated more favourably for Pelagius. The Bishop alleged S. Paul's words, 'But not I, but the grace of God which was in me.' Then Pelagius said, 'I also believe thus. Let him be anathema that says that a man can come to proficiency in all virtue without the help of God.'³

But now some unexpected allies arrived to Orosius and Jerome. Two bishops of Gaul, who had been expelled their country (it does not clearly appear for what reason), Heros and Lazarus, came to Palestine, and, at the suggestion of Jerome, readily became the accusers of Pelagius. They were Latin prelates denouncing a Latin heretic, and, as such, might be supposed likely to have weight. Fourteen bishops of Palestine met at Diospolis, the ancient Lydda, to try the charge; but, strange to

¹ Garnerus disq. in Marium Mercat. p. 141.

² P. Orosii Apologet. 620—625.

³ Augustin. de Gest. Palæst.

say, the accusers were not forthcoming. Whether they were influenced by this, or whether the dexterity and ready retractions of Pelagius outwitted them, the fathers at Diospolis pronounced a complete acquittal of Pelagius, and decreed that he was 'a true member of the Church, and a Catholic.'

The decision is of no great importance, as the bishops were no doubt very ill calculated to judge of the terms of the Latin heresy; but it is interesting as bringing out differences in the controversial character of Jerome and Augustine. The former was perfectly furious. He denounces the council in no measured terms, as 'that miserable synod of Diospolis, in which the 'heresiarch Pelagius by his trickery imposed upon his judges, 'and was acquitted through sheer ignorance.'¹ But Augustine, with greater insight and policy, took a more prudent view. It would never do to admit that a synod of bishops had really approved of these views. It was necessary to show that the real sentiments of Pelagius had never been before them; that no decision had been pronounced upon these, and that, under the circumstances, the fathers at Diospolis could not have decided otherwise than they did. To prove this was the object of Augustine's elaborate work, '*De Gestis Palæstinis*,'² which, containing a review of the whole controversy from the first, is the chief repository for materials in this history. 'I do not,' says Augustine, 'impeach the judgment either of carelessness or of unfairness, or of any approval of the impious doctrines; but, commending the judgment as it deserves, I nevertheless say that 'Pelagius, in the view of those to whom he is better known, is 'not, as it seems to me, to be acquitted. For the members of the 'synod, judging about a matter of which they knew but little, 'and in the absence of those who had drawn up the paper against 'him, were not able to examine the man more closely; yet, as 'to the heresy itself, if only its supporters will follow their judgment, they altogether decided against it.' There were also other matters which Augustine needed to explain, besides the actual force of the sentence at Diospolis. Pelagius had produced at the synod many laudatory letters from bishops, and among others the affectionate letter from Augustine himself, which has been quoted above. It would perhaps have been better had Augustine left this, as it was, an ordinary letter of civility, than that he should have tried to explain it as having some deep meaning of religious warning, which its language scarcely seems to bear out.

In the meantime Pelagius was not slow to use all the advan-

¹ Hieron. Ep. 81.

² This treatise was long unknown, but was discovered at Fiesole about the end of the sixteenth century. G. J. Vossii, Hist. Pelag. p. 53.

tage which the acquittal at Diospolis gave him. He wrote to a presbyter who had warned him against making a schism in the Church, reminding him with triumph that his doctrine had now been approved by a synod of fourteen bishops. He ventured even to challenge the approval of the great Bishop of Hippo himself, sending to him an account of the synod, which, as Augustine afterwards discovered, was not altogether to be depended upon for its accuracy. Even still more reprehensible consequences followed this synod. The triumph of their champion excited his followers to make violent demonstrations against his vanquished opponents, and, secretly urged on by Bishop John, a mob of Pelagians visited Jerome's retreat at Bethlehem, and violently attacked him and the devout ladies and students who lived under his direction. In this outrage a deacon was killed, the buildings of the monastery were set on fire, and Jerome himself was obliged to take refuge in a fortified tower, which resisted the fury of the assailants. Pelagius, as it appears, was not implicated in these atrocities. The severe reproof addressed by Pope Innocent to Bishop John, fixes the blame on the true culprit, who was urged on by jealousy of the great fame of Jerome. Augustine also wrote to Bishop John a kind but grave letter, pointing out the fundamental errors of Pelagius.

But there was another point on which Augustine was still more interested. How would the Bishop of Rome treat this decree of the Palestine synod? It was greatly in the interest of him who already affected to be universal bishop, to confirm the decrees of provincial councils. This would encourage reference to him on all occasions, and foster the notion of his consent being necessary for the validity of any sentence of the Church.¹ Would Innocent, the present occupant of the Roman See, thus treat the Synod of Diospolis, or would the influence of Augustine be sufficient to prevent him from doing so? In order to bring to bear upon the Pope an influence which should outweigh that of the Synod of Diospolis, Augustine at once set to work to organize the meeting of two synods in Africa, at both of which a greater number of bishops should be present than had convened at Diospolis. One of these was to be held at Carthage, and presided over by Aurelius, bishop there, the firm friend of Augustine, and who had already, five years before, condemned the tenets of Celestius. This synod met in the year 416, and was attended by sixty-eight bishops. The result of their labours was communicated in a letter to Pope Innocent. They did not think it necessary to invite Pelagius or Celestius. Orosius, who had now returned to Carthage, appeared to give evidence, and

¹ Wiggers, *Pelagianismus*, i. 202.

produced the letters of Heros and Lazarus; whereupon the council declared that they 'perceived that Pelagius and Celestius were guilty of nefarious and cursed error,' and called upon the Pope to anathematize it in spite of what had been done at Diospolis.¹ The reply of Pope Innocent shows that the African bishops had acted politically. 'You have indeed done well,' he says, 'in passing your sentence, but especially in consulting us 'about it, inasmuch as from the Apostolical See all episcopacy 'and its authority proceeds, and whatsoever is done in the 'remotest corners ought not to be considered concluded until it 'is brought before this see for its approbation. From this see 'all the other churches in the world are to learn what to command, whom to absolve, whom to condemn.' The proceedings of the Council of Milevis, at which Augustine and sixty other bishops were present, were somewhat similar. They, too, condemned strongly the new heresies, and appealing to Pope Innocent, called upon him by his authority, 'drawn from the bright light of the Scriptures,' to make the heretics submit.² But there was something in the letter from Milevis which offended the haughty Bishop of Rome. 'I do not suppose,' he writes, 'that men so wise as you are ignorant, especially as by your 'very action you seem to establish it, that to every province in 'the empire responses flow forth from the apostolical fountain. 'As often as the matter of faith is in question, all our brethren 'and fellow-bishops ought always to refer to Peter, that is to say, 'to the bearer of his name and honour, for the common benefit 'of all the churches in the world.' The African bishops were made to pay the price of the independency of their church for the support accorded to them by the Pope in this matter, and it is well pointed out by Neander and C. F. Walch, that these references to Rome and the Pope's decision on them formed a very decided and marked step in the growth of the power of the Papal chair. Besides the synodical epistles, a private letter was also addressed to Innocent by five of the leading African bishops, urging him without delay to examine Pelagius, and thus to neutralize his acquittal at Diospolis. The Pope answers that he had indeed heard of the proceedings at Diospolis through certain laymen, but he had not had them brought formally before him. He declines to summon Pelagius, but points out that if he wishes to clear himself he must appear before him. He censures the books of Pelagius sent to him in the strongest terms.

All things, indeed, were proceeding satisfactorily towards the complete condemnation of the heresy, when of a sudden a difficulty intervened. The difficulty was caused by a change in the

¹ *Binaei Concilia*, i. 702.² *Ibid*, i. 706.

personnel of the infallible successor of St. Peter. Innocent, a Latin, had been ready, after his own fashion, to establish the theology of Augustine. Zosimus, a Greek, who succeeded him, was much more ready to endorse the philosophical speculation of Pelagius. The subjective in religion was the peculiar interest of Western Christendom; the Eastern Church was almost exclusively concerned with the objective. 'With the former anthropology, with the latter theology in its most restricted sense, was all-important. In the Oriental Church it was simply held to be essential to affirm grace and free-will at the same time, without attempting to define exactly the relation of the two to each other; it was only sought carefully to avoid everything that might seem to favour arbitrary will on the part of God in the election of man, an unconditional predetermination which might seem to impair the doctrine of the divine love and justice, and of man's free-will.'¹ Zosimus would be sure to regard the subjects in dispute from a Greek point of view; and as a pope cannot plead ignorance, Celestius immediately on his accession appeared at Rome, and called for a reversal of the sentence of the Synod of Carthage, pronounced six years ago against him. Since his condemnation he had been living chiefly at Ephesus, but had also visited Constantinople, from whence he had been removed on some other grounds than those of false doctrine, by Bishop Atticus. Having influential friends at Rome, he obtained a hearing at once. 'Though much engaged,' writes the Pope, 'in the cares and anxieties of ecclesiastical business, yet, postponing all things, we gave him a hearing in the basilica of S. Clement, the disciple of the blessed Peter, and a faithful martyr, that the authority of so great a priest might help our inquiry.' The profession of Celestius was skilfully worded. He dwelt at length on the objective parts of his creed in which he did not differ from the Church, but the points in which he had been accused of heresy he smoothed over by saying:—

'If some points have been started which are beyond and beside the faith, I have never endeavoured to establish these by definite authority, as the author of a new dogma; but what we have drawn from the fountain of the prophets and apostles, we offer to your apostolical judgment, that if any error has, through my defective knowledge, crept in, it may be corrected by your sentence.'²

He nevertheless distinctly and in terms denied the doctrine of original sin, and, if there had been any doubt about his teaching, there were sufficient writings of his, public and well known, to which the Pope might have referred. It is idle for the apologists

¹ Neander, Ch. Hist. iv. 279. (Ed. Bohn.)

² Augustin. de Peccat. Orig. Op. vii. 302.

of the infallibility to pretend that there was any concealment of doctrine which Zosimus could not have easily seen through; and when, after several interviews, and a careful consideration of the subject, the Pope solemnly declared him orthodox, and administered a rebuke to the Council of Carthage for condemning him, he did, in fact, very distinctly and decidedly contradict his predecessor, Innocent. But the orthodox were destined to be still further scandalized by this most inconvenient Pope. Immediately after the acquittal of Celestius, there came to Rome from the Bishop of Jerusalem who had succeeded John, letters highly commendatory of Pelagius, and Pelagius himself forwarded his confession of faith which had been drawn up for, and was addressed to, Pope Innocent. To this creed of Pelagius we naturally turn as to the most authentic and distinct expression of his belief. After orthodox statements as to the doctrine of the Trinity, the Incarnation, Resurrection of the Body, Infant Baptism, the Authority of Scripture, &c., he goes on:—

‘We do also abhor the blasphemy of those who say that any impossible thing is commanded by God to man, or that the commandments of God cannot be performed by any one man, though they may be by all men taken together. Also, we anathematize those who say that the Son of God did speak what is false by the necessity of the flesh, and that because of his human nature he could not do all things that he would. We do so own free-will as to allow that we always stand in need of God’s help, and we believe those to be in error who say, with Manes, that we cannot avoid sin, as well as those who say, with Jovinian, that a man cannot sin. For both of these notions take away the freedom of the will. But we say that a man is always in that state that he may sin, or may not sin, so as to own ourselves always to be free as to our will.’¹

With respect to this creed, some very curious literary history may be noted. The expressions as to the peccability of the Saviour are levelled at S. Jerome, who had maintained this doctrine in the ‘Dialogues against the Pelagians.’ Some theologian, meeting with this emphatic protest against what was held to be a blasphemous doctrine, attributed the composition in which it occurred to S. Augustine. Then an ignorant collector of Augustine’s works transferred the whole creed to him; and in the earlier editions of that Father’s writings, the reader will find it duly printed as the 191st Sermon, *De Tempore*. But what is still more remarkable, Vossius, the great Dutch divine, whose name is generally (and very deservedly) coupled with the epithet *doctissimus*, in his history of the Pelagian controversy (p. 487), quotes the words as those of Augustine. Our own equally learned Bishop Bull, and Le Clerc, another famous erudite, unsuspectingly followed him. The Bishop even goes so far as to

¹ *Binaei Concilia*, i. 715.

call the passage 'a well-known passage of S. Augustine.' (Harmony, pt. i. 86, pt. ii. 168. Ang. Cath. Library.) The Oxford translators and editors of Bull have left the blunder uncorrected. It was, however, pointed out as regards Vossius by Archbishop Usher (Works, iv. 13, ed. Elrington), and also by Wall in his excellent and most accurate work on Infant Baptism, i. 348. But even this does not exhaust the curious facts connected with this creed. Having been attributed to Augustine, it was also, still more strangely, attributed to Jerome, and, as his, was read and unanimously adopted at the Council of Frankfort, A.D. 800.¹ So many of the orthodox having mistaken this creed as representing the faith of the Church, it is less to be wondered at that Pope Zosimus should have given it his approval. In his letter to the African bishops, he tells them that the writings of Pelagius had been read in an assembly. 'Would that any of you, my 'beloved brethren, had been able to be present on that occasion. 'The joy and wonder of all in the assembly were astonishing. 'They could scarcely keep from weeping to think that such men 'should have had their faith impugned. Was there any point 'in which the grace and help of God was omitted? How, indeed, 'could other language be used on this subject without that 'blasphemy which is said never to obtain forgiveness.'² Such was the complete and hearty approval which the Pope extended to those who had been voted heretics by two formal councils approved by his predecessor; a very awkward document for the defenders of the infallibility of the Papal chair. The language of Zosimus is so hearty and enthusiastic that it almost causes us regret to find that, within a few months, he was obliged to retract and annul this vigorous approval, and to excommunicate and condemn the same men whose 'perfect faith' he had so much commended. The activity and zeal of Augustine proved stronger than the consistency of the Pope, and the altered tone of the African bishops soon showed to the astonished Zosimus that he had made a grand mistake.

'We determine,' writes the Council of two hundred and eighteen bishops assembled at Carthage (November 417 A.D.), 'that the sentence against Pelagius and Celestius, put forth by the venerable Bishop Innocent from the chair of the blessed Apostle Peter, shall remain in full force until, by the most open confession, they admit that we are helped in each single act of righteousness, not only as to knowing, but also as to performing the act, and also that without that grace we are not able to be possessed of any true piety, or to think, speak, or do anything that is right.'³

This was rather a trying rebuff to the pontiff, and it is possible that he might have stood on his offended dignity, but tumults

¹ Vossius, *Hist. Pelag.* p. 18.

² *Binæi Concilia*, i. 713.

³ Wiggers, *Pelagianismus*, i. 210.

broke out in Rome, and Augustine bringing his influence to bear on Count Valerian, the Governor of Africa, was able to influence the Court of Ravenna to interest itself in the question. The Pope was obliged to yield. The letter in which he paves the way for a reconsideration of the matter, is a singular specimen of the union of the most arrogant pretensions with a real defeat and retractation.

‘Although,’ writes the defeated Pope, ‘the tradition of the Fathers gives such great authority to the Apostolic See that no one ought to dare to dispute its judgment; and this is confirmed by the canons and rules of the Church, and by the fact that ecclesiastical discipline always runs in the name of Peter, from whom it descends; . . . yet, notwithstanding this our great authority, we have always been anxious to take you into our councils, and to refer matters to you, not for that we are ignorant, or that we were likely to injure the Church, but out of feeling of Christian brotherhood. This man (Celestius) has been accused by you, and he has appealed to us. He demands that his accusers should meet him face to face, and he declares that false rumours have been spread concerning him. We have already written to you about him, and we believe that we sufficiently answered the letters you addressed to us. Since then, however, we have examined the long letter brought to us from you by Marcellinus, the sub-deacon, and we regret to find that you think that we have trusted Celestius in all things, and given an absolute approval to all his work. Nothing of importance ought to be done rashly, and all decisions require the greatest deliberation. Be assured that we have changed and decided nothing, but have left all things in precisely the same state in which they were when I last wrote to you.’

Taking refuge thus in an obscurity which, while it befitted his dignity, prepared also the way for his abandonment of Celestius and his espousal of the cause now evidently to triumph, Zosimus hoped to save the credit of the Apostolic See. It will be difficult, however, for his apologists to excuse him from the charge urged against him by Julian, that either he was so ignorant of theology as not to recognise in the statements of Celestius and Pelagius any difference from the orthodox views, or else that he was so false, that after giving them an approval he withdrew it unconvinced, because of the strength of the opposition made to them. With the zeal of a new proselyte, and the bitterness arising from having been obliged to stultify himself, Zosimus now determined to follow up the Pelagians without scruple or hesitation. On the other hand, the arm of the State was also ready to strike. Shortly after the despatch of the Pope’s letter to Africa (418), came forth the ‘sacred rescript’ from the Court of Ravenna, condemning the Pelagians. The bombastic and high-flown style of this document is remarkable:—

‘We are informed by common rumour that a new form of crafty cunning has suddenly displayed itself to disturb the brightness of Catholic sim-

plicity, which ever sends forth the rays of pure splendour. Overshadowed by the lies of fallacious knowledge, and running riot in the maddening struggle, it endeavours to affect the stable repose of the heavenly faith. Commended by the wind of novelty and acuteness, it regards it as a plain mark of plebeian lowness to think with the many, and that it is the prize of singular wisdom to overthrow that which is commonly approved. . . . Wherefore we have passed an edict that the leaders of this execrable doctrine, Pelagius and Celestius, should be driven from the city; and if any of their followers can be found, that they shall be brought before the competent judge, who shall have the power to punish them, whether clerks or laymen.¹

Scarce a century had elapsed since edicts couched in a similar strain had been promulgated by heathen Emperors against the Christian faith itself. It is somewhat sad to trace the legalization of persecution, and it is also sad to be obliged to confess that the invoker of the secular arm, the man who appealed to force to silence heresies, was no other than the great and universal doctor, the first theologian of the West, Augustine himself. If any man might rest content with his controversial powers, and his ability to meet false opinions in fair argument, surely that man was Augustine. At this moment, too, obedient councils were but echoing his definitions; and a Pope, for a moment recalcitrant, had by his all-powerful influence been reduced to be a supporter of his views. What need was there, what excuse could be alleged for setting in motion the temporal power, and silencing his opponents by banishment and confiscation? Yet Augustine did this without scruple. He had, in fact, by the same agency already crushed the Donatists; now he would crush the Pelagians. Through his friend, Count Valerian, he was powerful at court. Africa was the feeder of Italy. The Cæsars, already tottering on their throne in the West, were eager to oblige these influential applicants. They issued their edict, and the Prætorian prefect acknowledged and enforced it. When Julian of Eclana reproached the great doctor with having called in the aid of a soldier to crush what he could not answer by reasons, was the reproach undeserved?

Shortly afterwards the third Council of Carthage resumed its sitting. The doctrines of the Pelagians were before them. They condemned with great minuteness all the points of divergence from the orthodox faith which had been raised in the controversy, some of which had been maintained by Pelagius, and some not. In fact, the canons of this council solemnly enacted the Augustinian theology. At the same time Augustine had re-adjusted his opinions a little, to meet the requirements of the case. It is well remarked by Wiggers that

¹ *Binæi Concilia*, i. 717.

the seventh canon condemns that theory of the possibility of sinlessness by the aid of God's grace, which Augustine had contended for in his earlier writings against the Pelagians. It needed now only the Pope to enforce the sentence pronounced by a council of the Church, and this Pope Zosimus hastened to do. Mindful, however, of his previous commendations of these men, now declared heretics, he wrote a long letter stating his faith on original sin and grace, which he dispatched to all the bishops of the Catholic world. To this letter they were required to subscribe or be deprived of their sees. The great majority were ready to agree to the orthodox statements. Some eighteen refused, drawing up a confession of their own, which they sent to the Pope. The most conspicuous of these was Julian of Eclana, from this point the most famous champion of these opinions. Pelagius forwarded to Augustine, from Palestine, through mutual friends, statements as to his belief with respect to grace and baptism, which read very like the orthodox faith. But these only served to draw from Augustine two more treatises ('*De Gratia Jesu Christi*;' '*De Peccato Originali*').

After this we do not hear much more of Pelagius, and as he must now have been nearly seventy years of age, his life may not have been much further prolonged. Celestius appears in Church history at intervals for some time. From the moment, however, when the secular arm was introduced, and confiscation and banishment threatened to those who maintained these views, the interest of the controversy in a great measure ceases. You cannot argue with a man fairly while all the time you shake a stick over his head. The disputations between the friar in the pulpit and the heretic at the stake, have a very limited interest in a theological point of view. So when Augustine can call in the prefect as a last argument, we lose our interest in the great duel between Free Will and Irresistible Grace.

The two Western monks had thus set all Christendom in commotion, and stirred up a strife on the main points of religious consciousness, which is probably destined to continue while the world lasts. Was this controversy without its uses, or was Pelagianism simply the exhibition of an Antichrist, as some would assert? Putting aside for the moment the consideration of the grave theological errors into which Pelagius fell on the doctrine of original sin, and other points, and looking upon him simply as a champion of free will, it may be that he deserves our gratitude. He made a strong protest, and gave effect to a vigorous reaction against Manicheism, that pestilent heresy, which even in its remains poisoned the very life-blood of mediæval Christianity. As a system, indeed, Manicheism was too grossly absurd to need a refutation, but as a sentiment it

was far otherwise. The central thought of Manicheeism was the degradation and corruption of matter, of the body as compared to the soul. 'This,' says Dean Milman, 'was the primary axiom of all monasticism, and became the first recognised principle of all Latin theology.'¹ On all sides its ravages are to be traced. Men who might have set a mark upon their age, and have beaten down many a stronghold of vice and villany, are seen crouching like idiots in the caves of the desert, and lacerating their bodies with scourges. Simon on the top of his pillar becomes the apotheosis of Christian virtue. Augustine combated and overthrew the Manichean system, but he could not, and never did, disengage himself from the Manichean sentiment. With his strong devotional feelings, and the deep sense of sin which appears in his Confessions, it was hard for him to assert the dignity of human nature, and to rescue it from the dishonour which was poured upon it by the ascetics. For this another sort of mind was needed, more confident, more daring, and such a mind was that of Pelagius. In many points he ran counter to the faith of the Church, and justly brought upon himself refutation and censure; but in the matter of free will he only repeated the language of the older Greek fathers, of Justin, of Clement, of Origen, and of Chrysostom. With their writings Augustine, who was imperfectly acquainted with Greek, was not familiar, but if he had been he would have seen what a strong precedent they furnished for some of the statements which he blamed in Pelagius. 'So eager,' writes Gerard Vossius, 'were the great Catholic doctors to combat the utterly paralysing heresy of the freedom of the will, that they scarcely mentioned the subject of grace, because about this there was no controversy.'²

The doctrine of Clement of Alexandria on these points is thus summarized by Bishop Kaye. 'He argues that it is necessary to the responsibility of men, that they should not be moved by strings like inanimate machines. God confers eternal salvation on those who work together with Him in knowledge and good actions; the performance of His commandments being in our own power. Every man partakes of the divine beneficence in the degree in which he chooses, since the suitable choice and discipline of the soul constitute the superiority of the elect,—our assent is in our own power.'³ These were precisely the doctrines forgotten and overborne in the outburst of asceticism at the beginning of the fifth century, and which were revived by Pelagius. In doing this he fell into reprehensible errors. But on the other hand, the writings of Augustine, judged by the catholic standard,

¹ Latin Christianity, i. 118.

² Hist. Pelag. 219.

³ Kaye's Clement of Alexandria, p. 429.

are not free from errors ; and though we cannot accept the dictum of Wiggers that he imported more novelties into Christianity than Pelagius did, yet we may fairly claim, from the peccability of the great doctor of the West, some consideration for his opponents. The two radical errors of Pelagius were his doctrine that the race of man suffered no innate mischief from the sin of Adam, but that the evil of that transgression consisted in the introduction of sin into the world, which from thenceforth had the power to tempt men, and to influence them by ill examples ; and his denial of the necessity of *preventive* grace. Among the six sorts of grace which are enumerated by him, the prevenient grace which is to work with the will, finds no place. And this continued to be the great error of the Semi-Pelagians, who abandoned his doctrine on original sin. But on the other hand, Augustine's doctrine of *irresistible* grace is not the doctrine of the Church ;¹ and though his error is one on the side of piety and devotion, it may be questioned whether it be not more dangerous to morality than the error of Pelagius on the side of human power and its attendant responsibility.

Of the two works, the titles of which are placed at the head of this article, it is probable that neither will fully satisfy the English reader. Wiggers is too eager to defend the Pelagian sentiments, and bears too hard upon him who must ever be revered as one of the chief doctors of the Church ; and Wörter, starting from the assumption that every deviation from the catholic sentiment must needs be of unmixed evil, comes to the inquiry as it were hood-winked, and is not likely fairly to elucidate the truth. A far more satisfactory work than either of these is Mr. Mozley's excellent treatise on the Augustinian doctrine of Predestination, which, in its fairness and exhaustive treating of the subjects in dispute between Augustine and the Pelagians, leaves nothing to be desired. Of the older works on the controversy Usher is somewhat partial, while Vossius, with great fairness, is confused in his method of arrangement. The work of Jansenius is in many respects good, but we are inclined to give the preference to that of Cardinal Noris, both for lucidity and impartiality. To enumerate and criticize all those who have written on this subject would require a considerable space. It is a matter which must of necessity engage the attention of theologians, and many in treating it have been tempted to go back to the first origin of the controversy and trace its gradual development and progress throughout successive ages.

¹ See Mozley's Augustinian Doctrine, p. 157.

- ART. III.—1. *Elegant Extracts; or, Useful and Entertaining Pieces of Poetry, selected for the Improvement of Youth, &c. &c. &c.* By CHARLES DILLY. London: 1790.
2. *Specimens of the Early English Poets.* By GEORGE ELLIS. London: Bulmer & Co. 1803.
3. *Specimens of the Later English Poets.* By ROBERT SOUTHEY. Longmans. 1807.
4. *Specimens of the British Poets.* By THOMAS CAMPBELL. John Murray. 1841.
5. *Introduction to the Literature of Europe.* By HENRY HALLAM. John Murray. 1854.
6. *The Golden Treasury of the Best Songs and Lyrical Poems in the English Language.* By FRANCIS TURNER PALGRAVE. Macmillan & Co. 1862.
7. *Lectures on English Literature.* By THOMAS ARNOLD.

SOME time ago¹ in these pages, while calling attention to the life and writings of George Herbert, we expressed regret at the unmerited neglect which he and his contemporaries too often experience. The same remark applies, it must be owned, to the era which immediately followed him; and which, notwithstanding its intestine commotions, was in many ways remarkable from a literary point of view. Nay, paradoxical as it may sound, it is undeniable, that the tension and excitement of feeling engendered by scenes of strife and violence are not unfavourable to the production of works of genius. The old canon which the Greek moralist laid down as to tragedy, that it purifies the character by exciting pity and horror, is true in a very wide sense. It is a significant fact, that the almost greatest of our English poets wrote his greatest poem immediately after the civil war between king and parliament. ‘Paradise Lost’ was published in 1667.

The characteristics of the literature of Charles the First’s reign seem to grow naturally from those of the preceding reign. There was less of stiffness and pedantry; for England was learning to assimilate the mental nourishment presented to it by the resuscitation from the grave, as it were, of the ancient literature, and by the impulse which the Reformation had given to freedom of thought in every direction. As with the individual, so it is with the age. The first rich draught of knowledge sends a quickening and almost intoxicating thrill through every

¹ *Christian Remembrancer*, No. cxvii.

nerve. It is only by degrees that the mind, as it grows more familiar with its new resources, refrains from displaying, sometimes very inopportunately, what it has acquired so recently. Hence the pedantry of Donne and Quarles, and of others far superior to them. There is less of this in the Caroline writers: but they retain the robust geniality and manly common-sense of their predecessors. Theirs was an age of intellectual activity, an age of commercial integrity, and, although the seeds of discord which produced the joyless harvests of Naseby and Edgehill were germinating early in the century, an age of goodwill and friendliness among different ranks and classes. There are very few instances, if any, on record, of a civil war waged with such an abstinence from ferocity; and of fellow-citizens contending so earnestly, even to death, for principles which on both sides were cherished as of sacred importance, without a complete disruption of those social ties which bind men together in one nation. Of course when men's vindictive passions are lashed into a tempest by the fury of controversy, deeds of atrocity there must be. 'The land is defiled with blood.' But in this respect the Civil War in England during the seventeenth century may challenge comparison with any other. It is well described on an old tombstone in Herefordshire, which dates from that period, as the 'very disastrous litigation between the king and the leaders of the nation'—'*Rege cum proceribus periculosissimè litigante.*' That sense of law which is, we may say with thankfulness, an especial mark of Englishmen, was never extinguished. The quickness with which the apparently deadly wound healed itself shows that though member was warring against member, the body politic was in a healthy state. There is unhappily much reason to fear that the circulation does not course through the veins and arteries of our social system so freely, so vigorously now. We enjoy, indeed, immunity from the outward signs of tumult in England at the present moment; but there is less of real substantial unity, less of hearty kindness between class and class, and more, alas! of deep-seated dissension and of selfish antagonism among ourselves, than in the England of the seventeenth century.

Those in every age who scarcely look below the surface are apt to despise the past; and those in our own day who are dazzled by the marvellous discoveries of material science, have no eyes to appreciate the excellences of their forefathers, who received their letters once a week, if so often, and to whom, instead of being 'shot like a pea through a pea-shooter' from London to Edinburgh, even a short excursion from home was an event of very rare occurrence. But it is a question whether men are really

happier now, in these days of intense and restless competition, than when they were more contented with doing their best in the position where they found themselves; for repose and leisure are indispensable ingredients in the cup of happiness. Nor does it follow that men are really wiser in the matters which concern them most nearly, and which lie within the reach of a practical sagacity, because they are more skilled in calculating the distance of the earth from the sun, or in analysing the gases which have been at work in the formation of our planet. Still less does it follow, from progress of this kind, that men are better citizens, or better neighbours, stronger in self-restraint, more duly conscious of their obligations to a power above themselves.

A tremendous acceleration of pace there is indeed in the art, as it has been called, of living. The business and the pleasures of life are transacted with a dispatch and rapidity which our ancestors never dreamed of. The pursuit of gain, of enjoyment, of knowledge, is breathless. But it is in some respects the old story of the hare, and its slower, surer competitor. 'The race is not' always 'to the swift.' We are far from wishing to hold a brief, as the mere 'laudator temporis acti,' or to pronounce an indiscriminate eulogy on the seventeenth century. It had its faults, as we shall see presently. Each period in history, like each successive stage in the life of the individual, brings its own advantages and drawbacks, its own merits and defects, in due balance and proportion.

'Multa ferunt anni venientes commoda secum,
Multa recedentes adiungunt.'

What each generation has to do, is simply to make the most of the circumstances which belong to it. Wisely and well the oracle advised the colonist dissatisfied with the banks of the Eurotas, to improve and adorn the Sparta which had fallen to his lot. 'Σπαρτὰν ἐλαχες, ταύταν κοσμεῖ.' But we would protest against the tone of self-laudation, too common nowadays, in which half-educated demagogues, like Mr. Bright, teach their hearers to care only for things of the present day as if the weighty lessons of history were valueless, and as if the columns of the *Star* or the *Times* contained everything worth knowing. We would protest against the narrowness and presumption of those among the students of material science, who speak as if their own particular knowledge—of mechanical contrivances, it may be, or of chemical affinities—were the sum of wisdom and happiness. The steam-engine and the spectrum-analysis are wondrous means and appliances of life, but they are not life itself; nor is the partial development of man's faculties in one direction anything more than a very poor substitute for the

full and free expansion of his being as a whole rounded and complete. There is an expression which lingers in our rural districts, as the highest form of praise. A man on whose judgment and principle others can rely is said to be 'solid.' It is the very word to denote what was an especial feature of the era to which we refer. Whether it is equally applicable to our own is a question.

The seventeenth century in England abounds, even without counting its poets, with names illustrious in literature and science. Foremost of all stands Bacon, the re-founder of philosophy in its widest sense; after him the metaphysicians Hobbes, Cudworth, and Locke. Barrow and Chillingworth, both philosophers, with Hammond and Usher, represent the theology of the period; Selden its multifarious erudition; Clarendon and Burnet its history; Harvey (the discoverer of the circulation of the blood) and Sir Isaac Newton its physical science, Vandyke and Inigo Jones, naturalized, as it were, in England, with Wren, speak for the fine arts. The court of Charles the First was pronounced by Lord Orford to be 'the most polite court in Europe.' If we extend our survey to the Continent, we find the age equally prolific of great men. Painting had scarcely passed its glory, as the names of Domenichino, Rubens, Poussin, testify; music and the drama were flourishing, especially in sunny Italy; France had Molière and Corneille; Spain, Cervantes. Grotius and Petavius were working, as men could work in those days, on the vast stores of learning bequeathed by the past; others were opening the way to regions hitherto unexplored. Kepler was pioneering for the astronomers of our own day; and Galileo's struggles after truth were achieving the discovery of a standing-point from which the mysteries of the universe should be investigated by students in the aftertime. The philosophy of mind and of morals was not idle. Christendom was still vibrating to the electric shock of the Reformation. Descartes and Spinoza were inaugurating a new era of thought; and Pascal, like our own Bishop Butler in the next generation, was demonstrating, so far as moral truth can be demonstrated, that the foundations of Christianity lie too deep to be shaken by passing gusts of controversy. The list of great names might easily be lengthened: but enough has been said to show that the intellect of the seventeenth century was very far from being inert or stagnant. We must pass on to our more immediate subject,—*English Poetry under the Stuarts*, and, in particular, during the second and third quarters of the century.

The poets of the Restoration need not detain us long. With one signal exception, they were, as they loved to style them-

selves, 'wits' rather than poets. Lounging about coffee-houses, with their 'clouded' canes and foppish airs, or haunting the backstairs of a profligate Court, they were not likely to rise above low and degrading ideas of life and nature. Dryden himself is rather one who might have been a great poet than one who was. He is an instance of a poet transformed into one of the lowest of creatures by Circe's cup. All the 'ardour, boldness, and dexterity' for which he is justly praised, the varied richness of his imagery, his command of language, his easy and animated flow of verse, his strong sense, his energy, his skill, are all comparatively worthless, because he wants that true tenderness which is inseparable from true delicacy of feeling; because there is no moral dignity about him; because, in short, the poet cannot raise himself above the man. Even his versatility, which is one of his charms as a writer, is akin to the unscrupulousness with which he changed, and changed again, his creed, like a set of clothes, to suit the fashion of the Court. Passion must be concentrated to be deep and strong; and passion dissipated and wasted by frivolities and self-indulgence cannot soar to the heights where true poetry dwells. Dryden and Wordsworth stand in marked contrast to one another. If the great poet of the lakes and mountains had had something of Dryden's dramatic power, something of the mingled fire and sweetness which Dryden's lyrics display, he would not be so tedious as he is sometimes. If the poet of the clubs had had something of the moral sublimity and purity which breathe in every line of Wordsworth's many poems, he might have been—where might he not have been, among our poets? Perhaps, if his life had been passed in a purer atmosphere, the talents which we admire in Dryden might, by finding some worthy centre of attraction to which to consecrate themselves, have ripened into genius. As it is, Dryden must be pronounced a rhetorician rather than a poet; and his poems are read even less than they deserve, because of their moral faultiness. 'Glorious John' he was called by the wits and rakes among whom he presided. But it is a sadly inglorious memory of great gifts abused. The literature over which his was the ruling influence copied his example only too faithfully. Dryden himself is remarkable, not only on other grounds, but as the connecting link in the chain of sequence which unites the school of Milton with that of Pope and Gray. But there is very little to be said for his disciples. Sir Charles Sedley, for instance, had the reputation of an evil pre-eminence among the wits and debauchees of his day. It would be sheer waste of time to linger over 'love-songs' such as his; in which 'love' is merely a name for sensuality, and in which there is little

enough of wit or fancy to atone in any degree for the want of higher merits.

For other reasons, we cannot afford time, at present, to dwell long on the poets who belong to the commencement of the seventeenth century. Something has been said of their characteristics in previous remarks¹ on George Herbert. The reign of James the First was a period of transition from Shakespeare to Milton. Shakespeare's glories belong to Elizabeth's reign; but his transcendent genius must not blind us to the brightness of lesser luminaries—to the graceful dignity of Massinger, to the passion and vivacity of his twin compeers Beaumont and Fletcher. Ben Jonson, second only to Shakespeare, connects the two epochs. The sun had set; but the heavens were still on fire with the glow which he had left behind him; and not here and there only, but on every side, lights of less dazzling lustre were emerging in his stead. The age of James, like that of Elizabeth, was essentially dramatic; and the influence of Italian literature was as strong or stronger than ever. Its minor poets are chiefly remarkable for a rugged earnestness which is thoroughly English under a thin coating of Italian manner. In both respects, George Herbert's poetry, though superior to that of most among his contemporaries, is typical of the period. Drayton is spirited and nervous at times, as in the lines on the Midland Counties, which the author of 'Felix Holt' has very appropriately extracted from the 'Poly-Olbion,' as a motto for her story, and in the sonnet 'Love's Farewell,' deservedly placed by Mr. Palgrave in his 'Songs and Lyrics:' he has the advantage, also, of using a sturdy Saxon vocabulary. But he is often longwinded and prolix; and his pictures of nature are a mere literal transcription of what meets the eye. He must have seemed old-fashioned and uncouth, even to his contemporaries. Daniel may claim a higher place. Most persons know his quaintly beautiful lines quoted in Southey's 'Doctor.'

'The soul's dark mansion, battered and decayed,

Lets in new light through chinks which time has made.'

His sonnet on Sleep, in the 'Songs and Lyrics,' is also beautiful, and runs smoothly. Sir John Davies' poetry is philosophical and anti-materialistic. Parts are really fine; and will find admirers among those who are fond of 'The Excursion' and of Lucretius. Quarles and Donne are too stiff and obscure for whatever merits they have to be appreciated generally; they are simply dull. Sandys is only known as a translator. We must pass on to the central and most interesting part of the seven-

¹ See *Christian Remembrancer*, No. cxvii.

teenth century, the age of Milton, and of others not unworthy to be named even with him.

We must pause, however, here, to say a few words on the guidance which presents itself to those who desire to penetrate into this region. Guides many are at hand, old and new, proffering their sometimes conflicting suggestions in the shape of criticism or anthology. Dr. Johnson, to whom precedence is due not merely in order of time, gives us lives of Milton and Cowley which are delightful reading. But though he could admire the majestic roll, like that of wave after wave on the shore, of Milton's sonorous diction, the poetry of that period was far too metaphysical to win the hearty sympathy of one whose philosophy was of a thoroughly practical texture; and Italian 'conceits' he abhorred. His exclamation, 'Sir, I would not own a dog that liked Lycidas,' was an outburst of his aversion, not only to the politics of Milton the regicide, but to the Italian conceits of Milton the poet. He is right, it must be owned, in bringing his ponderous sledgehammer down, with its accustomed precision, on the fault of being too 'curious,' too 'analytic,' in poetry. Hallam was still less likely to sympathise with the Caroline poets. It seems strange, it may be remarked by the way, to find an historian of literature, who is usually so accurate, attributing to our drama a Spanish origin. Strong antipathy to Spain was a prominent feature of England under Elizabeth. Ellis's 'Specimens of the Early English Poets' end with the reign of Charles II. His three volumes form a large but not very discriminating selection. For instance, he quotes eighteen lines from George Herbert, and almost as many pages from Suckling and Cartwright. His criticisms also often show, that something more than antiquarianism is wanted for the work; the selector should himself be a poet as well as antiquary. The very principle of Ellis's classification is radically wrong. He divides the poets according to the reigns in which they lived; and, in the same spirit, he traces the pedantry which is one among the characteristics of our literature in the commencement of the seventeenth century, to the personal influence of the ridiculous pedant who sat on the throne, not to its true causes, the revival of learning and the influence of Italy, at that time the foremost country of Europe in philosophy and art. Southey undertook to finish what Ellis had begun. Few could be more competent for the task. Though not himself a poet of the highest rank, he had a truly poetic perception of the beautiful in others; and the preface to his 'Selections from Later English Poets' would be worth reading if it were only for the charm of its exquisite style. His criticisms are generally just, if not profound. But he seems inconsistent in

rejecting so utterly as he does the theory, that a fashion or a style in literature is often imported from one country to another, while he allows at the same time that literary intercourse throughout Christendom was far more rapid and uninterrupted in those days than we can imagine. Campbell, like Southey, was a poet, though of lower rank: and, like Southey, he had a widely cultivated taste. But Campbell, though learned in literature, was peculiarly averse to metaphysical poetry, and hopelessly unable to comprehend it. He was proportionately fond of polish and elaboration. It is no wonder that he passes by the Caroline poets with, at most, very faint praise indeed. His 'Essay on English Poetry,' which introduces his Selections, is prolix and insipid. One word, in passing, must be said for the bulky and venerable volumes, the grandiloquent titles of which stand at the head of our list. They may possess no charms for those whose poetical researches cannot re-ascend beyond Shelley, and to whom even Byron is antiquated and obsolete. But they serve to rescue from oblivion some precious pieces of ore amid heaps of dross; and they are interesting besides as having contributed to mould the literary taste and habits of our forefathers.

Last, but not least trustworthy among our guides, we have Messrs. F. T. Palgrave and T. Arnold. The latter, indeed, in his brief but masterly¹ sketch of our literature, only indicates in which direction we are to turn our steps, without attempting anything like a collection of specimens. The former narrows his range as a collector to 'Songs and Lyrics.' Yet both give valuable assistance. Mr. Palgrave's little book shows no ordinary care in the compiler. It is by no means a reproduction of the trite and obvious specimens which may be found in any old school-book. It evinces not only research, but the artistic taste for which Mr. Palgrave is distinguished. The canon on which he proceeds is in the main a very safe one. The 'vox populi' is generally right in its judgment even of poets as well as of more familiar things, if only it has time. But his definition of lyrical poetry is more questionable. A ballad is essentially objective. Is a ballad, therefore, to be excluded from lyrics? The very meaning of the word lyrical, in its primary significance, seems to imply, that whatever poetry, whether objective or subjective matters not, is in its nature fit for singing, the quick impulsive recitation of some stirring incident or the impassioned outburst of an inward consciousness, comes within its compass. Nor is Mr. Palgrave's classification of periods altogether satis-

¹ Why does so scholarly a writer perpetrate so misshapen a word (for the poet Daniel) as 'high-thoughted'?

factory. It seems incongruous to place poets, so essentially different as Milton and Dryden, in the same category; and Gray is hardly a poet of sufficient importance to stand as the spokesman of his fellows. If it is to have a fourfold division, our poetry seems rather to divide itself into the dramatic, metaphysical, classical, and naturalistic phases, with Shakespeare, Milton, Pope, and Wordsworth, respectively, as the Coryphæus of each.

In these words we have indicated what we consider the chief characteristic of Milton's age. The philosophical vein of thought is more conspicuous in Milton, but it is not peculiar to him. Philosophy presents herself more becomingly in the magnificent robes with which he adorns her, and paces through his measured cadences with a statelier tread, but she had her votaries even in the crowd. The traditionary homage, which, as we have seen, was paid to her by humbler worshippers in the preceding period, now finds a worthier expression, a less inadequate ritual. With one or two unimportant exceptions, all the poetry of this period bears this stamp, and is imbued with this feeling. We find it in the voluptuary Herrick, scarcely less than in Cromwell's puritan secretary. Transmitted to the men of the civil wars from the Schoolmen and the Reformers, it offered to them a refuge from the acrimony of political controversy. But there is another peculiarity of the age to be noticed. It was an age of song-writers, as, indeed, a musical age could hardly fail to be. The spirit of music and of song pervades the poetry of the fanatic Roundhead as well as of the more congenial Cavalier. As Mr. Arnold observes, it was an age of 'chansons,' such as flowed from the lips of Burns, Moore, Béranger: or rather such as were the spontaneous effusion of a time when men loved to sit under the spreading beech in summer, or round the Christmas hearth, taking each and all their parts in glee or madrigal. Few periods yield a richer abundance of short pieces, from which the anthologist may cull his nosegay. Nor are these characteristics in reality so irreconcilable as they may appear at first sight. It is a curious fact, that metaphysicians, like mathematicians, are often musical; all alike live among the clouds, in a world of abstractions, far above the noise and smoke of earthly things. One and the same word, to the ear of an Athenian in ancient times, expressed the threefold study. Mr. T. Arnold speaks of the Caroline poets as the 'Fantastic' school; and treats them rather slightly. But the proneness for 'fantasies,' for quaint and far-fetched allusions, for

'Those new-fangled toys and trimming slight,
Which take our late fantasies with delight,'

was only superficial; it does not deserve to give a name to the period. Originally an Italian fashion, borrowed by our

islanders from the 'conceitisti,' it runs through our literature from Shakespeare to Dryden. It flaunts itself in the headings of love-songs addressed to Phyllis, Chloe, or Amaryllis. Sometimes indeed the poet coins for his lady a name of his own devising, equally un-English and unclassical, as Lucasta for the pretty 'Lucy' of our vernacular; Castara, Amarantha, Sacharissa, or, worst of all, Utrechia. But we must search far below this pedantry for the real characteristics of the age. There we find, very near indeed to the heart and life of the nation, the fondness of which we have spoken for music and metaphysic.

It may be well to clear the way by disposing in the first instance of the less important names of the period. The song-writers who charged behind dashing Prince Rupert, and whose gay plumage glitters beside the sombre hue of their opponents as a masque beside a funeral, need not delay us long. In Sir John Suckling, a lively profligate songster, we have to regret that want of reverence for woman's true dignity which was too common among the Royalist soldiers, and which was partly a reaction from the morose austerities of the 'Roundheads.' Colonel Lovelace, though sometimes appearing to write in the same vein, was a man of higher stamp, as his noble lines to 'Lucasta' show, 'On going to the Wars,' ending thus:—

'I could not love thee, dear, so much,
Loved I not honour more.'

These, again, are his, from the lines 'To Althæa:'

'Stone walls do not a prison make,
Nor iron bars a cage:
Minds innocent and quiet take
That for an hermitage;
If I have freedom in my love,
And in my soul am free,
Angels alone, that soar above,
Enjoy such liberty.'

Carew was another ardent Royalist. His verses are smooth and pretty, but commonplace, and he is for ever ringing his changes on the 'flames and darts' of love. But, while the poet, crowned as it were with roses, warbles his love-ditties, we hear all the time the same undertone of plaintive sadness which makes itself heard beneath the Epicurean materialism of Horace. There is the same uneasy regretfulness at the thought of death. His political life was a series of inconsistencies. His adroit excuse to Charles II. is highly characteristic. When taxed by the king with having written a better poem 'On the Death of the late Protector,' than 'On his Majesty's happy Return,' he replied, 'We poets, Sire, succeed better in fiction than in truth.' Waller is too smooth. The

verses which he made in boyhood are as devoid of harshness and ruggedness, as if he had been so employed for years. There is not much of promise where the performance is so faultless. But some of Waller's shorter poems are deservedly favourites. His graceful lines 'To a Lady playing on the Flute' are studded with courtly compliments. His—

'Go, lovely rose!'

and

'That which her slender waist confined,'

are too well known to need quoting. But the mind soon grows as weary of such perpetual smoothness, as the ear of nothing but waltzes and polkas. Samuel Butler must not be left unmentioned; but, as the readers of *Hudibras* know, his muse wears the sock, not the buskin, and amuses herself with the jingling of rhymes in which there is more of buffoonery than of wit. Sometimes indeed he rises to something better:

'True loyalty is still the same,
Whether it win or lose the game;
True as the dial to the sun,
Although it be not shone upon.'

We must pass on. Shirley is chiefly remarkable as the last of the great dramatists who adorned the Elizabethan age; Denham as the first of the purely descriptive poets, who, like our English landscape painters, are unsurpassed in the world. Denham's well-known lines on the Thames have the flow and rhythm of Pope's couplets, with the sentiment of Cowper or Wordsworth:

'Oh! could I flow like thee and make thy stream
My great example, as it is my theme;
Though deep yet clear, though gentle yet not dull,
Strong without rage, without o'erflowing full.'

Dr. Henry More, another Royalist, is, it must be owned, both 'gentle and dull.' Like Izaak Walton he lived serenely with the civil war raging round him, being left by the Parliament undisturbed at Oxford to meditate on his favourite Plato—a taste which he inherited from the Platonists of a past generation, Spenser and Lord Surrey.

The party of the Puritans was naturally enough less fertile in poetry, with the one great exception, which we shall have to consider presently. But Wither and Marvel both deserve a place among the minor poets of their period. Wither's love-songs, written indeed before he became a Puritan, are far more worthy of their name than those of Suckling or Carew. 'The

Manly Heart' is a fair sample of his style, and may be found in most collections. It begins—

'Shall I, wasting of despair,
Die because a woman's fair?'

In its drift it is not unlike Suckling's well-known 'Encouragements to a Lover':

'Why so pale and wan, fond lover?
Prithee, why so pale?'

But it breathes a purer sentiment. Andrew Marvel, Cromwell's Secretary, commands attention more from the earnestness and manliness of what he has to say than from his manner of saying it. His truly noble lines, peculiarly significant as coming from such a quarter, on the execution of Charles the First, are scarcely so well known as they deserve:

'He nothing common did or mean,
Upon that memorable scene,
But with his keener eye,
The axe's edge did try;
Nor called the gods, with vulgar spite,
To vindicate his helpless right,
But bowed his comely head
Down as upon a bed.'

No scholar can read these lines, without being irresistibly reminded of the fine passages in the 'Odes,' where Horace extols the patriotic self-devotion and heroic demeanour of Regulus.

It is a curious omission on the part of Mr. Palgrave, that, while quoting rather largely from Marvel, he does not quote the concluding lines of the poem, 'On the Death of a Fawn,' which begins,—

'Some wanton troopers riding by
Have shot my fawn'—

and which ends (after describing the fawn as nurtured in the garden),—

'Had it lived long, it would have been
Lilies without, roses within.'

There is a good deal of Wordsworth's simplicity and tenderness, if not of his higher excellence, in this poem.

Our list of minor poets is almost exhausted. We need not disinter May and Habington from the obscurity in which they slumber. The former is chiefly known as the translator of Lucan's bombastic epic; and Habington was a poetaster rather than a poet.

Cowley claims a place above the poets hitherto mentioned, if we accept the estimation in which he was held at the Court

of Charles the Second, and in the first half of the eighteenth century. It is not strange that he was then far more popular than Milton, for the false glitter of Cowley's style suited well a taste which could not raise itself to Milton: but it is strange that Milton himself speaks of Cowley, with Spenser and Shakespeare, as one of our three greatest poets. Clarendon also extols Cowley, as having 'taken a flight above all men in poetry.' But Clarendon's opinion on poetry counts for very little.

In our own day Abraham Cowley's name is much better known than his poetry. Many who would be ready with his name at once, in enumerating the most famous poets of his period, would be very much puzzled if called upon to quote a single line of his poetry. The fashion which Petrarch set, of making verses 'to his mistress's eyebrow,' seems to surpass itself in Cowley. The portrait-gallery of the ladies, to each of whom in turn he vows everlasting allegiance, is almost endless. It has been objected to the Madeline, and Isabel, and Eleanore, whom the Laureate of our own day has honoured with votive chaplets in his exquisite poems, that all alike wear a simpering smile. Cowley's heroines have really no individuality at all, and the passion which they inspire seems as unreal as its object. He was accused by a contemporary of publishing 'profane and licentious' verses. Johnson replies, that these love-pieces 'might have been written by a hermit for penance, or for hire by a philosophical rhymist who had never seen a woman.' Cowley's regular and temperate life serves to testify that in these love-poems he was rather conforming to a silly custom than giving vent to his own feelings.¹ Such unreality is not the way to be a true poet. The same fault infects his other compositions. There is more of fancy than of imagination; more of acuteness and ingenuity than of real grandeur or tenderness; more of tinsel than of real gold. The difference between a true and a false metaphor or simile is the difference between affectation and good manners. A comparison, based on truth, is recognised in a moment, and touches a hidden chord in the heart; a false metaphor is far-fetched, artificial, unfeeling.

Cowley's 'slender conceits,' like his fictitious languishings, are pretty, and that is all. His subjects are miscellaneous, and he is what is called an unequal poet; but it is difficult to find anywhere passages with the true poetic ring. Nicely turned compliments, as,—

'The adorning thee with so much art
Is but a barbarous skill;
'Tis but the poisoning of a dart
Too apt before to kill—'

¹ Cowley spent his declining years at Chertsey, and it is amusing to read of his making a two days' journey of what now is done in about an hour.

merely display the same kind of ingenuity as a child's puzzle ; and he is apt to be bombastic while endeavouring to be sublime. Perhaps one cause of his popularity for a time was the novelty of his metres. Johnson characteristically censures Cowley's 'lax and lawless versification,' and complacently adds, that after 'lasting for more than half a century, at last it died away.' The great critic and lexicographer would be equally surprised and shocked, if alive now, to find a variety and exuberance of metres, such as Cowley never dreamed of. Possibly the superior rhythm and polish of our modern lyrists might avail to assuage his wrath.

Crashaw and Vaughan stand apart from their contemporaries as, emphatically, religious poets. They were the lineal successors of Herbert, and the precursors of Keble. Cowley, the friend of Crashaw, laments his death in words which are even more applicable to the poet whose earthly resting-place, revered and beloved by all, is still green among us :

'Poet and Saint ! To thee alone are given,
The two most sacred names of earth and heaven ;
The hardest, rarest union which can be,
Next that of Godhead and humanity.'

That Cowley is right, and that it is rare indeed to find the characteristics of the poet and of the saint in the same person, cannot be denied. The causes of this are obvious. The subjects which sacred poetry aspires to handle transcend inevitably the poet's capacity ; and the mind, intent on things unseen, is sometimes dull to the perception of material beauty, image and reflection though it be of that which is invisible. Besides, the passionate and fervid temperament of the poet is exposed to dangers peculiar to itself, and liable to aberrations which are no temptation to others.

The following lines, which form the conclusion of 'The Flaming Heart,' a poem 'On the Book and Picture of the Seraphical Saint Teresa, as she is usually expressed with a Seraphim beside her,' are instinct with the flame, not of devotion only, but of true poetry :—

'Oh ! thou undaunted daughter of desires !
By all thy dower of lights and fires,
By all the eagle in thee, all the dove,
By all thy lives and deaths of love,
By thy large draughts of intellectual day,
And by thy thirsts of love more large than they ;
By all thy brimfilled bowls of fierce desire,
By thy last morning's draught of liquid fire,
By the full kingdom of that final kiss
That seized thy parting soul and sealed thee his ;

By all the heavens thou hast in him,
 Fair sister of the seraphim!
 By all of him we have in thee,
 Leave nothing of myself in me;
 Let me so read thy life that I
 Unto all life of mine may die.'

Any one with sufficient patience may find much to admire in Crashaw. His thoughts, for instance, in 'Charitas Nimia, or the dear Bargain,' only require a modern setting to please the fastidious taste of modern critics.

At the risk of quoting what is well known, we subjoin the graceful lines which twine together the names of Crashaw and the poet of Bemerton, 'On Mr. G. Herbert's Book, entitled "The Temple of Sacred Poems,"' sent to a gentlewoman:

'Know you, fair, on what you look?
 Divinest love lies in this book,
 Expecting fire from your eyes
 To kindle this His sacrifice.
 When your hands untie these strings,
 Think you've an angel by the wings;
 One that gladly will be nigh
 To wait upon each morning sigh,
 To flutter in the balmy air
 Of your well-perfumed prayer.
 These white plumes of His he'll lend you,
 Which every day to heaven will send you;
 To take acquaintance of the sphere,
 And all the smooth-faced kindred there;
 And though Herbert's name do owe
 These devotions, fairest, know
 That while I lay them on the shrine
 Of your white hand, they are mine.'

Almost a third part of Crashaw's published poems consists of short Latin pieces, chiefly on sacred subjects, in a variety of metres. His ease and felicity in this way may excite the envy even of Lord Lyttelton and Mr. Calverley. Crashaw was ejected from his fellowship at Cambridge for refusing to take the Covenant.

Henry Vaughan is less known than Crashaw. Yet some, at least, of his poems deserve to be preserved from the corroding touch of time.¹ Such lines as these which begin—

'My soul, there is a country
 Far far, beyond the stars,
 Where stands a skilful sentry
 All skilful in the wars'—

rise above the ordinary level of sacred poetry. Still more

¹ Thanks are due to Canon Norris for his careful edition of Vaughan's poems.

beautiful are the following lines, which have breathed comfort and resignation to many mourners. Vaughan is a poet who prefers the minor key.

'They are all gone into a world of light,
And I alone sit lingering here;
Their very memory is fair and bright
And my sad thoughts doth cheer.
It glows and glitters in my cloudy breast,
Like stars upon some gloomy grove;
Or those faint beams in which yon hill is drest
After the sun's remove.
I see them walking in an air of glory,
Whose light doth trample on my days;
My days which are at best but dull and hoary,
Mere glimmerings and decays.
O! holy hope and high humility,
High as the heavens above!
These are your walks, and you have shown them me
To kindle my cold love.
Dear, beauteous Death, the jewel of the just,
Shining nowhere but in the dark;
What mysteries do lie beyond thy dust,
Could man outlook that mark!
He that hath found some fledg'd birds' nest, may know,
At first sight, if the bird be flown;
But what fair grove or field he sings in now,
That is to him unknown.
And yet as angels in some brighter dreams
Call to the soul, when man doth sleep,
So some strange thoughts transcend our wonted themes,
And into glory peep.
If a bright star were prisoned in a tomb,
Her captive flame must needs burn there;
But when the hand that locked her up gives room,
She'll shine through all the sphere.
O Father of eternal life, and all
Created glories under Thee!
Resume Thy Spirit from this world of thrall
Into true liberty.
Either disperse these mists which blot and fill
My dire perspective as they pass;
Or else remove me hence unto that hill,
Where I shall need no glass.'

Herrick requires a niche by himself. He is the most inconsistent, the most tantalising of poets. Many of the poems which make up the 'Hesperides' are shamefully coarse and licentious. His 'Noble Numbers' or his 'Pious Pieces,'

'wherein,' to quote the old title-page, 'he sings the Birth of His Christ, and sighes for his Saviour's Suffering on the Crosse,' are not unworthy of Keble. Epigrams licentious enough for Martial lie side by side in his pages with poems entitled 'Mattins' and 'The Church Militant.' Yet even in the 'Hesperides' are flashes and scintillations of real poetry; for instance, in his exquisite lines 'To Daffodills' and 'To Blossoms.' There is the same inconsistency in another way. He spent nineteen years in one of the loveliest counties in England; he sings of the joys of country life in the spirit of the ode,

'Beatus ille, qui procul negotiis ;'

he loves to cherish the old customs of the peasantry, as in his vivid description of 'The Hock Cart, or Harvest Home,' or of 'Corinna going a-Maying'; he delights to embalm in his verse old rural legends and traditions of charms, fairies, and hobgoblins, to be recounted round the yule-log; or, as he says,

'When laurel spurts in the fire, and when the hearth
Smiles to itself, and gilds the roofo with mirth.'

Yet, all the time, he sighs to escape from 'Dull Devonshire,' as if from banishment in Siberia, to the taverns and cookshops of London. He is the Catullus of England; genial and exuberant in fancy, eliciting a rare sweetness from his lyre; but, as a physiognomist may guess from his portrait, with the nobler elements in his nature struggling against the pressure of sensual appetites. Herrick's easy, careless metres are characteristic of his easy temperament. He is a poet of fancy, rather than of imagination. His 'Oberon's Palace,' for instance, is no unworthy counterpart to Shakespeare's

'O! then I see Queen Mab has been with you.'

Campbell pronounces that 'of Herrick's 1,400 pages not 100 are worth reading.' It would be far truer to say, that a careful selection may discover, amid the dirt and garbage, some of the most exquisite gems to be found in our language. What Herrick says of music—

'The mellow touch of music most doth wound
The soul, when it does rather sigh than sound,'

is true of himself in his better moments. But his poems want weeding. Some allowance must be made, of course, in his excuse, for the plainer speaking which was in vogue in his day. But, after all, the grossness of some passages is simply inexcusable. It is some satisfaction to read in the commencement of his 'Noble Numbers' the following hearty retraction:—

'For these my unbaptized rhymes,
Writ in my wild unhallowed times;

For every sentence, clause, and word,
 That's not inlaid with Thee, my Lord ;
 Forgive me, Lord, and blot each line
 Out of my book which is not Thine.
 But if 'mongst all Thou findest one
 Worthy Thy benediction,
 That one of all the rest shall be
 The glory of my work and me.'

Herrick's well-known 'Letanie to the Holy Spirit,' which begins,

' In the hour of my distresse,
 When temptations me oppresse,
 And when I my sins confesse,
 Sweet Spirit, comfort me !'

has found its way deservedly into most modern anthologies. It is said to have been a favourite with Herrick's rustic parishioners. For the same reason it is unnecessary to do more than name his

' Gather rosebuds while ye may ;'

or the beautiful lines, already mentioned, which begin

' Faire Daffodills, we weep to see
 You haste away so soone ;'

a poem which, short as it is, would suffice, even if it stood alone, to give Herrick a very high place in English minstrelsy.

The one great poet of the age was Milton. He towers above his fellows as Snowdon would if placed beside the Malvern Hills. In him the characteristics of his age seem to culminate. It was a musical age. Where is music like his? In the majestic swell of his heroics we hear the thunder of the organ, on which he solaced his blindness. In the simpler harmonies of 'L'Allegro' and the 'Christmas Hymn,' we catch an echo of the brilliancy and freshness which sparkle in every note of Handel's 'Harmonious Blacksmith.' As was natural in the blindness which he laments with so stately a resignation in the exordium of the Third Book of his great Epic, he revels in sound. It is not merely to display his learning that he strings together a long catalogue of magnificent names from Grecian or Egyptian mythology. It is rather from the same consciousness of visual privation which prompts him, in descanting on the joys of the country, to specify

' The scent of tedded hay or new-mown grass ;'

and elsewhere,

' Sabæan odours from the spicy shore
 Of Araby the blest.'

Milton is eminently a poet whose poetry must be read aloud to be appreciated. Again, the age in which Milton lived was a learned age. Milton was a giant of learning among giants.

He was not, as often happens now, rich merely in one kind of knowledge, while otherwise helpless; not staggering under the burden of a special erudition, crushing and stifling his individuality, but with his faculties strengthened and refined on every side. Again, it was a metaphysical age. Milton is only too fond of recurring, even in his most impassioned ecstasies, to abstrusest questions of mental philosophy. Lastly, it was an age of massive common sense; and Milton is pre-eminently a manly poet. Nor is he free from the faults of his age. We see in him the stiffness and pedantry of his contemporaries in a peculiar degree: for Milton seems to have been singularly wanting in the perception of what is ridiculous. His attempts at wit are like the gambols of an elephant. One of his adversaries gave him the controversial nickname, by no means inappropriate, of 'Polypragmaticus.' With all his magnanimity, there was a great deal of stubbornness in his character, which evinced itself in his mode of resistance to whatever was wrong in his eyes, whether in public or private life. He ranked himself among the 'regicides', because according to his political ideas, the king had sinned against the nation past forgiveness. He advocated the disruption of the ties of marriage, because he was very much offended with his wife. He was stern and exacting to his daughters. Here is an explanation of, what has often caused amazement, Milton's antagonism to the Church, while the devotional sentiment of the Church imbues his poetry and his character so deeply. It was a political resistance to the prerogative of Bishop, on the same ground as that on which he resisted the prerogative of King. Milton was a proud man. The self-confidence and self-reliance which he portrays so well in his 'Satan,' and speaks of as the 'last failing of a noble mind,' were conspicuous in himself. He revered the traditional solemnities of the Church; he loved to pace amid the 'dim religious light' of its cloisters, and to hear the

'Pealing organ blow
To the clear-voiced quire below,'

while all the time no words of abuse were bad enough for him to hurl at Pope or Prelate. Some excuse there is for the virulence of his invective, as a controversialist, in the licence of his time. Even in our own day there are controversialists who cannot differ in opinion without implying, if not saying, that their opponent is an unhappy compound of knave and fool. Milton's acrimony against the established government of the Church seems to have been mellowed by time.

We have said that Milton was eminently metaphysical even in a metaphysical age. We must recur to this point, because

Dr. Johnson, strangely enough, speaks of him as an exception. Milton 'tried the metaphysical style,' the great Doctor says, 'only in his lines on Hobson the carrier.' In fact, Johnson was not likely to be a fair critic on this point. Unrivalled in the science of practical and healthy casuistry, he was no judge of metaphysic. It is easy to accumulate instances which refute Johnson's assertion. The 'Paradise Lost' may be opened at hazard, and scarcely a page can be found which does not contain some allusion to metaphysic. The following passages are taken without much trouble in seeking from the Second Book.

Milton's chaos is rather a metaphysical than a physical entity—

'Illimitable ocean without bounds,
Without dimension, where length, breadth, and height
Are not——'

Again—

'The void profound
Of unessential night.'

And

'The dark unbottomed infinite abyss,
The palpable obscure.'

He loves to speculate on the psychological conditions of ætherial beings—

'For neither do the spirits damned
Lose all their virtue, lest bad men should boast
Their specious deeds on earth.'

And

'Our torments also may in length of time
Become our elements; our tempers changed
Into their elements, which must needs remove
The sensible of pain.'

In the same spirit he makes one of the fallen angels ask—

'For who would lose,
Though full of pain, this intellectual being?'

And describes how

'Others apart sat on a hill retired
In thoughts more elevate, and reasoned high
Of providence, foreknowledge, will, and fate,
Fixed fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute,
And found no end, in wandering mazes lost.'

Campbell is right in saying that the 'origin of evil' is truly the subject of the poem. To this proneness for investigating whatever is recondite and baffling to the intellect may be ascribed the grave theological blemish often censured in the 'Paradise Lost.' For it cannot be denied that Milton, intentionally, as his prose-works show, derogates in some measure

from the true and rightful attributes of the Eternal Son, and represents Him rather as subordinate to than as co-equal with the Father. In his descriptions of heaven Milton is almost as anthropomorphic as an ancient Greek. He is best when he descends from the clouds and treads the firm earth.¹ Even his sublimity, as well as his pathetic power, is more truly felt when he describes the terrible consequences of the fall to earth and earthly things, than when he dares to lift the veil which hides the awful courts of heaven and the Presence of Omnipotence. Had Milton been less metaphysical, he would have not been so truly a representative of his age, but he would have been less faulty as a theologian and more widely popular as a poet.

But, after all, where is Milton's equal, not indeed in mere poetical ability, but in that combination of colossal strength with perfect dignity, and in that yet rarer combination of poetic genius with a steadfast loyalty to what is pure and high, of intellectual with moral sublimity, by which he is distinguished? The great poets with whom it is usual to compare him—Shakespeare, Homer, Dante—are more copious, more versatile, more dramatic, Tennyson is more graceful, Keble more tender, but in loftiness of aim, and in the sustained majesty of his boldest efforts, Milton stands alone. He has Shelley's intellectual temerity, chastened and restrained by a concentration of force and a sense of order and harmony which Shelley, alas! wanted. He sees the great abiding realities of life—the *only* realities—clearly, and grasps them unflinchingly, where to Shelley's feverish imagination all seems a wild and confused turmoil, as of incoherent fragments. He stands like a rock amid the storm, by which Shelley's more fragile nature is shattered to pieces. There is a grand repose about Milton, where a feebler poet, or one with less self-control, is simply spasmodic. His angels, for instance, are beings such as no other poet has been able to delineate in every movement, look, and gesture; terrible in their purity, serenely gracious in their irresistible might. Who else has pourtrayed them as Milton? Contrast, for instance, even Shakespeare's

‘Young-eyed cherubim,’

with Milton's

‘Where the bright seraphim, in burning row,
Their loud uplifted angel-trumpets blow;’

Perhaps, had Æschylus been a Christian, or had Michael Angelo written on *Paradise lost*, we might have had a conception of

¹ Milton himself preferred ‘*Paradise Regained*’ to ‘*Paradise Lost*,’ not without some reason.

angelic beings not unworthy to vie with that of Milton in beauty and power.

It is often said that poets are the best prose writers; and Scott, as well as Southey, is deservedly cited as an example. Milton is a still better example. His style, in its own slow stateliness, is without an equal. If we except Jeremy Taylor, whose exuberance and prodigality of imagination sever him widely from Milton, the author of the Essay 'On Unlicensed Printing' is entitled to the very foremost place among the English masters of this accomplishment. There is hardly anything in our language more highly to be recommended to the study of those who wish to write well.

Why is it that awkwardness and inelegance of style are too common now, even in writers who have something to say well worth hearing? There are, indeed, brilliant exceptions, as the writings of Dean Stanley and Mr. Goldwin Smith testify, not to mention others. But the fault, speaking generally, must be admitted. Nor is it difficult to discover one, at least, among its causes. Milton's excellence in his own language is in great measure to be attributed to his excellence in other languages, and particularly in those of ancient Greece and Rome. There are too many now who reiterate an unmeaning cry against classical studies, without reflecting that they are, in fact, decrying the best way of cultivating their own language. Exceptions there are, of course, like John Bunyan and Mr. Bright; writers and speakers there are, whose mastery over the English language is due to other causes; but, as a rule, the surest and easiest way of gaining a thorough mastery over our own language is to study it side by side with those two greatest of all languages with which it has so much in common, and from which it is nevertheless separated by marks of difference, some broad and palpable, some only to be felt by a fine and delicate touch. Other and still graver reasons there are for retaining the old classical studies as the only foundation of a sound liberal and comprehensive education. They afford a mental and moral discipline, for which there is really no adequate substitute to be found. But if it were only as being the best method for understanding and using rightly the mother tongue, every English school above the level of a school for labourers ought to include Latin, if it cannot include Greek also, in its system. We quote weighty words from the Sage of Fleet Street, whose practical wisdom too seldom finds patient listeners now. They are a forcible expression of a great truth, which is too often forgotten amid the noisy boastings of 'physical science,' that

'The proper study of mankind is man.'

But the truth is that the knowledge of external nature, and of the sciences which that knowledge requires or includes is not the great or the frequent business of the human mind. Whether we provide for action or conversation, whether we wish to be useful or pleasing, the first requisite is the religious and moral knowledge of right and wrong; the next is an acquaintance with the history of mankind, and with those examples which may be said to embody truth and prove by events the reasonableness of opinions. Prudence and justice are virtues, and excellencies, of all times and of all places; we are perpetually moralists, but we are geometricians only by chance. Our intercourse with intellectual nature is necessary; our speculations upon matter are voluntary and at leisure. Physical knowledge is of such rare emergence, that one man may know another half his life without being able to estimate his skill in hydrostatics or astronomy; but his moral and prudential character immediately appears.

Those authors, therefore, are to be read at schools that supply most axioms of prudence, most principles of moral truth, and most materials for conversation; and these purposes are best served by poets, orators, and historians.

Let me not be censured for this digression as pedantic or paradoxical; for if I have Milton against ¹ me, I have Socrates on my side. It was his labour to turn philosophy from the study of nature, to turn speculations upon life; but the innovators whom I oppose are turning off attention from life to nature. They seem to think that we are placed here to watch the growth of plants and the motions of the stars. Socrates was rather of opinion that what we had to learn was, how to do good and avoid evil:—

ὅτι τοι ἐν μεγάροις κακὸν τ' ἀγαθὸν τε τέτυκται.

Milton's poems are in every library which has any pretensions to completeness, but it must be owned that they are not generally esteemed as they ought to be. This neglect of Milton and his contemporaries is the more to be regretted because they supply the very corrective which is needed now. Their faults are patent enough, because they are on the surface. As we have seen, even in this too rapid survey, they were apt to be pedantic, uncouth, and, what is worse, indelicate. But these are in them faults of style rather than of sentiment; faults arising in part, like the awkwardness of youth, from the period

¹ Dr. Johnson is here speaking, not of Milton as a student, but of the plan which Milton adopted with his pupils. It is worth noticing, that Milton was a strong advocate for pronouncing Latin like modern Italian. He hated Latin 'spoken with an English mouth.'

of growth which they were passing through. It is Portia's casket, with the prize in a covering of lead. One great test of poetry is, whether or not it improves on a second reading; and by this test our old English poets must be tried, if they are to be judged fairly. Underneath their superficial blemishes lie, oftentimes, the very characteristics in which our own age is comparatively deficient. We are not speaking from a merely literary point of view. Our gigantic financial crashes—the recklessness and hollowness which, it cannot be denied, are eating as a canker into the commercial greatness of England—stand in lamentable contrast to the integrity of the men who laid the foundations on which the vast and complicated structure of our commerce has been erected. The insatiable competitiveness which, in every walk of life, thrusts aside without a scruple all who stand in the way, and which embitters the inevitable severance of class from class, is rebuked by their domesticity and contentment. We are quick to censure, as we ought, their coarseness of language; but we are lenient to the modern pruriency of thought and feeling of our novels, provided that it veil itself in an insidious refinement and seductive elegance of diction. We pride ourselves on what we know; but mere knowledge by itself, unless it become a very part of the man himself, and of his character, is a hindrance rather than a help to his true development. The 'sound mind in the sound body,' which the old Roman poet prayed for, is, after all, the truest definition of a practical wisdom. There is nothing effete or enervated about the literature of the seventeenth century. Whatever its faults may be, and we have no desire to hide nor to extenuate them, it wears the ruddy glow of health and energy: it breathes the freshness of the early morning; it is joyous with the inspiring influence of hope and courage. It is curious how its poets love to dilate on the charms of the morning,—

'When the mower whets his scythe,
And the milkmaid's tale is blithe;'

or when

'The bright morning star, day's harbinger,
Comes dancing from the east.'

How few there are among ourselves who know these things by experience, or who ever see the glory of the sunrise, unless, it may be, on some very exceptional pilgrimage to the top of Cader Idris or the Righi. Things like early rising may seem a trifle, but they are constituent elements which are not to be despised in the greatness and happiness of a people. We repeat, that England as it is, cannot and must not scorn the lessons which are to be derived from England as it was. The continuity

of history demands it. It is not by abrupt and convulsive springs, but by an unintermitted progress, and by a consistent coherence, that the past slowly and surely evolves itself into the future. It would be well if those who aspire to mould the future of our Church and Nation would be careful not to turn away in scornful heedlessness from the past, not to quit their hold precipitately on whatever in it is permanent. This should be the guiding principle of our policy, whether in Church or State. The advocates, for instance, of a wider extension of political responsibilities will speak in a tone more convincing, because more considerate and more free from prejudice, if they will speak in that spirit of patriotic intelligence which takes into account the remote as well as the near. Those again, who direct the helm of our ecclesiastical policy in its perilous, yet triumphant course over the dark and tempestuous waters, will be all the more equal to the emergency, if they meet it in the spirit of those who braved the not less formidable alarms of the Great Rebellion. All who wish well to England, and to the Church of England, must desire to draw closer, not to snap asunder nor to relax, whatever ties of sympathy, as well as of blood, unite our nineteenth century with the seventeenth.

ART. IV.—*Le Récit d'une Sœur. Souvenirs de Famille recueillis par Mme. Augustus Craven, née La Ferronnays. Sixth Edition. Paris: Didier. 1866.*

OFTEN has it been remarked how the fresh spring of the French Church coincided with that in our own, and how that decade which began with 1830 was a period of stern trial, when the axe was laid to the root of the tree; and when, if there was a great outpouring of grace, there was also severe sifting, which all could not withstand.

The journals of Maurice and Eugénie de Guérin have already shown the effect of this movement in one private family, where, in the sister, every holy sentiment was quickened and intensified; in the brother, the defection of Lamennais seemed for a time to wrench away the very foundations of faith. We have here another intimate and close portraiture of the workings of religion upon individual minds; but there is this great difference between the books, that whereas genius and reflection are the prominent natural characteristics of the two Guérins, here we have only action and feeling without more thought than is the ordinary heritage of intelligent sensible people.

It would, however, be doing the La Ferronnays family injustice to treat their religion as merely the work of a revival. The father and mother belonged to that grand old race of French noblesse, whose faith as well as their loyalty was their support through the trials of the Great Revolution. True it is that there was many a profligate, many an unbeliever, among the fugitives from France, and that the hospitality of the Germans who received the emigrants was often shamefully requited; but there were also a large number who suffered with cheerful patience and deep, earnest religion, and more and more of these are coming to light. In this book we have the genuine documents, journals and letters, only pieced out here and there by Mrs. Augustus Craven, one of the few surviving members of the family, and with the stamp of authenticity in every line. The nucleus of the work, so to speak, was the narrative, the composition of which was the solace of her sister-in-law, Madame Albert de la Ferronnays, in the first months of her widowhood, and around this accumulated the memorials of others of the family, and of the remaining years of the young widow herself. As a picture of earthly love lifted to heavenly love, and of a character ripened, through its affections, for heaven, we think the history unrivalled.

The Comte de la Ferronnays was married to Mademoiselle de Montsoreau at Klagenfurth, in Carinthia, in 1802, in the midst of the troubles of emigration. On the return of the Bourbons to France, he stood high in favour with Louis XVIII., and was French Ambassador at Petersburg, and Minister of Foreign Affairs under Charles X. Ten children were born to him, of whom Charles, the eldest, was by many years the senior—three died, and there remained the *dramatis personæ* of the *Récit*—Albert, Fernand, Pauline (the narrator), Eugénie, Olga, and Albertine, the latter being much younger than the rest.

Ill health sent M. de la Ferronnays to Italy in 1829, and there it was that the tidings of the Thirty Days reached the family. Their principles were strongly loyal and legitimist, and their adherence to their fallen sovereign was at the expense of much worldly prosperity. They established themselves in a villa at Castellamare, where the young people (including Charles's wife) seem to have revelled in the beauty of the view outside, while they treated the inconveniences within as the beginning of such an exile of poverty and distress as their parents had endured in the first Revolution. There was a great room in the house entirely unfurnished, but with windows looking out on the gulf and mountains, and there they used to bring their own tables and chairs, and spend the morning in reading, writing, laughing and talking. In the winter they were at Naples or its neighbourhood, going a great deal into society, and leading a very joyous and affectionate family life, in close intimacy with many dear and valued friends. Eugénie's chief friend was Flavie Lefebvre, afterwards Marquise de Raigecour, a name that recalls the saintly Madame Elizabeth's dearest friend in the last generation, as indeed the intimates of the family constantly recall to us the tragedies of the past age. Mme. de Tourrels, the Dauphin's governess and the last lady taken from Marie Antoinette, was a kinswoman, and was Pauline's godmother, and again and again do we meet with persons whose names recall touching memories.

The good mother of the family took the daughters into society on principle; for, as she afterwards says in one of her very sensible letters, she observed that the young married women, who comported themselves like runaway horses, were chiefly those who had been kept so strictly in the background in their girlhood that they had gained no experience while yet under guidance. Still there was something in the constant round of pleasure—something too in Naples itself, that with the more thoughtful left a sense of unsatisfactoriness. Eugénie, who had scarcely left childhood behind, was the merriest of all, but she used afterwards to say, that she did not like to recollect those days, and

Albert, who was about one-and-twenty, bright, gentle, and scrupulously religious, several times told Pauline in the course of the winter, that it was not good for him to be always in a place where serious life was impossible, and that some fine day he should go and '*se retremper*' in solitude. It was too easy at Naples, he said, to forget everything, and in 1831 he joined a like-minded, elder friend, M. Rio, in a tour in Tuscany, in the course of which he became acquainted with the Comte de Montalembert, and formed a close friendship, which continued to be the comfort of the rest of the family when Albert had been taken from them.

After this journey, in the January of 1832, the friends came to Rome, and there it was that the romance of Albert's life began. He went to call upon a lady whom his parents had known at Petersburg, the Countess von Alopeus. She was a German by birth, and her husband, a Swede, had been in the Russian diplomatic service, where the La Ferronnays family had become acquainted with her. Her husband was recently dead, and she was travelling with her only daughter, her two sons being in the Russian service. The daughter was born at Petersburg in 1808, and had received the name of Alexandrine, in compliment to the Emperor Alexander, her godfather. His participation in the ceremony had caused her to be baptized by immersion according to the Greek ritual, although her parents were both Lutherans, and brought her up in their doctrine. Madame d'Alopeus was a celebrated beauty with perfectly regular features, and Alexandrine, though not judged by connoisseurs to be equal to her in symmetry of feature, was exceedingly lovely, and had a greater charm of expression. They were excessively admired, and it used to be said that no one could say whether the daughter were loved for the sake of the mother or the mother for the sake of the daughter. The Countess was a gay woman, delighting in all this admiration, and had brought up her daughter to the constant round of Russian dissipation. Numerous admirers had been at Alexandrine's feet—379, according to a joke of Montalembert's—but without gaining her heart; and once, when her mother had tried to force her into a marriage repugnant to her feelings, she had escaped it by an appeal to the Emperor Nicholas, who had then said to her mother, as he held Alexandrine's hand, 'Promise me, Madame, that you will never bestow this child in marriage but according to her inclination.'

Alexandrine was already on terms of friendship with Pauline, but Albert had never seen her till this memorable call, on the 17th of January, 1832, when her beauty and sweetness captivated him on the spot, and he went home to his friends in such a state of admiration that they laughed at him. She was not at that

time much struck with him. Her fond recollections, however, are dated from that time; and in the long hours which—five years later—she used to spend in dreaming over her desk, and recording her cherished memories, with minuteness that even Pauline sometimes thought excessive, she went back to the first day when Albert inspired her with respect.

She had gone, on the 5th of February, with a Protestant friend to hear the nuns singing at the conventual church of Trinità del Monte. Albert was there on his knees as a devout worshipper; and as they came out of church together, she told him that had she been alone, she would gladly have knelt too. 'Why did you not?' said he. 'Why this respect of persons?' 'This boldness in a man of twenty pleased me. Never had any man spoken to me so wisely'—says the hitherto spoilt, flattered beauty, who had no doubt thought herself saying something extremely gracious and patronizing.

A few days after, she continues, while walking in the gardens of the Villa Pamfili, 'We talked, I think, for an hour of religion, immortality, and death, which we said would be sweet in those fair gardens. This conversation, so unlike those that I had wearied my ear in the world—this conversation sank into the depths of my heart.' It was then that his depth and piety made Alexandrine attach herself to Albert; and on his side, so much was her faith upon his mind, that in very early morning, in a pilgrim's frock and bare-footed, he made the pilgrimage of the Seven Basilica, to pray for her conversion, and even to offer his own life as a sacrifice if at such a price it might be vouchsafed.

We pass rapidly over this portion of the journals; if there was nothing beyond, we should have been inclined to call it sentiment tinged with religion. The most notable point in it is how Alexandrine, after all her campaigns in the most brilliant society in the world, and after having supped full of adulation, surrendered her whole heart to the mastery of the younger man, of no high pretension to wealth or rank, who, while absolutely fascinated by her charms, always kept his God in the first place, and showed that he did so. In April, Mme. and Mlle. d'Alopeus went to reside near Naples, and lived in close intercourse with the rest of the La Ferronnays family, and there we find the coupling of the most exalted self-restrained piety with all the little extravagances of a lover. For instance,—Alexandrine went for the first time since her father's death to the opera, and put on a white dress, in which she enjoyed showing herself to Albert and Pauline. She returned home to Vomero at one o'clock at night, little guessing that Albert followed her carriage all the way up the steep road, pushing the wheels behind at the worst places,

merely that he might have one glimpse of the flutter of her dress—unseen by her—when she left the carriage in the court-yard.

The mutual love was confessed, but there were many difficulties in the way. Mme. d'Alopeus had engaged herself to a Russian prince, named Paul Lapoukhyn, and thus could not free herself from the respects due to the Czar. Indeed Alexandrine, being a maid of honour to the Empress, needed his consent to her marriage, and his dislike to French alliances was well known. Besides, the lady had expected a far more brilliant worldly lot for her beautiful daughter than a marriage with the younger son of a family in the situation of the La Ferronnays, and though she seems to have been delusively affectionate and caressing when Albert was with her, no sooner was he absent than she and her niece tried to persuade Alexandrine out of her attachment.

M. de la Ferronnays too, though, like all the family, charmed with Alexandrine, and greatly flattered by the much-courted lady's preference for Albert, had many doubts as to the prudence of a marriage between his son and one bred up in the excess of Russian luxury, and for many months the affair remained in doubt. At last, in May, 1833, it became expedient for Mme. de la Ferronnays to go on business to France, taking with her the elder ones of the family, and leaving M. de la Ferronnays at Rome, where the two youngest girls, Olga and Albertine, were to be placed at the convent of Trinità del Monte to prepare for Olga's first communion. Albert was to have been of the party to France, but at Cività Vecchia he told his mother that he was feeling unwell, and would follow her by the packet two days later, when he had been bled. The next morning, however, he was in a violent fever, and poor M. de la Ferronnays first became aware of his dangerous state while from the window of the room the steamer was still visible carrying away the mother and sisters, who had gone on board the previous night.

During the height of Albert's danger, Alexandrine arrived at Rome with her mother, and had the comfort of almost daily seeing the little girls in the convent, and hearing their report of their brother. It seems to have been what passed between him and his father during his illness, and the extreme anxiety of Alexandrine on the other hand, that made their parents at last consent to their engagement; and though Madame d'Alopeus on going to Germany had a short relapse into her original ambitious views for her daughter, constancy at last prevailed, and Albert and Alexandrine were married at Naples on the 17th of April, 1834, first in the chapel of the Palazzo Acton, and afterwards by the Protestant Minister, M. Valette.

A time of perfect happiness followed. A great villa had been taken at Castellamare, Albert and Alexandrine lived on the ground floor, Charles, his wife and child, above them, and the main body of the family in the upper storey. Each set of apartments had a balcony, communicating with the rest by external staircases. Pauline was on the eve of marriage with Mr. Craven, an English diplomate, and the life during that summer seems to have been like paradise to the whole party. This is Pauline's description :

'I said that Albert and Alexandrine occupied the ground floor, whose windows opened at the top of some steps into the garden. On the night I specially recollect, their sitting-room was full of lights, flowers, and music, Eugénie was singing, and we were seated on the steps outside, listening to her incomparable voice, while talking, inhaling the sweet perfume of roses and orange blossoms, and gazing out on an unrivalled view, lighted by the moon and stars, and illuminated likewise by the fires that, during that year, were bursting from Vesuvius, and of which a large stream, flowing from the summit of the volcano, was descending towards the plain in the direction of Ottagano. Ah! we were all perfectly happy at that moment. The bliss of Albert and Alexandrine seemed to us the presage and guarantee of our own,—ours completed theirs. The devoted affection of Eugénie, more expansive than ever, made her as mirthful as a bird, as bright as a sunbeam; and Fernand joined with her in enlivening days the importance of which might have made them serious. Yet even then, in the midst of all this cheerfulness, Eugénie often said to me, "O, my dear, what a pretty thing is life—what then will heaven be! Then death must be better worth than all this!" The end of the evenings was generally spent with Charles and Emma, whose tender-hearted sympathy left nothing to desire. They had the most spacious of our balconies, and there we all assembled, and remained together often till late into the night—those Italian nights that one cannot weary of enjoying, and which in summer are lovelier than day. Never had our parents' affection been more completely gratified; never, perhaps, had they more restfully enjoyed the happiness of having us all about them. We were, alas, at our culmination; but it must be confessed that this summit was gilded, and if ever it might be said of happiness that it was too great, too perfect to last, it was so with ours.

'The cloud that was so soon to darken it was already casting its shadow. For one day, six weeks previously, we had been uneasy about Albert; but anxiety, the gnawing worm of bliss, still respected ours, and, though alarmed for the moment, we had quickly recovered the security of inexperience. It was not till much later, when Alexandrine was near the end of her ordeal, that going back from anguish to anguish, even to the first alarm that disturbed her serenity, she arrived at the day when for the first time she saw Albert hastily put his handkerchief to his lips, and take it away spotted with blood. And that day? *It was the tenth after their marriage.*'—Vol. i. pp. 198-200.

Other symptoms caused it to be thought that Castellamare did not agree with Albert, and he was ordered to Sorrento, where the brothers and sisters frequently visited them. There was as yet no blight upon their joy, and they continued to enjoy their exquisite life. Perhaps few persons were ever more capable of full enjoyment than this family. They had all the happiness

inspired by fervent piety; they were full of the delights of the easy mirthful intercourse of a large and united family in the first bloom of youth; they were cultivated and accomplished so as to appreciate the exquisite scenes of nature and art, as well as the historical associations of Italy; and there is also about the whole of their writings and speeches an indescribable air of the very highest breeding, as if with all their simplicity and humility they were unconsciously the very *crème de la crème* of society. In one of his letters, Albert tells his sisters not to lose their cosmopolitan grace and become exclusively French, English, Italian, or anything else; and even in these black and white pages, their facility of different languages and the different nationalities of their friends make us understand something of what this charm may have been. Alexandrine, half German, half Swede, a Russian subject, and yet her French as perfect as if it had been natural to her, must have been a perfect specimen of each country's best. Her manner was very lively, and her beauty seems to have been simply and frankly the pride of all the family—and there are many notices of her dress on different occasions—but so fond and affectionate as to take away the sense of frivolity. The length of time she took in dressing—partly owing to her short sight—was always a matter of innocent raillery, and it is worth recollecting for the sake of the sequel.

Pisa was recommended to Albert for the winter, and he took up his abode there with his wife in apartments, where Alexandrine showed that it had been doing her injustice to fear her expensive tastes, for she was a capital economist, with all her elegance. Albert was better, and the only shade of trouble was at this time the manner in which the difference in faith could not fail to be felt between two people thus intimately connected. Alexandrine had previously shown herself much inclined to the Roman Catholic Church, but since her marriage her mother (now Princess Lapoukhyn) had written to her that to hear of her changing her faith would nail her (her mother) up in her coffin. This had much startled Alexandrine, and besides, though when among Protestants she was inclined to defend Catholicity, the same impulse led her, when alone among Catholics, to stand up for the doctrines she had been taught. On the whole, however, her religious teaching and impressions seem to have been exceedingly vague, and chiefly to have consisted in pious sentiments affecting a mind of great natural sweetness and purity, and thus she was exactly in the state to be completely mastered by the strength of positive and systematic belief, thoroughly acted on by those with whom her lot was cast.

In October, they received a long visit from Montalembert, who had begun apparently by slightly distrusting and regretting

Albert's passion for the beautiful Swede, but on his arrival, yielded to her charm and became her fast friend for life. Here is a description of their way of spending their time, taken from a letter to Eugénie:

'Besides my reading of Dante, Montalembert reads us legends. He is now reading us some delicious ones of S. Francis d'Assisi, a very kind Saint, who calls all the creatures his brothers and sisters. He says, "*frate lupo*," and talks long to this same wolf, and calls the turtle doves my sisters, &c. Montal. is likewise writing the life of St. Elizabeth, a German and a queen,—for whom he has made many journeys into Germany. He is to read it to us when it is finished. It will be delightful, but I beg you to tell no one of it but Pauline. I am sure he had rather it was not talked of beforehand. So pray let it remain between us two. He is so fond of this Saint Elizabeth, he collects the most minute details about her. He told us a story of a knight who wore the colours of a saint who had appeared to him in a vision: it was pretty. The story did not end there, but it is too long to be told in a letter. Tell me what you think of this life we are leading. For my part, I love it! Besides, we have subscribed to the library at Leghorn, and our tables are covered with Reviews, newspapers (these for Montal.), with W. Scott's novels for Albert, and other books of all sorts for him and for me. Albert is beginning to learn German, but he does not throw himself into it with your laudable desperation. I am sure you will soon know it.'—P. 227.

It is amusing to find Montalembert advising Alexandrine to burn *Father Clement*—a clever English book, well known thirty years ago, which had been lent her by some Protestant friends. She calls it 'a soi-disant antidote to Catholicism, which had had contrary effect from what it was intended to produce.' She is quite right, the Protestants of the book are Presbyterians, and Father Clement is by far the most beautiful character in it and has the best of the argument. In Alexandrine's history it must always be borne in mind that her original doctrine was Lutheranism, and it was the Catholicity—not so much of Rome as of the Church Universal—that was attracting her. She had begun by feeling much drawn to the Greek Church, but the bias was now given by her human affections and the examples she saw. She continues:

'Montal. made me sing a number of ballads and national airs that he had collected in his travels. Among them was a charming German hymn, on words taken from S. Bernard (*Jesu, wie Süs, wer dein Gedenkt*) saying that nothing is so sweet as the thought of JESUS, nor so sweet as His Presence. Montal. was always asking me for it, though at first he thought it almost profane to let me sing it; but then he was surprised to find that I sang it with an expression approaching, he said, to that which was thrown into it by three pious young women at Ratisbon, who used to sing it at their work.'—Pp. 229-30.

We cannot help lingering on this innocent brightness, so well crowning the young life of one to whom his mother could write on his birthday, the 21st of January, 1835: 'It is twenty-three years to-day since I embraced you for the first time. I seem

'to have gone back to that time, for since that day, not one has passed but my heart has been filled with you. You have always been so excellent, that not the slightest cloud has darkened my affection for you, not the shadow of a slight irritation has come between us.' Probably, however, there was much truth in the self-dissection that we have from Albert's own hand, in his journal, which was in the form of a letter, addressed, his sister believes, to the Abbé Martin de Nodier. It is worth reading, because it so curiously shows the difference between the self-reliant character fostered by our public school education and the tender diffidence engendered by the careful training and watching of foreign discipline.

'PISA, Feb. 1835.—You know, dear friend, that you have often accused me of making myself out worse than I am. If you knew my whole life, you would soon change your mind, and find that my good character is terribly usurped, to such a degree that I am sometimes tormented by the thought that there must be deceit in my nature. It is true that I have never been thoroughly bad, and that I never refused the brilliant but fugitive flashes that have marked¹ my soul. But am I not even more guilty? Dante describes such dubious souls as rejected alike by heaven and hell. I take everything up, at first, with fervour, and at the same time what had found me most ardent, leaves me dulled and disgusted. Often before my marriage, in the most exalted period of my passion, I felt discouraged. . . . I owe this feebleness and inconstancy partly to my weak health and my delicate and irritable temperament, and partly also to an education without positive aim. My father made all imaginable sacrifices for me, but the men to whom he entrusted me abused his confidence. I was naturally gentle and active; without them I might have committed greater errors, but I should have retained more energy. When I left them I had lost the freshness of heart that some privileged souls retain long after their entrance into life, and yet I was as timid as a child. Then I came to Italy, where the climate did me more harm than good, for it increased the excitability of my imagination and the irritability of my temperament. Thenceforth, I have been the sport of the two beings we have within us, sometimes good and raising myself to the highest regions it has been given me to attain, sometimes letting myself be drawn where my other life chooses to lead me, often dragged by my two natures both ways at once, without strength to gain the mastery over them, and by directing them by my own will to make them contribute to my moral and physical perfection.'—Vol. i. pp. 235-7.

Such a nature as this seems hardly fit for the active battle of life. There was no doubt much that was morbid in it, and depression of spirits was the natural effect of illness; but Albert seems to have had that remarkable power—so inconceivable to the world, which S. Paul mentions among the paradoxes of the Christian life, of being 'sorrowful yet alway rejoicing.'

One more extract from his Pisa journal we must make to show the sweet tenderness of his nature:

'Feb. 17.—My day began with a sad spectacle. Eight convicts were sweeping in front of our door, chained two and two with heavy fetters, and dressed in red,

¹ 'Silloné.'

the sign here of being condemned for a term. Only two were in yellow, the token of a convict for life. These two likewise had in large letters upon their breast "*Furto Violento*." They are but recently sentenced, I think, judging by their clothes, and were no doubt the same who were lately exposed in the square, and condemned for this crime. A dreadful sight are these men, blotted out of society, with nothing more to expect from it but scorn, fear, or pity. What bitter feelings must fill their souls! O merciful God, just God, cause resignation to bring them calmness and hope in a better life! May the example of Jesus, our Saviour, teach them to accept their bitter cup, and recollect that the Divine Pattern of resignation and suffering was also a pattern of virtue and love. O Lord, my gentle Jesus, when forsaken of men, Thy angels sustained Thee, and shed tears for their Master's grief. Grant even to those unworthy of such a grace, that when men abandon the wretched, the angels from heaven may come and sustain those who are unable to hope, save in Thee, and must fail without Thy aid. Oh, pardon them; let one tear be on their heart ere their death.'—Vol. i. p. 232.

On the whole, Albert's health had not become worse during the winter, and it was decided that the summer should be spent at Korsan, Prince Lapoukhyn's estate in the Ukraine. Sea voyages were thought beneficial, and the journey to Odessa was to be made by water. In March therefore the journey was made to Naples, where the whole family were again together, and where the sisters for the last time saw Albert up and walking about.

They embarked for Malta, and thence sailed again for Smyrna, Constantinople and Odessa, enjoying to the utmost the lovely scenery of the Greek waters and all its associations, and in health for complete delight. They were met at Odessa by Alexandrine's mother and her husband, and kept their quarantine in a very agreeable fashion. They were permitted to see and talk to their friends, as long as they did not touch them, and they had a large and comfortable house, and an excellent cook whom Prince Lapoukhyn had put into quarantine with them. In due time they arrived at Korsan, in the midst of the Ukraine, one of the splendid palaces of the Russian nobility, full of copies of the most perfect works of art, and with an orangery in the centre of the house.

The visit began there joyfully; but before it had lasted a fortnight, the hæmorrhage began to recur, and in a few days so violent an attack came on that for a short time there was imminent danger. On one of those days of anxiety Alexandrine, opening her New Testament at hap-hazard, fell upon the words: 'Honour widows that are widows indeed.' It was her first realization of what was impending over her.

However, Albert regained strength and set out to return, travelling through Austria. In the meantime M. de la Ferronnays had purchased the Château de Boury, in Normandy, and gone to reside there with the rest of the family. This had been a great delight to Albert, who had become weary of his wandering,

exiled life, and longed to return to France. At Vienna, however, he was sentenced by his physicians to spend the winter at Venice, a mandate that he accepted with instinctive reluctance. It was at Vienna that he and Alexandrine for the last time went into society, and the last time that she appeared in full dress or was at any public festival.

When she arrived at Venice, in October, she was still as it were halting between two opinions: she was still swayed entirely by human affections. She writes to Montalembert on the 23d of October:

'Let me speak to you with the greatest frankness. That of a sister is permissible to me, towards you, for no sister could love you better. I have a sorrow that constantly occupies me. My happiness would be in being of the same religion as Albert; but, besides the doubts that still remain with me, what chiefly withholds me is, that I should break my mother's heart—that mother to whom I owe the very happiness of being married to Albert. I should break her heart *physically* as well as *morally*. I know she cannot believe that Catholics regard as possible the salvation of those of a different faith, and she would always think that by changing, I should fix—not only for time but eternity—a frightful gulf between myself and my own family. What mother would consent under such an idea? Indeed, I myself, if I were told that my poor father had the *worse* portion, and that Albert was destined for the better, and that by choosing one I should separate myself from the other for ever, I think that since happiness would be promised to Albert, I should let him enjoy it alone, and that I would go to rejoin my poor father, like the Pagan prince.'—Vol. i. p. 327.

Here she tells at length the story of the Frisian chief—whom Pauline has already described as a great hero of hers—who refused baptism rather than forsake his forefathers when they were consigned to perdition by Christian teachers, not content to leave them to stand or fall to their own Master. Her mind had not yet learnt to contemplate the obligation of seeking God in His highest Truth, and His appointed means of union with Himself, and communication of His grace; as yet it was mere pious sentiment to be derived from prayer, intellectual exercises, or the exaltation of sacred music. She had attended no Protestant worship since she was at Naples—she delighted in being present at those in Italian churches, and was ill with grief at the separation when Albert communicated without her. At this point she remained through the early part of the winter, but in the beginning of March, Albert had a terrible attack of inflammation—Fernand was with him, and the others were sent for from Boury. He seemed so near death on the night of the 6th of March, that he asked for a confessor, and then it was that Alexandrine cried in her anguish, 'Have we come to this—have we really come to this! Now I am a Catholic!' At the moment Albert seems to have been too ill, or too much occupied with collecting his thoughts for con-

fession, to notice her words; but he began to rally almost immediately after the priest left him, and a relic of S. François de Sales was brought to him in the course of the day, to which his rapid improvement was so much ascribed by all around him, that Alexandrine became more entirely confirmed in her resolution. Of course the joy her change gave to him was no small assistance in his partial recovery, and she never hesitated for a moment after the words had been spoken, regarding them, as she said, as a 'moment of inspiration,' and she wrote both to her mother and to Pauline Craven. M. and Mme. de la Ferronnays and Eugénie were daily expected, and Albert, who knew by this time that his state was hopeless, begged her to remain among them, and not make her home with her own mother, saying, however, 'You are too young—you will marry again.' He was better by the time his parents arrived, and Eugénie wrote to her elder sister in a spirit of much thankfulness for both the joys that had met them on their arrival, though with no delusive expectations:

'How strange it is,' writes the young girl in this her first experience of trouble, 'to dare to approach everything, utter everything, and thus look grief in the face so very near. I think the reason it can be done is the constant thought of the other life, the certainty that happiness is nowhere but there, that life in this world is only a journey, of which one longs for the end, where weariness will rest, gloom be enlightened, and this our great need of love and thirst for happiness, will be satisfied.'—Vol. i. p. 375.

By the 10th of April, Albert was well enough to be taken by easy stages to Paris, where he arrived on the 13th of May, and was placed under the care of Dr. Hahnemann, the inventor of homœopathy, then an old man of eighty. He was so much struck with Alexandrine that he took her hand and told her that in sixty years of practice he had never seen so loving a wife. But this loving wife had become so awake to the full blessings of the Church, that she could write to Montalembert that she should be happier as a widow, as a Catholic, than even with Albert if she were to continue a Protestant. Looking over this letter in after times, she wrote on the margin: 'O, how winning is truth, since only one of its rays, lighting on my heart, even before I embraced it, could thus make itself preferable to Albert!' This would, indeed, be a perilous book to one who did not feel that Alexandrine's gladness flowed from her new sense of union with the Church; and that the Church is as truly ours as it became hers when she quitted the religion in which she had been, as it were, a mere unit, instead of a member of a great body connected with one Head.

On Trinity Sunday, the 29th of May, 1836, after attending mass in church, she dressed herself in white, with a broad blue

ribbon crossed on her breast, and then returned to her husband's room, where the Abbé Martin de Noirliu, his most confidential friend and spiritual guide, said mass at a temporary altar, and then received the abjuration which was made by Alexandrine on her knees, and which was afterwards attested by her husband, his parents, and his brother and sister. There was no question of baptizing her conditionally, as the Roman Catholic Church *does* respect the validity of Greek baptism. It was striking, that on that night the Princess Lapoukhyn dreamt, in Alexandrine's words, 'that she saw me a little child again, sitting down, dressed only in my little shift, with my head crowned with a wreath of flowers like darts; that the costume vexed her; and then that I wanted to give her these large flowers in my crown, but she refused them—Oh! till when?'

There was a strange, deep, holy bliss and repose resting on them all at this time. To some of them it was but the Delectable Mountains; to Albert it was the Land of Beulah—a time of almost unbroken peace and joy.

'On the night of the 1st or 2d of June,' his wife writes: 'I was in Eugénie's room at one o'clock in the morning. I thought Albert was asleep. Suddenly we heard the notes of the piano; it made a painful impression on us. I knew it was Albert, and I think I said it was the last time he would touch those notes. I went to him. He was in a melancholy but very sweet reverie. His faithful nurse, a sister of the order of Bon Secours, was there too.'—Vol. i. p. 401.

Still he was on some days so well that it was hoped that he might go to the chapel of L'Enfant Jésus to share with his wife in her first communion; but he was too much reduced to be able to receive, fasting, in the forenoon, and on that account a dispensation was obtained from the Archbishop of Paris for a mass to be celebrated at midnight in his room, on Sunday, the 3d of June, as the only hour when he could receive, fasting. Otherwise, he could not have communicated except as a dying man, and the service must have been unsuitable to so joyful an occasion. The celebrating priest was the Abbé Gerbet, an intimate friend, and one of those most closely connected with the French revival, the author of '*Rome Chrétienne*,' and other books much valued in the French Church. He died in 1859, Bishop of Rossignan. At the time Albert was forced to be in his bed. His parents, his sisters Eugénie and Olga, and his friend M. de Montalembert, were the other communicants. Alexandrine was in white, her bridal veil on her head, and the altar was decked with the richest silks of her scarcely-used trousseau. She knelt by her husband's side, holding his hand, but when the moment for her reception came, he withdrew it from her, saying 'Go, go; be altogether God's.'

A kind of trance of spiritual ecstasy seemed to enwrap Alexandrine in these days. Her journals seem lifted above the world. One of her wedding-presents had been a pearl necklace, which, however her mother would not let her wear at her marriage because of the German saying, *Perlen deuten Thränen*, and she now sold it, and gave the price to the poor as a thank-offering. She wrote these thoughts on it:—

‘ Pearls, tokens of tears,
 Pearls, tears of the sea,
 Tearfully gathered from its depths,
 Often tearfully worn amid the pleasures of this world,
 Tearfully laid aside in the greatest of earthly sorrows,
 Now at last go and dry tears by being changed into bread.’

Her devotions absorbed her greatly, and perhaps the last feeling of self-reproach in Albert’s sensitive mind was for one moment’s complaint that she was less occupied with him than usual. At the sight of her tears he begged her pardon most tenderly, and afterwards said to Eugénie, ‘I have been bad; I have been jealous of God.’

Once too he threw his arm round his wife’s neck with the irrepressible cry, ‘I am dying; and we should have been so happy!’ but in general his heart was wholly fixed above, and his resignation perfect. He lived to see Mrs. Craven again, and survived till the 29th of June. That night Alexandrine was so physically exhausted with watching and fatigue that she was perfectly bewildered, and fancied herself speaking to Fernand in a window, where no one was standing. Eugénie made her lie down on her bed; and when Albert asked for her she did not know where she was going, and twice passed before his bed without seeing anything. He died at six o’clock in the morning. His father alone spoke, ‘You who have never grieved us—the best of children—be blessed. Go! Do you hear me still? ‘You are looking at your Alexandrine, you are blessing her.’ These were his broken words, while the Abbé Martin knelt beside the bed, and the nursing sister recited the Litany of the Dying. The Abbé Martin began the words of the parting absolution: ere it was ended, Albert was gone.

And then follows the question—What would become of these highly-wrought feelings of Alexandrine? A large list might be written of disappointments in widows. Many a woman has been carried by a beloved husband into a higher world, and has lapsed again, when the excitement was over, into a commonplace, worldly frame of mind, and has forgotten her first faith in more senses than one. Alexandrine’s own mother had, after scarcely four years, returned to a gay life and married again; and would she herself, only twenty-eight, beautiful, admired, childless, and

by nature lively, playful, and with the keenest enjoyment of all the pleasures of the world, remain faithful to the tone of exalted devotion to which she had been so recently introduced, and remain true to the beautiful portrait that Eugénie copies from S. François de Sales as descriptive of her in the early days of her bereavement?

‘The widow indeed in the Church is like a little March violet, who diffuses a peerless sweetness around her by the fragrance of her devotion, remains almost always hidden beneath the large leaves of her lowliness, and by her subdued colour witnesses to her chastened state.’

This is the question answered by the second volume, to us the more interesting of the two, since it not only completely develops Alexandrine, but likewise brings into much fuller relief the two sisters, Eugénie and Olga, and the parents, who hitherto were only a sort of chorus in the life-drama of the loves of Albert and Alexandrine.

The young widow was at first almost lifted above grief, but in a few days came a terrible reaction of agonizing sorrow and longing for death, when no one could afford her any comfort but the Abbé Gerbet. At the end of a week she went with the others to Boury, a dull and far from beautiful place in a flat country of field, divided by monotonous poplars. It looked very dreary to the sisters, who had been accustomed to the loveliness of Italy; but it accorded with Alexandrine’s state of mind, and she always was much attached to the place. Eugénie above all devoted herself to be her constant companion and comforter, and there was a certain calmness in her life, which she was grieved to break upon by the necessity of going to meet her mother at Kreuznach. Her health was perfect; she speaks once in her private journal of almost detesting her body as a prison whose bars would not give way; but she suffered from a terrible lassitude.

‘I feel so indolent, so dejected, that I do not like to write even in this book. I do not know how I would pass away my life—in hearing music—always music—in turning over pious books, but rather still his own papers—in talking of immortality and the eternal reunion—and I have scarcely any of these enjoyments. But what matters it? How can I wish for any solace whatever to my wretched, dejected, colourless life, without him?’—Vol. ii. p. 34.

In September she returned to Boury, and there the Abbé Gerbet met her. He was, ‘as it seemed, raised up by Heaven itself to console and heal this sick and rent heart;’ and she never ceased to consider his presence at Boury at that time as one of the most thankworthy blessings of her life. On the 23d of September Eugénie wrote to her sister—

'Alex and I are leading quite a monastic life. Not a soul to see, not a visit to make or expect. Now and then we laugh; then we are surprised to hear ourselves, and we tell each other that one laughs all one's life. *I think that is because of hope.*'—Vol. ii. p. 86.

Mrs. Craven paid them a visit in the course of the next month, and if our brief outline has taught our readers to love Alexandrine as the perusal of the book has made us do, they will not grudge reading the following picture, as a companion to her exquisite moonlight of three years before:—

'A servant received us at the hall-door, and told us that my father, mother, and Eugénie—who did not expect us that day—were gone to dine at Dangu, and that Madame Albert (for so Alexandrine always chose to be called) was alone upstairs in her room. He wanted to inform her; I made the mistake of preventing him, and hastening upstairs I crossed the corridor, and entered Alexandrine's room without knocking. There was a thick carpet on the floor, and the door opened noiselessly, and I was but a few steps from her without her seeing me. O what a shock the sight of her was! I had left her at Paris, carefully, even elegantly dressed, for (I forgot to say so elsewhere) Albert, even in his last days, had clung to the pleasure of seeing her in the dresses and jewels she had worn in their happy days and was soon about to lay aside for ever. Now, I found her in the deep mourning which, as Eugénie had well said, seemed to be deeper on her than on anyone else. She was seated on a carved high-backed chair, which Albert had given her, and leaning on a table of the same kind covered with a sky-blue cloth. The mournful widow's cap which she was to wear habitually, was hung on the back of her chair; her head was uncovered, and her brown hair in confusion. A single small lamp on the table lighted the large room, and the bed-curtains (thick green damask, also bought at Venice by Albert) still hid me from her. I saw her then, almost as in the portrait I possess. It was a moment that I shall never forget. I advanced—'Alexandrine!' She quickly raised her head, saw me, and sprang to embrace me; but surprise and agitation made her stumble, and she fell on the floor at full length. I was much frightened, for I thought she had fainted, but she was herself again quickly, and her first words were to ask pardon. "Do not think I am always like this," she said. "Oh no; I assure you, you will find me much calmer than you suppose. There are still many things that I enjoy." Indeed, when once recovered from the first shock, she sat down by me, and with a sort of tranquillity, we had our first sad conversation, and in spite of all that had happened since we parted, and of all she had to tell me—in spite of our sorrow and our tears, this first hour of meeting was to both of us more sweet than painful.'—Vol. ii. pp. 36-38.

It was a peaceful life that the family were leading, under the grey sky, Eugénie devoting herself to Alexandrine, and she dwelling for ever on the papers and journals from whence she compiled the narrative of the first volume, while Olga, now fifteen, was growing up into an important member of the circle. Eugénie was naturally of a blithe, mirthful temper, with extreme ardour in whatever she was doing, whether in the way of devotion or of common life, and her brother's death had infused into her such a deep and fervent spirit of piety, that it seemed as if only a directly religious consecration could satisfy her aspirations. Olga—tall, fair, slender, and graceful—had a graver and more thoughtful disposition by nature; and this was enhanced by the

constant inconveniences caused by her defective eyesight. Her eyes had been weak ever since she was eight years old, and in so peculiar a manner that she could not see in a full light. In a shaded room, or out of doors after sunset, she could see as well as other people, but on a bright day she was dazzled, and could perceive nothing distinctly. She was eager in study, and in the cultivation of her talents, but she was often checked in the midst by incapacity of seeing, and reduced to sitting in a twilight room, dreamily touching the keys of her piano. Sometimes, when in a picture gallery, enjoying herself thoroughly, a ray of sunshine upon the most noted of all would entirely hide it from her. Sometimes when a walk was taken to see some charming landscape, at the very moment when all emerged from the shady path, and exclaimed at the glory of the scene, that very glory eclipsed the whole to her. Sometimes at church she would close her book, without showing either grief or impatience, and, as she said, begin to think, because she could not read. These constant privations, whenever they recurred, were quietly laid by her as sacrifices before God, and she thus acquired a peculiarly calm, sweet, meditative character, and a sort of angelic gentleness. Once when she had been taken to witness the grand procession of the Fête Dieu, at Naples, she saw perfectly till the moment it passed, when the sun, flashing on the gilded banners and on the soldiers' weapons, completely blinded her for the time. After a silence she said, to her sister, 'I saw 'nothing; but I am not vexed, I have been so happy thinking 'what God will let me see in Paradise to make up for all I miss 'here.'—P. 122, note.

'These eyes that, dazzled now and weak,
At glancing motes in sunshine blink,
Shall see the King's full glory break,
Nor from the blissful vision shrink.'

Of all the family Mrs. Craven considers her father to have been the most affected, and the most beneficially, by his son's death. Faith had never been absent from his mind: he had always been a good, loyal, upright man, and with a warmth of heart and attractiveness of manner that made him greatly beloved; but from this time his religious sentiments were quickened, and his piety, humility, and charity became remarkable, and continually grew and increased. 'Oh,' said his wife to Pauline during this visit, 'how I envy and admire your father! Since 'our dear child has been in heaven, he seems to be there 'himself.'

Music was the only thing that still seemed to give Alexandrine pleasure, and the Abbé Gerbet ministered to this enjoyment by composing hymns to several of the tunes to which

lighter songs had been sung by her and loved by Albert. One composed by the Duke de Rohan, often sung in their days of courtship, beginning—

‘Ton souvenir est toujours là,’

he now changed for one beginning more brightly than the worldly lament—

‘Oui, l’espérance est toujours là.’

To appreciate French poetry is always difficult, but the Abbé Gerbet was a veritable poet soul, and his thoughts are always exquisite. There is a charming morning hymn of his at page 48 of vol. ii., which was sung at the family devotions in the chapel. Eugénie, Olga, Alexandrine, and the brothers when at home, formed a choir; an organ was purchased, and played by Eugénie, and village girls were trained to assist with their voices. The Christmas midnight mass, when Alexandrine and Olga led the *Adeste Fideles*, the *Adoremus* and *Magnificat*, and the choir boys wore white tunics and blue ribbons—made out of M. de la Ferronnays’ *cordon du Saint-Esprit*—is described by Eugénie with intense delight, and is only inferior in beauty to that three years before, described with equal zest by that other Eugénie, plodding through the frosty night to her homely little church, and delighting in her bouquet of the fair flowers of the hoar-frost.

The young ladies began to collect classes of village girls for religious instruction, for the Curé was very old and in feeble health, and they found them very ignorant, one difficulty being that of making them understand that ‘*Le Saint-Esprit*’ is not a Saint, like S. Peter or S. Paul. Alexandrine also began to exert herself among the poor. Her first endeavours are described by her father-in-law with a certain tone of amusement, as if he had a shade of doubt of their permanence in the Russian beauty :—

‘Alexandrine revives under the influence of the Abbé Gerbet’s kind conversations. She takes much delight in them, and is thus regaining her activity of mind. Besides, she works, she knits, I know not whether well or ill, but she makes an enormous number of caps and petticoats. She goes to see the poor and takes them money; she goes to see the sick, and takes them recipes; she even sometimes hazards a prescription—two days ago a bread poultice, *l’imprudente*! and yesterday she even went so far as to order a mustard plaster!’—Vol. ii. p. 53.

This was in a letter to Mrs. Craven, who was on her way to Lisbon, where her husband had an appointment. The spirits of youth were returning fast to Eugénie. ‘Sometimes,’ she says, ‘I am so merry that I can only speak in recitative;’ but after describing one of her pranks, she adds—

'Ah! my Pauline, what do you say to such diversions to our usually grave thoughts? They are strange, and contrast with this poor Alex's deep heart. But, *que veux-tu?* She will allow herself, as you know, and will have, no society. These innocent little jokes occupy her for a few minutes and make her laugh. They do not distract her from her grief, but they take up some of the moments which would be spent in seeing that happiness is over for her.'—Vol. ii. p. 66.

Eugénie had always seemed to her sister marked out by her intensity of devotedness for a strictly religious life of conventual character, but their mother's opinion was otherwise. She wrote thus to her eldest daughter:—

'O my dear child, do not tell me that you think all is over with my dear Jane,¹ or that so many charming gifts will be buried and lost. Believe me, there is something in her nature of the little boy in the child's story-book, who, when in winter he was sledging and snowballing, cried, "Ah! if it could always be winter!" and in the delight of spring flowers, "Ah! if there were no end to spring!" and the same with summer and autumn. At Paris, she thought she could live nowhere else, and that the religious opportunities and interests of all kinds were as necessary to her as air to breathe. Now here, she cannot understand how she can ever leave her poor people and her chapel to return to Paris. If such a circumstance as I imagine possible should come to pass, I do not see why we should think her invulnerable to such a new impression, and you quite give me pain when you seem to accept her life such as she has made it, without foresight, and under the influence of the present period. After all, God is there, and, as you say, He has given us too many proofs of His protection for us not to give ourselves up entirely to Him. Most wonderful! I ask of Him nothing for Eugénie but to let me clearly perceive His will concerning her, and to continue to bless her.'—Vol. ii. p. 152.

This was written a few months after Albert's death, and we cannot refrain from giving a little more from the papers of this excellent woman. Deeply pious herself, she had a strong dislike to all that was peculiar, exaggerated, narrow, or calculated to attract notice; and when Eugénie, in the sweet, youthful severity of her twenty years, talked of wishing to be plain instead of beautiful, or showed an open disdain for the affairs of common life, with a degree of scorn for those who attended to them, Madame de la Ferronnays was distressed, tried to check her, and then almost repented, and wrote thus to Mrs. Craven in the beginning of 1837:—

'Perhaps I am wrong, and I acknowledge it; but this in part arises from the notion I have always formed of perfection, which I always viewed as becoming all things to all men, preferring rather to give up some attractive devout observance than to grieve or vex others by marking their great distance behind, and never losing sight of the aim of showing how loveable and how easy is that love of God which always inspires such consideration for others as I like to see in practice. However, there is great perfection in thus rising all at once without looking at the earth. Eugénie has chosen the better part, and this would perhaps be God's judgment between us two. Certainly, I am far

¹ Eugénie's pet name.

from her, and it is perhaps for this humbling reason that I do not always understand or approve her. *My large wings hover scarcely two feet above the earth; and when I say my wings, I fear they are really good stout hooks that fasten me to the earth, and hinder me from rising, merely allowing me to lift up my head a little and gaze at the sky and things ethereal.*'—Vol. ii. p. 117.

This wise and humble woman—this model for the many mothers perplexed by their daughters' aspirations—writes again in the July of the same year:

'Eugénie has gained much for some time past. Last winter the idea of a *ménagement* could not penetrate her head. She pushed her devotion in full front, through the very narrowest places,¹ and always seemed put out² when there was any attempt at recommending her the least precautions on this head. Now the dear child understands them of her own accord, and takes them of herself; and this is a great pleasure to me. She is the first to devise the right means; and for my part, I think the little efforts to be able to serve God without grieving or shocking any one are so many fresh pleasures.'—*Ibid.*

This softening in Eugénie was a preparation for 'the circumstance' her mother 'had thought possible.' The intimate friends of the family were the Marquis and Marquise de Mun. The former had been one of the members of the numerous emigrant household with which Madame de Tessé roamed through Switzerland and Germany, and had been with Madame de Montagu when she learnt the tidings of the martyrdom of her sister, mother, and grandmother. In the spring of 1837 they lost their only daughter, Antonine, a great friend of Eugénie's, and the intensity of their sorrow occupied the La Ferronnays family so completely, that when it became perceptible that nothing would so console them as a marriage between their only son Adrien and Eugénie de la Ferronnays, she would hardly have dared to grieve them by a refusal. In November, 1837, Alexandre writes:—

'MY PAULE,—Eugénie is writing to you in the drawing-room, and every one there is busy, so I shall do the same and come to gossip a little with you. Perhaps it is an omen, like some other little things, that for the first time I cannot find a single sheet of my black-edged writing-paper (to which I hold, as to all my mourning). This is a parenthesis, before coming to a singular, unforeseen thing, worthy of the strangeness of life, of which you already probably know something through your mother, who hides nothing from you. Then, to the point. I shall not tell you much, for, first, I am very prudent, and will not commit myself, and then because, in fact, I am sure of nothing. But I will agree with you that I am a little surprised, and that it appears to me that our Eugénie's complete aversion to marriage is slightly shaking. Poor dear, she would be displeased with me if she saw this, and that would, perhaps, be enough to put an end to this mood. We must take care, the least imprudent word might overthrow the little flower that is just beginning to spring out of the snow. So, Pauline, you must answer *me*, on a sheet apart, to myself (for

¹ 'Elle présentait sa dévotion de front, aux passages les plus étroits.'

² 'Contrariée.'

Heaven's sake not in a letter to Eugénie: do not mistake). Do not allow yourself the slightest pleasantry with her, nor the most remote insinuation. Nothing—nothing, if you wish for this marriage.

'For my own part, I do not know what I wish; but I see that *he* does not at all displease Eugénie, and I think it not impossible that he may seize on her heart by surprise, provided he knows how to set about it, and I confess I think him capable of knowing.

'I will say to *you*, my Paule, that I think I am not too presumptuous when I say that this heart of Eugénie's is almost in my hands. I was almost alarmed to perceive this, and the terrible responsibility it gives me. I pray God to direct every word I may say to this angel, and to every one else, in this matter. I did not think I had such an ascendancy over her; I thought, on the contrary, that she governed me. Yet still she says things like what she used to say, some months ago, that she had rather be grilled on a fire than change her condition, &c. &c. But I represent to her that, unless she is absolutely decided against marriage, she had better have an amiable man whom she can love, than run the risk of having to consent later to an unloving marriage to please her friends.'—Vol. ii. p. 152-4.

A few days later, the mother could write that all was arranged, and her heart swam with gratitude, and Eugénie herself, in a few hurried lines, says:—

'O life! life! it is very short, but it has time to be thoroughly overset. Joy and grief, take care it shall not be monotonous. I have one wish clear, —always to love death, and to long most of all to see God.'—Vol. ii. p. 155.

Poor Eugénie! she was more startled than happy, or perhaps she was startled at her own happiness, and full of dread of the future; but on her first visit to her future home at Lumigny, the terrible void left by the daughter's death, and the affliction of the parents, convinced her more and more that there was a vocation for her there.

Mr. Craven could not leave Lisbon, but his wife came alone to attend the marriage, and, after a terrible voyage, arrived just in time. The wedding took place two days after, on one of the first days of March, 1838, but the joyfulness of the day was much discomposed by an accident that befell Madame de Mun on the way to the chapel. Her dress caught in a doorway, her hands were in a muff, which prevented her from catching her son's arm, and she fell, cutting her forehead so that Eugénie, who ran to assist her, had her bridal dress spotted with blood. Madame de Mun would not permit the wedding to be delayed, and the accident proved to be of no consequence, but it made a painful impression.

Alexandrine took a full share in these family joys, and showed herself cheerful, active, and possessed of a playfulness that, as Mrs. Craven says, with half an apology, rendered her a very amusing person. But these festivals left her afterwards a prey to the reaction of bitter regrets for her own past happiness. Sometimes she almost seems to hug her grief, one would at first

say morbidly, but that it gradually reveals itself that she felt this sorrow was her preservation from becoming again absorbed in the worldly pleasures for which her natural inclination was so strong. Her love for Albert had given her mind a direction towards Heaven, and she clung to it the more on that account. In the summer she made another journey to meet her mother in Germany, not without regret that she would thus be prevented from spending the anniversary of her husband's death at his tomb at Boury. How she did spend it must be told in the words of her own letter to Eugénie :

'ISCHL, July 3, 1838.—Dear Sister, I have always something to tell you, and I am going to make a long story, though I am tired of so much writing. Yet, in the drawing-room this evening I had a secret jubilation, a delicious enthusiasm, which made me think of beginning my letter with "Blessed be God for having brought me to Ischl." The material things of the evening, and the conversation between four women, without reckoning ourselves, cooled me somewhat. But my mind is still full of gladness. I have been able to do a service to a dying consumptive patient and a priest. Unless I had come to Ischl he would have died under a load, from which, by God's grace, I have been able to deliver him.

"I like to tell you all at length. Yesterday I took a fancy to go into the garden (if I had not gone thither I should not have had the pleasure of being where I have been). I first admired the roses, the butterflies, &c., and then sat down in a little arbour to read Bossuet. I was surprised to hear bells ringing, and thought something was going on at church. I asked a maid, who answered, with some agitation, that the Holy Sacrament was being brought to the sick young priest. I had heard mamma mention this young priest, and had already struggled with my shyness to tell her that I wished to go and see him. This took me there naturally. I knelt down, like every one else, under the gateway, while the priests passed; then I went up also, and was present at his acceptance of the Holy Viaticum and Extreme Unction. All those present wept, even the parish priest. Afterwards I asked leave to come near the patient. I said I had seen my husband under the same disease. I was much moved. Consumptive, and a priest—a priest only for eleven months—and whom I knew to have made himself ill by over-study. Oh, it all seemed so holy ! He had a peaceful smile. I asked his blessing and knelt down by his bed : he seemed touched, and blessed me, with his cold hands on my head. It was a sweet recollection all day. I much wished to return to-day ; he had told me he should be glad of it : *happily* I was told he was worse and his death expected every moment ; this gave me an excuse for returning in the evening. Thank God, mamma never hinders me. He asked pardon for not talking, saying it was forbidden. After having looked at him with pity and respect, and watched the oppression that, alas ! I know so well, I was going, when the happy thought occurred to me of saying how I wished I could do anything for him. He softly said, "There might be something." I quickly asked what. He answered,—“If I knew all the circumstances.” I insisted. He said,—and again I met that strange symptom in this disease of fancying oneself recovering,—that when he was better he would tell me. Judge whether I insisted. Then he said, “It cannot be told here.” There was a nurse : I understood, and so did she : she left the room softly, and I told him we were alone. He hesitated, and said it was too bold. I cried out that I begged him to regard me as a sister, and thus to speak to me, that we are all brethren. This made him speak in an instant. He had a debt that he felt

immense (it is 300 francs). He had studied, though exceedingly poor: his books had ruined him; and his parents have eleven children. He was dreadfully grieved at leaving them this debt, the amount of which he had only calculated a few days previously. Imagine if I did not tell him that he had it no longer, and whether I was not happy! He thanked me, and I thanked him for the great delight he had afforded me. Oh! to hear him say that he was relieved of an enormous weight; it was sweet, I assure you. But he repeated that "it was too bold, that but for his illness he should not have done it, but illness changes one," while I repeated that we had but one Father and are all brethren. When I bade him sleep well that night, he smiled at me, as if to say that *now* he could. To-morrow I shall carry him the money, after my dear seven o'clock mass. He will not die to-night. I long to give it to him,—I can hear him cough, my window is open, and I have just seen his light, for it is his room that I see from hence. I ask you if it is not Albert who gave us these lodgings, where we established ourselves on the 29th of June.¹ Oh! what a sweet favour from God is this! What delicious thoughts I had while at work this evening! After a thing like this I do not feel my troubles for some hours, I feel nothing but faith and love. Oh! sweet, fraternal, Catholic union! How sweet and peaceful was the whole scene in his room yesterday and to-day,—a sunbeam shone on his bed through the Venetian blind; he has a piano and flowers, a little white smiling room. A priest's death appears to me a degree more solemn than it did before. He wrote to his parents to-day. Oh, may they come in time!

Wednesday, July 4.—I carried it to him this morning. I cannot tell you what I felt when I saw the joy in his eyes, and heard him again say that "a great burthen was taken off his heart, and that he was able to sleep for some hours last night." When I told him I was so happy to have been there, he answered that it was he who was happy, that he had not known what to do, and that God had sent an angel to his succour. He said this quite simply, and I could accept the word more than one usually can, since angels are but the messengers of God, and it seems evident that I was the messenger of His will. Oh! what good it does one! This is the second time I have had the pleasure of being able to assist a priest: M. L.—last year, and this year one in a decline. I always have such a wish to give any pleasure to consumptive patients, especially in their last moments, and I had so prayed that God would give me a very good work for Albert's anniversary. Send this letter to our good and holy friend,² for I cannot write all this twice, and I should like him to know my joy.

'I get blessings wherever I can. The other day I made an old dying woman give me one, and heard her say almost the same words as I have heard M. l'Abbé quote, "Suffering is not sinning."

The young priest died a few days after Alexandrine left Ischl. She went thence to Vienna and Prague. Near Prague lay Kirchberg, the residence of the Duke of Blacas, the same ex-minister of Louis XVIII. whose name is now become so interesting to us for the sake of that exquisite collection of antiques which have just been purchased from his heirs for the British Museum. His duchess was a sister of Madame de la Ferronnays, and Kirchberg was at this time giving shelter to the exiled Royal Family of France.

Eugénie writes to her sister:—

¹ The day of Albert's death.

² The Abbé Gerbet.

'Listen how our Alex. made her entrée at the Castle of Kirchberg. There is nothing like a shy person for making a bold stroke! You know she was to have a meeting with my aunt two leagues from the castle. She came to the place and found no one. Then all alone, without Julien or Constance,¹ she got into a sort of cart, with a great bag in her hand, her bonnet all on one side, as often befalls her, and effected her entrance at the castle, where she was received by my aunt with the greatest affection, and on the spot presented to all the royal family! Then at the end of two hours, she set out to meet her mother. Poor dear! Fancy her arriving in a cart, her hair disordered, her shyness enduring this terrible trial of awkwardness. As to her success, I am not uneasy. Does she not always please, and everywhere, no matter how? We know that she was excellently received by every one, and was further expected with great curiosity.'—Vol. ii. p. 205.

She says herself:—

'It was rather strong for me, was it not, and all without time to change my dress or my stockings, and with hair that there had not been time to plait and scarcely to fasten up. It was a real *coup de feu*, in the midst of which I had to silence my vanity; but altogether I was greatly interested.'

A-propos to her vanity, as she calls it, the Princess Lapoukhyn was so urgent with Alexandrine to make her mourning less deep, that she yielded, so far as to change her black caps and collars for white ones. 'She would persuade me to wear silk, and even grey. Poor mamma! she would like imperceptibly to *me rémondaniser* a little, and I do not like to vex her, but she little guesses the effect that little word *grey* had on me the other day.' Nor did Alexandrine even make any further alteration in her costume, to which she clung, not only as a memorial of her Albert, but as a preservative from the allurements of the love of admiration, which was so natural to her, that once in the last year of her life, when she was told of some one who had been struck with her appearance, she cried out, half playfully, indignantly, 'If some one told me I was pretty in my last agony, I should be pleased.'

She returned to France in the autumn, and found Eugénie exceedingly happy in her new home at Lumigny, so happy that she almost wondered at herself, and delighted in summing up in her letters all the joys of her life, and these were increased on the 25th of April, 1839, by the birth of a son. In the autumn there was a general family assembly at Boury, including the Cravens, who were on their way to reside at Brussels, and afterwards M. and Madame de la Ferronnays, with their two youngest daughters and Alexandrine, set out to spend the winter at Naples, partly for the sake of revisiting scenes so much endeared to them, partly because variety was thought good for Olga, and because the ladies of the family had always thought that M. de la Ferronnays suffered from the want of all natural beauty in this dull Norman landscape.

¹ Her servants.

Olga's journal here becomes the principal guide. Mrs. Craven describes its very aspect as touching, the irregular writing so recalling her infirmity, and there is about the expressions a certain childish artlessness that we fear a translation can never render. She was then just seventeen, and the scenery of Italy charmed her intensely. At Naples, too, she met two Russian playmates of her early childhood, and was so full of enjoyment that she then seems to have had the one naughty fit (or what so seemed to her) of her innocent life. She writes in her diary :—

'To-day, I have had both sorrow and joy; sorrow, because my father was displeased that I stayed so late yesterday evening with the Narishkins, and I am so foolishly timid that I stayed a whole hour with him, wishing to speak it all out with him, and instead of daring to open my mouth, I cried. Mamma told me, because of yesterday evening, that she was frightened to see how easily I let myself be carried away by the charm of present pleasure. It is quite true, I let myself go with every impression without ever having energy to consider the consequences and take good resolution. Well, *pazienza*, may God make me good, and correct me of my faults.

'I said likewise that I have had joys. Ah, yes; a true joy. Fernand told me that yesterday evening he was with E. S. R. and M., and they read aloud a letter from Père Lacordaire, addressed some years ago to R.—a magnificent letter! At first they made jokes, but by the end every one was grave, and at last they all took good and serious resolutions, and to-day I have a note from the N.'s telling me that R. told them he said his prayers yesterday for the first time since last October. This gave me pleasure such as I cannot express. It seems to me as if, if everybody was good, I should be better.

'My God, my God, by Thy suffering and death, by which Thou hast promised to refuse nothing, let this be lasting, let them become good. Bless them, my God; bless Fernand, and grant him the grace of Thy love! Make E. become good and serious, and let him know, I pray Thee, what a happiness it is to love Thee. Bless S. and make him become a Catholic. Confirm R. and restore all his better feelings; protect, inspire, strengthen them. Bless them a thousand times, O Lord, and let this not pass away, I implore Thee; let them all find pious wives, to help, encourage, and love them. I shall pray much for all this to-morrow morning, for I am going early to church to confess and communicate.

'M. l'Abbé told me to-night to say my prayers, and go to sleep banishing all thought of sadness. I am going to do so. Bless me also, O my God, I pray Thee; I love Thee, and I will love Thee all my life; inspire me with the prayers I ought to make, and grant me, of Thy favour, a little fervour.

'My God, my God, may Thy will be entirely done in me. Thou knowest what I wish, but I would have none of it, if it be not Thy will. Make me truly good, humble, modest; give me the energy I need to correct myself. Lord, Thou knowest that I should like to be happy, and that is not surprising to Thee, is it, my God? Thou knowest the kind of happiness I desire; if Thou wilt, give it to me. But hear me not, if I ask what displeases Thee. Let me die rather than offend Thee mortally: that I have always asked. Make me ask it always. I pray for all I love,—my dear father and mother, my brothers, my beloved sisters, my friends Mathilde and Fanny, my other sisters, Euphémie and Nathalie. I will love Thee, my God. Pardon my many faults; I will not think of them, I will only think of Thee, my God, of Thy infinite love; I cast myself into Thine arms. Let me love Thee, Lord, and never love any one more than Thee.'—Vol. ii. pp. 255-7.

We have given this day's journal at length, though well aware that some will deem it puerile or trifling, because we find in no other means could the peculiar tender sweetness and confidence of Olga's nature be shown. She wrote at the same time all that was on her mind to Eugénie, and her answer to the confession of the little fit of dissipation is well worth preserving :—

'Feb. 17th, 1840.—Dear little Sister, to tell you the truth, I believe you are only experiencing the passing effect of your first year in a world where everything is striking, surprising, agitating. Distrust yourself, my Olgette, try to master your thoughts if you can. Amuse yourself simply in the world. You are so young! When the time of true sorrow has come, you will regret having saddened your poor heart at the moment when it only wanted to expand and be happy. What is the ruling notion in all this? A vague uneasiness about the future, a sort of haste to know how it will be fixed. Be then at peace, trust to God, and direct your thoughts and will to Him when you feel yourself agitated by this wave of the world. My sweet little sister, let me recommend you one thing in which you have never yet failed; but you never should fail. Whatever are your thoughts, feelings, dreams, confide them always, never shut them up within yourself, for the devil makes his profit of these wrong retreats into ourselves. When one has a mother like ours, and a sister like our Pauline, to whom one can say everything, and who only argue with you with tenderness for what you express, would it not be a sin to refuse such assistance?

'Watch over yourself, distrust your languor, give yourself a little physical and moral activity, just as I set myself sometimes to laugh and talk in order to conquer my frequent inclination to be silent. Walk about, do many things in a day, never refuse a commission, set chairs when they are wanted, pick up handkerchiefs for those who let them fall, and keep off your absent fits as one keeps off bad thoughts. Believe me, it is necessary: these are real little acts of virtue; they will cost you something, but they must be done. Another piece of advice with regard to Albertine. You must help her out of childhood; the work belongs to you. Give it a little of the interest you expend too much on other things. Be to her what Pauline was to me. When she took possession of me I was a raw lump (*morceau brut*), she polished and formed me. The doors of my understanding were all closed; she opened them, and that time has always seemed to me like the passing from night to day. Will not you do the same for Albertine? If I was there, I should do it *con amore*, for Pauline is always before my mind. Do not forget to answer me. Tell me how you contrive with your dress, and how your purse stands. Pray have no debts.'—Vol. ii. pp. 259-60.

In April Madame de la Ferronnays and Olga went to spend a couple of months with Madame de Blacas, who was then at Goritz with the Royal Family, then consisting of the Duke de Bourdeaux, his sister, not yet married, and the Duke and Duchess d'Angoulême. They were very gracious, but it seems to have been horribly dull for poor little Olga, except when she was with the young princess—Mademoiselle, as she was termed—who was delighted with her young companion. We cannot refrain from giving another extract from the naïve journal :—

'Sunday, May 17th.—This evening, at the King's, there were a good many people from Goritz, some very pretty. As no work is done on Sunday, there

are cards. I lost. Mademoiselle was charming, with natural flowers in her hair. At half-past eight the Queen rises and dismisses the company, then sits down again, and one remains *en petit comité* till nine, when every one retires. Mademoiselle told me she was always in bed by thirty-five minutes past nine. She gets up at six—that is not bad—nine hours' sleep! Oh! poor princes, they do not lead a very gay life. In the evening everybody sits working round a circular table, and Mademoiselle often yawns with all her might without the least restraint. She laughed as she told me how she spent her time in her brother's absence. She was alone with her uncle, her aunt, and Mme. de G. "It was very serious," she said. I should think so! More so than Boury, when there is nobody but me to make talk. Well, though I was sometimes tired at Boury, and longed to travel a little, I never was unhappy there. On the contrary, I had delightful moments of calmness and serenity such as one can hardly experience, I think, except in a regular life, especially in the midst of a numerous family where there is all the charm I have always experienced in mine. A uniform life is not at all wearisome. Yet one does want a little variety from time to time. Then my life, such as I dream of it, would be charming.'

'Saturday, 23d.—To-day I went out with Mademoiselle in the carriage and on foot. She gave me a charming little parasol when she went to Strazaldo. I do not think there exists, or ever existed, even in a fairy tale, a more charming princess.

'A walk with her, then a long time in her room. She played the harp, and I sang. Got up at five to say adieu to the Queen, who goes at six. Walk to Saint Maur, my aunt's country-house, with her, my mother, Stanislas and Olivier.¹ A delightful place, but these walks are real crosses to me, because of my eyes, and I am not allowed to mention them to every one. I had much rather do so, as an excuse for my awkwardness and *maladresse* in these walks. I always have the *spleen* in them. I cannot say a word. I cannot tell how to answer when I am asked how I like the view. My God, I assure Thee it is a cross. I hope Thou so lookest on it. I offer it to Thee certainly, but I cannot say I like it, or that I had not much rather be without it.'—Vol. ii. pp. 266-7.

Poor little dear, the next day she writes:—

'I read over what I wrote in my journal yesterday and thought myself horribly silly, and it actually came to mamma's eyes, and she thought so too. I will not set down all that comes into my head, it is so absurd when one reads it again. I end all my *châteaux en Espagne* by giving myself up entirely to God, and to-day there is no great merit in it, for I desire nothing at all, not even what I thought I desired yesterday. It quite chills me that mamma thought that silly. Imaginary sentiments are always ridiculous. I will write no more of that kind, and think it as little as possible.'

The real sorrows that were to cloud the poor child's life began to gather. Eugénie's health was breaking, and after the birth of her second son she was ordered to Italy, where she arrived in the autumn of 1841, with her husband and her eldest child, and the usual home party went to spend the winter at Rome, all except Alexandrine, who was with her own relations, having lately lost one of her brothers.

Madame de la Ferronnays had for some time past been anxious about her husband's health: occasional spasms had attacked him, and though these were always relieved at once by bleeding, she

¹ Her cousins, the Count de Blacas and Duke de Tourzel.

much dreaded that there was some deep cause for them. When, therefore, his death took place, on the 17th of January, 1842, so suddenly that Olga and Albertine were dressing for a ball at the time, she could scarcely be said to be unprepared. Indeed, in her first letter to her eldest daughter, written only four days later, she says, 'The dread of this moment had been the fixed idea of her life for forty years; she had feared losing him from the moment she was his, and had never had an hour of entire forgetfulness that thus it might be. Trust and prayer to God alone had kept her up under the trembling of heart in which she had lived.' She finishes this first letter, 'God has just laid His cross on my shoulders. I hope to bear it, if He will give me strength.' On the following day she writes at length to her daughter the history of the event, and of the many blessings that attended it. She herself had been unwell and in bed for the previous week, and had been a little surprised that he had not waited for her to join him as usual in the course of devotions at the Seven Churches, ending by communicating at S. Peter's. On the Sunday he dined with the Princess Borghese, and there was much interested in the account of a young Jew, at present a blasphemer, but for whose conversion Count Théodore de Bussière, an excellent French gentleman, was very anxious. M. de la Ferronnays told his wife about it on his return, speaking warmly of the good done by M. de Bussière, and adding sadly, 'I do nothing.'

The next day he went to mass, and afterwards took a walk with Eugénie and her husband; his wife, though quite well, reserving herself to take the two girls to the ball for which they were preparing, 'to the great compassion, I think, of our good angels, and of all who watch over us in heaven.' After gathering flowers with them in complete enjoyment of a lovely day, he left them and drove to Santa Maria Maggiore, where, as he told his wife on his return, he went through, according to a daily custom of long standing, the Office of Preparation for death, and then the 'Remember,' an intercessory prayer, was repeated by him more than twenty times, for, as he said, 'objects without number.' Then after the Benediction he returned home, delighted with his afternoon, talked to his wife about it, sat down to his desk and wrote, then dined, and afterwards had a game at play with his little grandson. There was a charcoal brazier in the room, and he had been warming his feet there, but probably the organic disease was really the cause of the attack that came on. He left the room, and presently his wife was summoned and was told he had a spasm. A surgeon was sent for; by the time he came he was so much better that he did not bleed him; but just as he was gone another attack came on. Madame de la Ferronnays hurried to the stairs to have the surgeon recalled. When she returned

the Abbé Gerbet (who happily was then residing at Rome) was repeating the Absolution of the dying.

There was a glorious, radiant look of hope and joy; a murmured farewell to wife and children; an embrace to the crucifix; a word of thanks to Eugénie for raising his head with a pillow; and then the hand was motionless—the pulse beat no more. Who could have wished the last day of his life to be spent otherwise? Madame de la Ferronnays knelt on by his side. When her son-in-law came to her, hours after, she said, ‘I am well, I feel so near him. I think we have never been so united.’ And at day-break she went to church, and received the Holy Communion they had intended to receive together (it was the festival called *Cathedra Sancti Petri*), and doubtless together they did receive it. Except when at church, she sat or knelt continually beside the bed, only now and then yielding to entreaties that she would lie down in Eugénie’s room. Priests came and went, and prayers were constantly round her; but she was hardly conscious of aught but a constant effort to repeat that she strove to unite her agony to that of our Lord and His blessed Mother at the foot of the Cross. At last, the Abbé Gerbet roused her by pulling her by the arm, saying, with much emotion, that ‘Bussiére had something to tell her that would please her, and in which M. de la Ferronnays was concerned.’

Alphonso Ratisbonne, the Jew of whom M. de la Ferronnays had taken such interest, though he had never seen him, a highly educated man, son of a rich banker at Strasburg, had been sauntering in the church of Sant’ Andrea delle Fratte, where preparations for the funeral were being made, when, in the words of the Abbé Gerbet’s letter to Mrs. Craven, ‘he was suddenly converted, like S. Paul on his way to Damascus, by one of the miraculous strokes of Divine power and goodness. He was standing opposite to a chapel dedicated to the Guardian Angel, when suddenly a luminous apparition of the Holy Virgin signed to him to go towards the chapel. An irresistible force drew him thither, he fell on his knees, and instantly became a Christian. His first words to his companions were, “That gentleman must have prayed much for me.”’

We make no comment. Alphonso Ratisbonne lives a bright light of the Church, and the history is testified to by the Abbé Gerbet, Count Théodore de la Bussiére, and Count Théobald Valsh; and these are not men whose witness should be lightly regarded. Nor is this the place for the discussion. Our business is with the La Ferronnays family, who, as well may be believed, were lifted up with exceeding thankfulness, such as bore them, as it were, above their grief. Alexandrine, hurrying back to them, wrote, ‘Never was I in such an atmosphere of holy and

gentle sorrow, virtue, simplicity, and visible Divine protection.' Eugénie's spiritual nature rose at first, but at the expense of her already shattered frame, and as her disease made progress, her spirits sank into a state of extreme depression.

The physicians ordered her to leave Rome. She went on the 2d of April, leaving her little Robert with his grandmother. Madame de Bussière heard her whisper as the child was lifted into the carriage for her last kiss, 'You will never see your mother again;' but she seemed almost cheerful, as if feeling that apart from her dear ones she could better make the sacrifice. She was better at Naples, where she met her early friend Mme. de Raigecour, who, herself in delicate health, was on the way to the East with her husband. They embarked together for Palermo, where they arrived on the 6th, and still she seemed better, but at seven o'clock the next morning her husband knocked at the Raigecours' bedroom door, and they, hurrying to her bedside, found her expiring 'without a convulsion, without an effort, as gently as she had lived.' In her paper-case was found the beginning of a letter to Mrs. Craven, 'Dear Sister of my life,'—no more, the last words she ever wrote.

M. de Raigecour wrote the tidings to the Abbé Gerbet, who conveyed them to the mother. 'Our angels in heaven thought we had not strength to receive that last sigh,' she says to Pauline. One hardly dares dwell on the beauty of that mother's resignation and strength, while, as she said, she saw her 'tree of shelter losing its leaves one by one,' and already for Olga she had great anxieties, so severely had the sudden shock of her father's death told upon the young girl. The sense of being her mother's comfort, however, bore Olga up under this last stroke, and as soon as the widowed son-in-law returned from Naples the family returned to France, where Mrs. Craven came to meet them.

She had been very ill from the shock of Eugénie's death, but almost the first day of her going out at Brussels she had the great pleasure of meeting Alphonso Ratisbonne. He was about to become a Jesuit, saying that to Him who had given him so much he could not offer 'less than all.' He told Mrs. Craven that he considered no earthly tie equal to that which bound him to her father. 'I owe him more than life,' he said; 'I feel myself more his child than you yourself.'

The conversation she had with the convert infinitely cheered the daughter, and she felt strong enough for the sad meeting with her mother and sisters. She took them back with her to Brussels, and whilst she had the charge of them, Alexandrine, now consoler and comforter-general, was needed by her own family. Another stroke was near. The autumn was to be spent at a lonely little sea-place called Blankenburg, as being quieter than Brussels; and

there, one stormy afternoon, when walking on the beach, some inexpressible change was remarked by Pauline on Olga's face, that assured her that she would die. That very night a pain in the side came on: they took her to Brussels for advice, and there she lingered five months, suffering at first especially from a nervous affection that made her ready to weep at everything, until the time when her state was hopeless, when her cheerfulness became unfeeling. The spirit in which she endured is shown by one trait. Two days before her death, when broth was offered her, she said: 'I like water better;' then, 'I like better—JESUS CHRIST on the Cross did not say, I like.'

Her last words, as she lay with her arms crossed on her breast, were, 'I believe, I love, I hope, I repent. Into Thy hands I commend my spirit.' Then a few inarticulate words, among them the name of Eugénie; and even when speech was over, the triumphant joy of her countenance made her gasping breath seem like the panting of one close to the goal of a long race. She died on the 10th of February, 1842, thirteen months after her father, nine months after her sister. Alexandrine had already returned, and with her mother's full consent, resolved thenceforth to devote herself wholly to Mme. de la Ferronnays, who had now only her little Albertine, still a mere child, besides her married daughter, who of course could not be always with her. We have scarcely dwelt upon Alexandrine during the preceding two years, during which she was first gathering up all the sacred treasures of memory in Italy, and then ministering to all the afflicted round her—all the time working away at the Memoir of her married life, which, as before said, is the groundwork of the whole book—a seven years' task of love, to which she put her last touch on the very day of Olga's death. It was just after Olga had received extreme unction that on leaving her room Mrs. Craven was seized with a fit of weeping, and was for some time nearly choked with tears. Presently Alexandrine gravely and gently said, 'You weep because our Olga is going to heaven, and now she is almost beyond this world you would bring her back. Tell me then what happiness you can secure for her on earth?' Her tone and accent, her sister says, were 'indescribably impressive.' Indeed, these seven years had been a time of growth, and in it she attained to the development in which we now see her, as the blessing to her home, the active devoted labourer among the poor, and as a being constantly living as one above the world. Far from shrinking from the house of mourning, the mother and daughter-in-law went from Olga's death-bed to that of old M. de Mun, who had never really recovered from the loss of his daughter, but was now dying in so blessed a frame that, as he was listening to the chapter of Thomas

à Kempis on the joys of heaven, he said, 'I have read that often all through my life, but never understood it till now.' After spending some weeks with the widow and her son, they returned to Boury, whence Mme. de la Ferronnays writes one of her patient, beautiful letters:—

'BOURY, *Sept.* 1, 1843.—My dear beloved daughter, let us see how long it is since I wrote to you; I look at my diary and find it is the fourth day,—a long time. There was a time when one letter was scarcely ended before one thought of beginning another. Then there was movement and life, but, now what can be done to get out of the tomb I am plunged into? I see nothing, I understand nothing, I think of nothing. Besides, our convent life is so methodical and punctual that time sometimes fails me, and this regularity is a remedy, a refreshing balm to our wounds. And what wounds? Three living limbs cut—torn away, and the first wound still fresh and open. Certainly, if our good God were not the foundation of all our occupations and did not fill most of them, we should find nothing around us but death: but He restores life, at least I hope it is He.

I often pass from one frame of mind to another. The other day, on the stairs, I felt suddenly as if I were forsaken alone on a desert island, and I often have the restlessness of mind of wanting to be wherever I am not. On the whole, however, I had rather be here than elsewhere; I am more entirely with those dear ones; and then this dear chapel, where I hope they sometimes pity and weep for me, and understand how I miss their beauteous songs and heavenly voices. My kind Alexandrine is practising on the organ, and I feel most thankful to her. I know it is to please me, and so it does, for I cling to all that still remains of the past, or that can in the least remind me of it. Is it weakness or strength? I cannot tell, I should be inclined to call it weakness, and perhaps want of complete resignation: I know not how to make my sacrifice complete; I fasten myself on little things for want of great ones. But I think I can also say that there is a little desire to gratify those who want to gratify me, and to whom this gives interest and occupation. If I were alone, nothing would be thought of. Poor Alexandrine practised till nearly twelve on the organ last night, and this morning she played beautiful harmonious things. But the voices! Ah, that is what nothing can restore to us on earth.

'After breakfast, I begin by reading with Albertine, and afterwards with Alexandrine. Then Albertine brings me her historical exercises; I listen to her practice on the piano, and afterwards go into my room and arrange my letters,¹ and then time flies. At four I go to the cemetery, then for a little while to the chapel, then dinner, then a visit to poor Louise Thiars, or some one else, then the meeting in the drawing-room, where we are reading aloud the life of S. Francis of Assisi, then to prayers, and on our return, tea and bed; and then it is that sometimes when I am alone in my room, I am taken by nervous fears that keep me from sleeping. The complete solitude then becomes so oppressive that I should never sleep at all did I not think that those dear ones are around me, and guard my rest. We shall stay here then, as we are, till the 1st of November, perhaps longer, if the weather is fine. Dear child, I like to think you have such a fine season for your sea-bathing. Last year—ah! were we then at Blankenburg—if it had been as fine as now,—but no, she was ill already, she had that pain in the side. I am always fancying I am hearing of all these afflictions.'—Vol. ii. pp. 350-2.

As Madame de la Ferronnays began, through her spirit of resignation, to recover the tone of her mind, Alexandrine threw

¹ Her husband's letters to herself.

herself more and more into the world of devotion, and became more detached from ordinary life. Abbé Gerbet, her first confessor, was still at Rome, and Père de Ravignan was now her guide, and led her higher and higher; 'the first,' Mrs. Craven says, 'taught her to walk, the second to climb.' An intense desire took possession of her to devote herself entirely to God; she seemed to fear allowing any earthly consideration to detain her, and for a time entered the establishment called the Filles de Sion, founded by Père Alphonso Ratisbonne; but it did not answer; her spirit was too strong and independent for monastic life, and by Père Ravignan's advice she gave it up, and, as she said, 'returned to her sweet part of Ruth,' much the happier and more at peace for the experiment having been made, and being, as it were, off her mind. There was plenty of work for her to busy herself on in comparative independence of action, though not isolation; she became a member of one of those orders of S. Vincent de Paul that find and authorize work for every one in their degree, and while living at home toiled with all her heart for the poor.

Once she had been a great letter-writer, and loved to sit dreaming over her desk: now she was too busy to write often or at length, though her notes gained in strength and spirit. In the summer of 1845 she spent some time with Mrs. Craven at Baden, writing beforehand to say she only wanted 'a maid-servant's corner;' but the fond sister had of course prepared a room as pretty as she could make it, such as Alexandrine with her elegant tastes would have once enjoyed. But now, while coaxing her sister, and laughing at herself, she could not be satisfied till all the ornaments were taken away, and the furniture reduced to the merest necessities—it was a sort of repugnance to luxury and a love of likeness to the poor, and in the few weeks she spent at Baden she had found out so many poor that she spent all the mornings, and part of many afternoons, in attending on them. She read a good deal, but solely religious books; on secular books, such as memoirs, histories, or novels, such as had formerly interested her to an unusual degree, she had no power of fixing her attention.

'One day, in the course of this summer, we happened to be at the Hôtel d'Angleterre. Those who know Baden are aware that from one of the balconies of this hotel all that is passing on the promenade may be plainly seen and heard. We were on this balcony at nightfall; we heard the band play (and admirably) a waltz, and through the trees we saw the numerous groups of company, and from that distance everything took that festival air which is so easily assumed on a fine summer evening by this sort of assembly in the open air. This is even one of those external impressions that awaken in the heart of the young a feeling of gaiety and life that is not without danger to some.

'A few years earlier, Alexandrine would have carefully fled from any impression of this kind, because of the heartrending regrets the contrast would have

awakened, and also from a sort of dread (inspired by her self-distrust) of again finding herself accessible to the least attraction in a worldly or brilliant amusement, be it what it might. Recollecting this, I asked her what she thought of these distant sounds of mirth, which brought back to me so vividly the past days. She quietly answered me, with a smile, that she never thought of those days now, and continued to look at the promenade and the starry sky with an expression she wore sometimes, and which made her really beautiful. As I write, I see her as she was then, for the moment is one of those we have spoken of as difficult to describe as it is impossible to forget. She remained a moment thus: then taking from her pocket a little book, where she set down anything that interested her in her readings, "Here," she said, "this is what is really beautiful, interesting, and important," and she read me in Latin these words of, I think, S. Augustine, "*O amare! O ire! O sibi perire! O ad Deum pervenire!*" Never, never have I forgotten the tone in which she read those words, nor the hour, the place, the day, when I heard them. But I feel that it is very difficult to communicate this impression. All this, however, must tend to show the nature of the change in her soul, a change which was only the more complete triumph of that great love, which without excluding one of those affections that flow from it, can alone and without any of these, be sufficient for the heart and fill it.—Vol. ii. pp. 366-7.

Can we add anything to this? Yet there are a few traits more that must be given to show how the earthly love had raised the heart to heavenly love, and how sufficient Heaven now was to the once broken heart. 'We have had terrible days,' said Alexandrine, 'but now I mourn my Albert cheerfully.'

Her cares for the poor occupied her more and more. She gave away or sold for their benefit whatever was not absolutely necessary to her, and once when Mrs. Craven chanced to open her wardrobe, at Paris, she found nothing there but two black gowns and a small stock of linen. One day, when she had been caught in violent rain on one of the errands to the poor, which she always made on foot in all weathers, she took refuge in a house of the Sisters of Charity, where she was well known. One of the sisters told her that she had a pressing request to make her, on behalf of a poor woman who was in great need of a pair of shoes. Alexandrine at once took out the money, and presently a pair of shoes appeared, which the good sister insisted she should put on herself, instead of the worn-out pair she had on. Another time, a lady who had seen her in a church, went to the sisters of the convent it belonged to, and said that she had seen a lady, no doubt too poor to buy necessities, and that she should be glad to send her milk. She was much confused on hearing that this was Madame Albert de la Ferronnays; but Alexandrine herself was exceedingly amused at the blunder. This, however, was not till privation had really reduced her. She became more and more attached to her duties among the Parisian poor, and more unable to leave them when her mother-in-law went into the country. For several years after Albert's death she had kept on the lodgings in which he died, lending

them to priests who had to be in Paris on business; but when first her charities had begun to engross her, she gave this up as a selfish expense; and she now decided on taking an apartment at the convent of S. Thomas de Villeneuve. Mrs. Craven tried to dissuade her, feeling sure that she would injure herself by going without the comforts that she could not avoid in family life; but her mind was not to be changed, for she could not bear to leave her poor people for three months in the depth of winter.

All she could she gave to them. She would not have the fire kept up in her room when she was out, and she often returned shivering. Her diet was very different from what she was used to, and by the first week of 1848 she was seriously ill with inflammation. Her mother-in-law and Albertine were sent for; and, after an illness spent in full consciousness and perfect peace and hope, she died, on the 8th of February, 1848, having survived Albert twelve years. Her last words were not as those of one solely engrossed in the thought of reunion with him; they were of the higher Love.

The last remembrance Pauline had of her was standing in the sunshine in the cemetery at Boury, with a spray of jessamine in her hand, her face bright, her eyes on the sky, as she said:

“O Pauline, how could I not love God, how can I not be transported when I think of Him! Is there any merit in that, even of faith, when I think of His miracle in my soul? when I feel that after so loving and desiring earthly happiness, I have had it,—lost it, and been in the depth of despair? but now my soul is so transformed and filled with happiness, that all I ever knew or imagined is nothing, nothing at all, in comparison.”

“But, suppose you could be offered again such a life as I had hoped for you with Albert, and for long years?”

“I would not take it.”

After such a conversation it was blessed to think of her as laid in the other half of the double grave she had prepared long before, with a cross between, engraven with the words:—

‘Quod Deus conjunxit, homo non separabit.’

Madame de la Ferronnays survived till the 15th of November of the same year, when she died of a short illness in Mrs. Craven’s house at Baden. We feel that we have not done justice to the family portraits here presented to us, drawn by their own hands. Many beautiful portions have necessarily been passed over, among them the letters from the Abbé Gerbet, and the Comte de Montalembert, which form a marked feature in the book; but we hope we have said enough to set this most attractive type of excellence in some degree before our readers’ eyes, and show the gradual growth of the saint from the bright beauty.

It is, perhaps, a shock to some readers to be so fully brought

into a family interior. One almost feels oneself intruding : but it is now long since these joys and sorrows have become the treasures of memory, and Mrs. Craven, in compiling her collection, has but acted in compliance with a wish long ago expressed by M. de Montalembert, to make others know that a pure and sanctified love, ' the cup that God hath deigned to bless, need not sparkle less, or rather, that it may sparkle more than the world's gay garish feast.' It is to the credit of the French that they have appreciated the beauty at least of the delineation. Only a hundred copies were printed in 1865 for private distribution ; but an article in the ' *Revue des Deux Mondes*' made the characters of Eugénie, Albert, and Alexandrine known, and the volumes that lie before us in the spring of 1867 are of the sixth edition.

ART. V.—*The Æneid of Virgil, translated into English Verse.* By JOHN CONINGTON, M.A. Corpus Professor of Latin in the University of Oxford. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1866.

NOT so long ago it might have been inferred from their published works that the present holders of certain University professorships found a difficulty in settling down into their proper chairs. The Oxford Greek Professor was editing the Pauline Epistles, and thereby quitting his province of Classical Greek. The Corpus Professor of Latin was publishing translations or commentaries of plays of Æschylus. Nay, even within the last year, the curious in new book-lists may have discovered with puzzled wonderment that the Regius Professor of Hebrew at Cambridge has thought it worth while to put forth a text of Virgil, in which the quantities of syllables are marked 'Novo eoque facili modo,' in the fond hope of removing a stumbling block which must have stood, we suppose, in his own way, but never, that we heard of, in that of even the dullest of school-boys. Now, though it would be unjust to class this last professor with those before mentioned, in respect of the worth and wisdom of their digressions from their allotted fields, it cannot be denied that a more wide feeling of satisfaction is likely to be evoked by the visible signs which we now discern of each professor's fruitfulness in his proper sphere. If rumour speaks truth, an edition of Plato is to be looked for ere long from Professor Jowett. And, although the Corpus Latin Professor happened to be unable to tear himself from his Æschylus until after crossing the threshold of his Latin labours, it cannot be said that his has been an unfruitful occupation of his new chair, when to a scholarly translation of the Odes of Horace, and to a learned and reflective commentary on the works of Virgil, two-thirds of which are published and completed, he now adds an English version of Virgil's immortal Epic, which is calculated to enhance his reputation for scholarship and for skill in poetry. It is conceivable that, to one so imbued with classical tastes and so accustomed to research that what others have to hunt out over and over again from notes and commentaries, is laid up ready for use in the cells of his memory, the composition of a verse translation may take the pleasant form of relaxation and recreation. But not the less is the communication of such lighter labours to the reading public a matter for grateful

acknowledgment, as it affects not only the classical, but even the unclassical reader. To the former, while reading his Greek or Latin authors, reference to the pages of scholarly and accomplished translations can never be uninteresting or unserviceable: a passage which, despite of elaborate annotation, still retains around it an impenetrable mist, may be made light as the day by the help of an apt and terse translation. And to the non-classical, if they have any care at all not to be quite in the dark as to what their classical brethren reckon household words, it is of the utmost concern to have approved copies to recur to, when they are shut out, by lack of classical education, from the famous originals. It is a higher mark of cultivation, as all must allow, to have read Homer and Virgil, second-hand, through the medium of Pope and Dryden, than not to have read them at all; and in these days of plodding resolute self-educators, the nearer a translation approaches its original, and the more faithfully without sacrifice of the essentials of poetry it represents an author's words and thoughts, the more satisfactory will it be to such, because with it they will most easily bridge over the gulf that separates them from the great writers of classical antiquity. Indeed, it is impossible to enter so thoroughly into the beauties of our own sterling poetry and prose without some knowledge of the sources to which they owe so much in tone, thought, and turn of expression. The best makeshift is a good translation; and therefore it ought to rejoice the hearts of those whose learning is confined to their mother-tongue, when news reaches them of workmanlike additions to translational literature. Such an addition is vouchsafed us in the work of which the title heads this article; and probably the aim of its author has been, in some measure at least, to provide for the large class of which we have been speaking, as well as to invite the verdict of a more select few, the classical fraternity, upon the success of his experiment. For an experiment undoubtedly it is to venture upon ground occupied erewhile by one of the mightiest masters of English poetry, and instead of fitting himself with the same heroic buskin, to have resolution enough to *insist*, in the classical sense, upon a more tripping measure, involving a vast amount of watchfulness to keep it up to the dignity of his argument. But though in justice to the Professor, it ought to be known that in his preface he deprecates rivalry with Dryden, and relies for making good his own footing on the modest though ingenious argument that there is room and call for a Victorian translator of the *Æneid*, even as there was for a Caroline; for our own part we should be inclined to justify his entrance into a field where so weighty a competitor had been beforehand with him, by his far deeper knowledge of his author, his qualifications for

exactness where Dryden was inexact, his nineteenth-century light to throw upon a subject which was enveloped in no little haze to the contemporaries of 'glorious John.' Of course we stickle, from a sort of piety to the 'manes' of an illustrious poet, for the merits of Dryden's performance as a whole; but the few who have ever read him with the Latin text open beside them can by no possibility remain blind to the fact that he continually slurs over passages, which he did not, and perhaps cared not to understand. The different feeling of his age, and his already assured position as a poet, made carelessness seem more venial. Certainly, nothing about the dashing couplets and triplets in which he involves an obscure passage, tends to convey an impression that he regretted inaccurate scholarship, or would have said, could he have foreseen Conington's superior gifts in that quarter—

'Hæc eadem ut sciret, quid non faciebat Amyntas.'

As, however, Professor Conington distinctly repudiates the thought or desire of being pitted against Dryden, it is less needful to institute comparisons, than to take account, as far as possible, of the independent execution of the work before us. In doing so, it will be impossible to avoid occasional contrasting the later with the elder poet, any more than with the various blank verse translators, who have published their *Æneids* of late years. But Mr. Conington can stand alone, and when tried on his own merits will satisfy, we imagine, the strictest censors as to the skill evinced in the execution of his task. There is, indeed, we are aware, a *prima facie* case against his metre; and ever since the production of *Marmion* there has been a great deal said about 'fatal facility,' and many have been the parodies of that warrior's death scene, intended to heap ridicule on the metre in question. Be it so! Cavillers are welcome to the admission that, if unrestrained and unwatched, the octosyllabic measure with its occasional sexsyllabic variations by way of relief, is exposed to serious risk of degenerating into sing-song and jingle. But, before such condemn Professor Conington for adopting it, let them read and mark his practice. They will find that instead of abusing, or even using to the full, the authorized liberties of his metre, he has denied himself many of these, and kept his versification up to the pitch of dignity by strong and resolute forbearance. Poetic licence applied to this translation would in fact be a misnomer. 'In appropriating,' writes its author, 'a measure of considerable laxity to a heroic subject, I have been more anxious to curtail than to extend the liberty I have gained.' And by such a test the work, as it deserves to be tested, *in extenso*, this statement will be seen to be nowise unfounded.

Descents into the region of ballad sing-song are, so far as our observation serves us, utterly unknown to it; while the general character of the versification points to a much closer imitation of Virgil himself than of either Scott or Byron. Particularly Virgilian, for instance, is that rhetorical terseness which clothes brief and compact sentences, modelled originally after the fashion of Latin writers of the silver age, in a garb that fits them with admirable closeness. Such are the lines—

‘Tantæ molis erat Romanam condere gentem.’—I. 33.

‘So vast the labour to create
The fabric of the Roman state.’

‘Sunt lachrimæ rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt.’—I. 462.

‘E’en here the tear of pity springs,
And hearts are touched by human things.’

‘Possunt quia posse videntur.’—V. 231.

‘They can, because they think they can.’

and hundreds more of pointed, semi-adagial sentences, which are themselves on every scholar’s tongue-tip, and which reappear in this translation in forms peculiarly quotable.

To translate in such a manner that the result shall become what is called a standard work, there is need not merely of accurate research and minute study, but also of a certain brightness and affinity of fancy, which sees intuitively how to reproduce the essences of the original, not perhaps in the original form and shape, but so little shaken out of place, so slightly changed from their first semblance, that there shall be no substantial difference between the one and the other. The two criteria of a good version of a Greek or Latin author, will be faithfulness and grace; and it will not suffice to have the one, and to lack the other. Now, by these twin tests it may suffice to examine Mr. Conington’s *Æneid*, with a view to setting before the reader the claims upon their favour which it advances.

It must be borne in mind, however, that a review is but an imperfect vehicle wherein to put forward those claims, because it is necessarily unable to do more than produce fragmentary samples of the whole work, and can never hope to comprehend all its excellencies in a limited examination. Perhaps the best way to meet this difficulty is to limit ourselves to a narrowed field, and concentrate attention upon it, instead of ranging at will over the whole field. This course, at any rate, we propose to adopt at present, and, taking the Fifth Book of the *Æneid* for our private and special view, to give our impressions, as they strike us, of Professor Conington’s qualifications for winning the palm, in the arena into which he has descended. The Fifth Book of the *Æneid* is a favourite and a difficult book, as all who know much of Virgil can testify. It is a

Conington's Æneid of Virgil.

sort of respite from the war within and war without, of which most of the other books treat: from the siege and battle-fields of the second and the later books, as well as from the passion-conflicts of the fourth. And, as such, it ranks perhaps more with the third and sixth books than with the rest, though there is quite sufficient dissimilarity with even these to make it in many respects *sui generis*. For our purpose it is well adapted from its variety of incident, its exhibition of Æneas as a speaker, its sententious 'decoction of much matter into few words,' its illustration, in short, of almost every characteristic of Virgil. And it is certainly, as careful examination has convinced us, especially well suited to display Mr. Conington's fidelity to his model, and the sound judgment which he exercises in cases of difficulty; cases where he stands out in bold contrast to the more slack sort of translators, through the admirable exactness with which he marks his interpretation of a passage upon the face of the English version he gives of it. Where others resort to vague generalities to cover doubt and darkness, he will be found to set his credit on a cast, and to scorn a way of escape from wrong conclusions through having recourse to ambiguity. Let us take one or two instances where this feature has especially struck us. In v. 250-1 Virgil relates that the special prize to Cloanthus, as victor in the regatta, was a cloak brodered with gold, with two waving lines of deep purple—

'Victori chlamydem auratam, quam plurima circum
Purpura Mæandro duplici Melibæa cucurrit.'

If we turn to Dryden we shall find that, as one can help suspecting, from a disinclination to search deep for the interpretation of the word 'Melibæa,' he has determined to ignore both the proper names in v. 251, although he must have known the allusion in 'Mæandro,' which is clearly essential to the beauty of the passage. But it was awkward to do justice to the one geographical word and not the other, and possibly he either forgot why he rendered 'Ducis Melibæi' 'Philoctetes' in the Third Book, or was utterly unaware that he had ever seen the word before. Anyhow he could hardly have steered more dexterously clear of all geographical rocks, than in his translation of these lines—

'Where gold and purple strive in equal rows,
And needle-work its happy cost bestows.'

Nothing is gleaned from this as to the native place of the purple in question; and the unclassical would gain in it a very wrong impression of the Mæander, whose windings might be expressed by almost any word rather than 'rows.' Mr. Charles Kennedy, as one should expect, does far more justice to the Latin, when he translates the words as follows:—

‘A gilded mantle to the conqueror,
Round which a double *waving* border ran
Of Melibœan purple.’

But the palm for distinctness and eke for grace must be awarded to Mr. Conington, whose translation leaves nothing to be added or mended—

‘A gold wrought scarf, of rare device,
Upon the conqueror he bestows;
Around whose field meandering twice
A stream of Grecian purple flows.’

Herein we have seen a specimen of Mr. Conington's exactness, where his great predecessor had been, we suspect wilfully, inexact. Let us now cite a case where the latter seems to have erred from strange misapprehension, but where, as one might be certain, the Professor is far too safe-footed to trip over the same stumbling-stone. In v. 317 the competitors in the foot-race are described, on leaving the starting-post, as ‘*Effusi nimbo similes*,’ a phrase involving no doubt a little difficulty at first sight, but such as is cleared away very speedily, if we recollect that as the race was run on the turf, ‘nimbus’ cannot mean, as some have supposed, a ‘dust-cloud;’ and that, as ‘nimbus’ is some sort of cloud, or mist, or drizzling rain, it can still less have anything to do with the winds or their fleetness, as Dryden seems to have fancied. He renders the words—

‘Spread out as on the wingèd winds they flew,’

an extraordinary perversion of the sense of the words. But both in his commentary and his translation Mr. Conington makes Virgil's meaning indubitable. The point of likeness is that the runners were to all appearance like a rain-cloud in their confused mass and undistinguishableness. In the words of his translation, they

‘Pour from their base, like rain-cloud dark,
And strain their eyes the goal to mark.’

There is picturesque force as well as reality in this, as any one will own who has felt at such a moment the difficulty of distinguishing his favourite horse or runner from the mass, for the first few seconds after a start.

But, not to depart from the good intention of dealing as reverently as we may with Dryden, we pass to another passage in the same description of the foot-race, in order to show that Professor Conington hates the sin of unfaithfulness to such an extent that he disdains ambiguity, even where the Latin text is doubtful. Diore is pressing close upon Helymus, who up to that point had maintained the fourth place in the race, which

was well-nigh ended, and the text of every known MS., as Mr. Conington notices in his commentary, runs thus—

‘Spatia et si plura supersint
Transeat elapsus prior, ambiguumque relinquat.’—V. 325.

Now here, no doubt, the reading of Heinsius and Heyne, which substitutes ‘*ambiguumve*’ for ‘*ambiguumque*’ has a captivating simplicity about it. So most translators have thought, and among them Mr. Kennedy, who translates—

‘He in longer space
Had got the vantage, or ’twere doubtful who.’

But as a rule, which Conington is too good a commentator to violate, the easier interpretation is generally the rather to be mistrusted; and therefore he sets himself the same task in translation, which he had first accomplished in interpretation, namely, to extract sense from the more difficult reading. It is not against probability that Virgil wrote ‘*que*’ and not ‘*ve*’; and that the sense of ‘*ambiguumque relinquat*’ is, ‘would pass him, who is now doubtful;’ *i.e.* ‘would make him doubtful no longer, but clearly defeated.’ And with this view of the meaning, we question whether in all respects, save one, and that a trifling matter, a better translation could have been given than that which we quote from Conington’s *Æneid*:—

‘And had they run but few roods more,
Had passed him, shooting on before,
And made the vantage clear.’—P. 146.

Our reservation respects the force of the present subjunctives, which are so marked in the Latin, that we should have been glad had they reappeared in the English. Not, indeed, that they do so reappear in Dryden, Kennedy, or Miller; yet it would surely enhance the probability, and set the neck-and-neck nicety of the matter more vividly before the reader, were the English tenses conformed to the Latin, and were the text to run in this fashion:—

‘And, if they race a few roods more,
Passes him, shooting on before,
And makes the vantage clear.’

While venturing upon the suggestion of trifling emendations, so trifling, indeed, that the very mention of them proves the absence of aught like grave inaccuracy in the work, it occurs to us to suggest that in the rendering of v. 83—

‘Nec tecum Ausonium, quicumque est, querere Thybrim.’

‘And Latian Tiber to explore,
Whoe’er that Tiber be,’

‘*Whate’er* that Tiber be,’ might be read instead of ‘*whoe’er*.’ If Æneas did not know who or what Tiber was, the vaguer

pronoun would be the more suitable. At the beginning of the Eighth Book he learnt that it was a river-god, and then perhaps 'whoe'er' would have been appropriate. We should be tempted, also, to give a more exact rendering to the words 'famulumne parentis,' in v. 95:—

'Incertus geniumne loci famulumne parentis
Esse putet.'

'Not knowing, in his wondering awe,
How best to name the beast he saw,
The genius of the spot they tread,
Or *menial follower* of the dead.'

The Latin words point of themselves to the idea of 'familiar spirits,' with which our Old Testament and early English Drama make us at home. Why should we not read instead of 'menial follower,' '*liege familiar*'? But we are reminded by these proposed alterations, of a passage to which none could take exception, and which lies in the same page with them. It is descriptive of the mysterious appearance of a serpent just after libations and flowers had been offered on the altars to Anchises:—

'Dixerat hæc, adytis altaria liquit.'—V. 84—93.

'He ceased, when from the tomb below
A serpent, clad in glittering scales,
Seven coils, seven giant volumes trails:
Winds smoothly round the mound of green,
And glides the altar fires between,
His long back dappled with a glow
Half green, half golden, like the bow
That flashes 'gainst the sunlit skies
A thousand variegated dyes.
Then as amazed Æneas stood,
'Twixt bowl and cup the reptile wound,
Took tithing of the sacred food,
And harmless vanished 'neath the mound.'—P. 136.

A little study of this passage side by side with the Latin will show how every word is weighed and balanced in this translation; and in how just proportions accuracy and poetic taste divide the field. The words representing 'amplexus placidè tumulum,' in v. 4, are neatness itself; and the echoes of Milton's line (P. L. ix. 501), 'With burnished neck of verdant gold,' make themselves heard in the translation of

'Cæruleæ cui terga notæ, maculosus et auro
Squamam incendebat fulgor,'

where 'half green, half gold,' is a very pretty bit of word-painting. In the next verse we observe that Professor Conington translates as if he reads 'jacet,' whereas in his commentary he is neutral as to the relative values of that word and the other reading 'trahit.' But it is one gain of a translation, that it

fixes the sense, and settles the question. The length of the bow, in whatever way described, would not be so poetical an image as the effect of its glancing bright colours. We see, too, by the translation, that he makes 'nubibus' depend in construction on 'jacit:' 'flashes against the sunlit skies.' Lastly, there is more to admire in the turning of the words, 'Libavitque dapes,' 'Took tithing of the sacred food,' than in Kennedy's 'Licked the dainty food.' The phenomenon of the rainbow, so gracefully introduced by Virgil in the passage on which we have been dwelling, reminds us of another simile, drawn with equal grace from the starry heavens, to illustrate the miracle of the flaming arrow of Aestes at the close of the 'pigeon-match.' Here are the meteoric-lights, which kept many, who are not stargazers in general, awake and up for half a night in last November, presented as vividly in a line and a half of Virgil as they were only the other day by column after column of learned writing in the daily press. *Ecce signum!*

'Cælo cœu sæpe refixa

Transcurret, crinemque volantia sidera ducunt.'—527-8.

'So stars, dislodged, athwart the night

Career, and trail a length of light.'

Or, as Mr. Kennedy translates—

'Like a falling star,

That shoots her crystal tresses from the sky.'

This, by the way, is one of those phenomena in the *Aeneid* which Dryden did take note of and appropriate, as may be seen from his allusions to it in the 'Annus Mirabilis,' and elsewhere. Readers will not complain if we cite one other simile from the earlier part of the Fifth Book, 213—217.

'Qualis speluncâ subito commota columba,
Cui domus et dulces latebroso in pumice nidi,
Fertur in arva volans, plausumque exterrita pennis
Dat tecto ingentem, mox aere lapsa quieto
Radit iter liquidum, celeres neque commovet alas.'

'So all at once a startled dove,
Who builds her nest in rocky cove,
Bursts forth, and in her wild affright
Loud *flaps* her *fluttering* wings for flight:
Then launched in air, the smooth deep skims,
Nor stirs a pinion as she swims.'—P. 142.

This brief extract, had it no other merit, would serve to show that the Professor's metre enables him, in spite of the lesser space in his octosyllables as compared with heroics, to conclude a passage of Virgil not seldom in limits well-nigh equal. Here are but six lines of English to five of Latin. And yet nothing essential is sacrificed in translating. But it has the additional merit of exhibiting in one line, the fourth, all the symptoms of

the bird's terror in words purposely set together with a view to their imitating in sound the effects of that terror. The metrical or rhythmical effect is both happy and skilful.

Much has been said of Virgil's rhetorical power, and abundant illustration of it might be drawn from some of the elaborate speeches in the Fourth Book, which from time immemorial have furnished boys with materials for declamation. Some of Dido's moving appeals to her faithless guest reappear in Mr. Conington's version, in well-nigh equal forcefulness with the language of the original. They take no hurt, to our thinking, from exposure to a jingling and facile metre. Now it is scarcely fair to them to cut them in pieces, and serve up mere fragments to our reader. But a short speech of Nisus, one of the famous pair whose adventures are the subject of the episode in the Ninth Book, will do as well as the longest, to show the tact and talent, akin to that of his pattern and model, with which Professor Conington translates passages of this nature. In the foot-race Nisus had marred his chance of victory by an unlucky slip on ground reeking with the blood of sacrificial victims. To serve his friend's chances, as his own were gone, he contrived to trip up Salius, who stood between Euryalus and the palm. In the award of prizes Æneas could hardly with decency have passed over Salius, whose failure, almost at the very goal, was the result of foul play. He comforts him with an extra prize. But Nisus has a word to say to this arrangement:

'Hic Nisus, "si tanta" inquit "sunt præmia victis,
Et te lapsorum miseret, quæ præmia Niso
Digna dabis? primam merui qui laude coronam
Ni me, quæ Salium, fortuna inimica tulisset."—V. 353-6.

'Outspoke bold Nisus: "If defeat
Such vast requital needs must meet,
And falls win friends, what boon of grace
Were large enough for Nisus' case,
Whose merit made him first in place?
But fortune, with malicious glee,
That baffled Salius, baffled me."

Here, on a small scale, will be observed those felicitous imitations of Virgil with a terseness of which we have spoken, and on which Professor Conington prides himself. It would have been difficult to render 'Et te lapsorum miseret' in smaller compass: and the succinctness of the last verse in the Latin is reproduced almost word for word in the English.

But, not to linger too long over the Trinacrian games, we will only crave space for an extract from the account of the mimic cavalry practice of Iulus and his boyish comrades, the surprise for the spectators with which Father Æneas bade the games conclude. This has justly been held one of Virgil's best

pieces; and therefore it is doing justice to his translator to accompany him here over Virgil's ground. The Latin is too long to be transcribed, but the reader who desires to ascertain the merit of this translation by independent observation cannot do better than recur to it.

'Olli discurrere pares . . . luduntque per undas.'—V. 580—595.

'In equal parts the bands divide,
And gallop off on either side,
Then wheeling round in full career,
Charge at a call with levelled spear.
*Again, again, they come and go
Through adverse spaces to and fro :*
Circles in circles interlock,
And sheathed in arms, the gazers mock,
With mimicry of battle-shock.
And now they turn their backs in flight,
Now put their spears in rest,
And now in amity unite,
And ride the field abreast.
E'en as of old the Cretan maze
With blind blank walls its secret hid,
A tangle of a thousand ways,
Which whoso sought by signs to thrid
Went wandering, baffled and involved
Through paths returnless and unsolved :
Such tangle make the youths of Troy
As o'er the champaign they deploy,
And deftly weave in sportive play
A mingled web of flight and fray,
As dolphins at their sport with ease
The expanse of ocean sweep
'Twixt Libyan and Carpathian seas,
And gambol o'er the deep.'—P. 159.

Mr. Kennedy is more minute over the opening lines, and, in his opening words,—

'They break in three divided, opposite ways,
In open brigade flying,'—

seems at first sight to supply omissions on Mr. Conington's part, but on fuller consideration it will be found that this is one of Virgil's favourite double expressions of a single act. The only omitted feature is the division into three parts, and a reference to v. 560, 'Tres equitum numero turmæ ternique vagantur Duc-tores,' will show that it was unimportant to retain this feature. The more however the whole passage is looked into, the greater will be the satisfaction felt with a version wonderfully true to the sense, spirit, and where it is needful, to the letter, of the author. We have italicised the lines which represent the Latin—

'Inde alios ineunt cursus aliosque recursus
Adversi spatii,'—

because they present to our minds the exact, though by no means servile, copy of the original idea. The introduction of the labyrinth, a happy thought of Virgil's, is also happily transferred to English, and there is much felicity too in the way in which every thread of '*Texuntque fugas et praelia ludo*' is caught and made of avail. And, as should of course be the case in a good translation, the general effect is as good and true here as the details. The rapidity, without loss of dignity, the life and spirit never separated from thorough grace and fitness, are as noticeable in the copy as in Virgil himself.

The appearance of such a translation as that now under our notice is in truth a matter on which the lovers of English literature are to be congratulated. It not only is in itself a devout offering of 'incense at the Muse's shrine,' and one, too, which shows the votary to be a constant worshipper by divers infallible tokens of familiarity with the ways of verse and with the practice of the best English writers of it, but it also furnishes reliable assurance of the vitality of a pursuit so elevated and so refined. At certain periods in a nation's life there seems to superficial observers to be a decadence of poetry and a dearth of poets; and most people at the present time would chime in with the assertion, that, save in one or two exceptional instances, there are no poets amongst us worthy of the name. But a more thorough insight leads to other conclusions. The great names of a former generation are no doubt gone: the later schools of the poets have perhaps in some cases wooed nature and simplicity even to a fault, and in others run into the opposite extreme of aiming at startling effect, and what in poetry corresponds with sensationalism. The 'star-cracking' poetasters, against whom the clever 'Firmilian' of Aytoun was directed, have nothing in common with such as set store by classical grace and finish. But of whatsoever school they may be, it may be affirmed that all who have attained, even of late years, aught that approaches to durable fame and favour, have moulded their compositions more or less on the antique model, and submitted themselves more or less to the chastening discipline of Greek and Latin poetry. Public taste, possibly without conscious intention, exacts of a poet some amount of conformity with the classical type, and regards with distrust the revolutionary irregularities of self-taught genius, irreverent, because ignorant of Greek and Latin exemplars. Accordingly aspirants who make known their allegiance to the standard of antiquity, seldom fail of a welcome with open arms; and hence the warm greetings which hailed but recently the entrance into the lists of the classically-trained author of '*Atalanta in Calydon*.' His eclipse, partial or total, according as decency and good taste may or may

not enlighten his future, has at any rate been nowise owing to the classical element in his poetry. Another young and graceful aspirant, the anonymous author of 'Philoctetes,' a dramatic poem, has shown, a few months since, in a very eminent degree, how a refined and classically-moulded taste and fancy, under due restraint and bounds, can impart new life in new phases to the old legendary and mythical lore of antiquity. The reception of this 'study from the antique' evidences a deep-seated preference on the part of readers for poetry of a classical cast; and very probably the taste for translations and for translating, which has sprung up so remarkably of late among writers and readers, is at once a manifesto, on the part of those who would have English poetry become again what it was in its palmy days, that its strength lies in classical refinement; and also a preparation for returning to the older and better paths, when, in the revolutions of time, original poets reappear among us. Of this, at least, we are sure, that such translators as Mr. Conington deserve highly of that section of the republic of letters which administers the department of poetry; because they both hold up the standard of past excellence, and also give practical hints and lessons in the not easy art of imitating that standard. If it were feasible, one would desire that every aspirant after poetic laurels might be compelled to run a preliminary course in translation, or some kindred exercise, that so the wholesome discipline, so needful to securing excellence, might be attained. As remarked above, the happiest stanzas in some of Dryden's original poems reflect the classical author who had taken hold upon his memory, though he could not bring himself to apply himself in earnest to translate them faithfully. That Mr. Conington should betake himself to original poetry, whilst his duties lie in the direction of elucidating the Latin classics by commentary and translation, is neither to be expected nor desired. Yet were he to do so, we cannot doubt that his having gone through the prefatory process of translating would conduce greatly to success. Indeed, all intending writers of poetry will do wisely to resort to it, and will find themselves not a little indebted to those who, like the Corpus Professor of Latin, furnish them with a standard to aim at, and so promote the best interests of poetry.

There is another feature in Professor Conington's work, which comes out so distinctly that we cannot overlook it. His accurate knowledge of his author, his thorough penetration into his meaning and scope, extending, as they do, to the slightest particulars not less than to the more important points, have enabled him, no doubt, to produce a very life-like copy. Here is security at once for a work of commendable exactness, faithful

in a high degree, and breathing the very breath of antiquity. But translators have ere now made shipwreck through ignoring modern idiom and English phraseology in a slavish excess of zeal for what is ancient. It is well, undoubtedly, to guard against too closely following in the wake of those who have travelled the same ground before: and none will think the worse of Professor Conington for having taken little notice of his blank-verse predecessors, and for having had no further acquaintance with the rhyming translators of Virgil than the unconscious recollections of youthful reading. But whatever we may think of the undesirability of having the twists and turns of other translations at one's fingers' ends, before commencing a new one, there can be no question that a very helpful and important accessory in the composition of a version, that at all aims at being poetical as well as faithful, will be loving familiarity with the varied ranges of English poetry. Here it is that the translator before us outvies his fellows, as his whole work gives abundant proof. He has the tact and knowledge to determine what English poets are in style most akin to Virgil, and which have drawn most copiously from his deep well of beauty and grace; and the results of his familiarity with such are visible on the face of his translation. Thus,—to give an instance—when, at the very opening of the Seventh Book of the *Æneid*, we find ourselves carried with *Æneas* and his shipmates past the enchanted isle of *Circe*, and linger over the beautiful lines which, in this version, describe

‘Where she, bright daughter of the sun,
Her forest fastness thrills with song:
And for a nightly blaze consumes
Rich cedar in her stately rooms:
While sounding shrill the comb is sped
From end to end adown the thread:
Thence hear they many a midnight roar.
The lion strives to burst his cell,
The raging bear, the foaming boar,
Alternate with the gaunt wolf's yell:
Whom from the human form divine
For malice' sake the ruthless queen
Had changed by pharmacy malign
To bristly hide and bestial mien,’—

(P. 217. Cf. *Æn.* V. 11—20.)

we are won, as it were, to feel additional thankfulness to the verse and the versifier, because they avail themselves of old and delightful associations, and, in the work of adaptation, awaken memories of Milton's ‘*Comus*.’ There is a suspicion of an echo of *Hamlet* in the fine representation of those lines which conclude a speech from the shade of *Anchises* to his son after the burning of the ships—

'Jamque vale : torquet medios nox humida cursus,
Et me sævus equis Oriens afflavit anhelis.'—V. 738-9.

'And now, farewell ! Dew-sprinkled night
Has scaled Olympus' topmost height.
I catch their panting breath from far,
The steeds of morning's cruel star.'—P. 165.

And such neat and self-contained translations as 'Honey-dew and poppy-drowse,' for 'Humida mella soporiferumque papaver' (IV. 486), exhibit at once the copiousness and the legitimate character of this translator's poetic vocabulary. In truth, he gives tokens of being as much at home in English as in Latin poetry, and of having culled, bee-like, a rich gathering of the multifarious sweets of the former; but withal, he retains a staunch allegiance to his original. There might have been a temptation, when, turning into English the lines of the Fourth Book, descriptive of the culminating point of Dido's infatuation for Æneas, to have effected a loan from 'Paradise Lost,' where, in the Ninth Book, the trouble of the elements 'at completing of the mortal sin' is described in words that forcibly remind us of Virgil. But it is not Mr. Conington's wont to strain resemblances, or to go out of his way to produce new parallelisms; and hence in the passage referred to we have a grand, and at the same time strictly faithful, picture of what Virgil wrote :—

'Driven haply to the same retreat,
The Dardan chief and Dido meet.
Then Earth, the venerable dame,
And Juno gave the sign :
Heaven lightens with attesting flame
And bids its torches shine,
And from the summit of the peak
The nymphs shrill out the nuptial shriek.'

P. 108. Cf. *Æn.* IV. 165, &c.

Not, however, that this faithfulness ever descends into servility. It is a broad, self-respecting allegiance. Where the Latin will flow, word for word, into the English, without damage to idiomatic clearness and force, the current is not interfered with; but where a too exact translation would reproduce the ancient author's mode of thought or expression at the expense of simplicity, and by doing despite to our English modes of speech, a sense of propriety suggests the substitution of the nearest equivalent, and an extraordinarily poetic taste has no difficulty in finding and selecting such substitute. Thus arise such happy and finely-stamped recoinages as this from Book II. 238 :—

'Scandit fatalis machina muros
Feta armis.'

'So climbs our walls that shape of doom,
With battle quickening in its womb.'

'Pedes vestis defluxit ad imos,
Et vera incessu patuit dea.'—I. 40-45.

'Her falling robe her footprints swept,
And showed the goddess as she slept.'

'Heu! nihil invitis fas quenquam credere divis.'—II. 402.

'Alas, a mortal may not lean
On Heaven, when Heaven averts its mien.'

Sometimes, also, excellence is attained by almost literal translation. The Latin of the lines from Dido's banquet in the First Book—

'Tum Bitiæ dedit increpitans: ille impiger hausit
Spumantem crateram et pleno se proluit auro,'—(738-9.)

loses nothing in the almost word-for-word presentment of Mr. Conington:—

'Then challenged Bitias to the pledge;
He grasped the cup with eager hold,
And drenched him with the foaming gold.'—P. 33.

More imaginative, but not less graphic, is Dryden's corresponding couplet—

'With pleasure swilled the gold, nor ceased to draw,
Till he the bottom of the brimmer saw.'

But, to make an end of citations,—a poor expedient when the book, the whole book, can alone enable competent readers to form a just opinion on Mr. Conington's merits as a poetical translator,—let it suffice to direct attention to one or two passages of sustained excellence, and to commend our readers to the comparison of these with the originals, by way of acquiring an appetite for the rest. For consistent grandeur of description they may turn to the prophecy of the future destinies of the *Æneadæ*, which Jupiter vouchsafes to Venus, in I. 257-296 (compare E. T. pp. 12-14); to the vision of his descendants, granted to *Æneas* in the shades below (VI. 755-900, E. T. pp. 209-215); and to the kindred description of the Vulcan-wrought shield in Book VIII. which,

'Prescient of the years to come,
Italia's times, the wars of Rome,
The fire's dark Lord had wrought.'

(Cf. E. T. pp. 280-284.)

On these passages Virgil no doubt lavished all the pains and polish of his art, and small ground has his august shade for complaint of their treatment at the hands of his latest translator. For lively, well-narrated episodes, we would point to those of Nisus and Euryalus, Camilla, and, in the earlier books, the story of Sinon. Of speeches and appeals to the feelings the Fourth Book has the greatest choice. The first, second, fifth, and seventh books enshrine, to our thinking, the most precious gems

of scenery, both land and sea views. No one will pretend to say that the truest enjoyment of all these is not limited to those who can drink directly from the classic source. But the next best thing is to have recourse to translation; and those who are minded to do so are fortunate in having access to one so near the original in letter and in spirit. It would savour of flattery, such as Professor Conington would be the first to repudiate, did we apply to this work of his a line from one of the *Eclogues*—

‘Nec calamis solum æquiparas, sed voce, magistrum;’

but we may say thus much, in thorough honesty, that he has vastly improved the ‘calami’ which he borrowed from Sir Walter Scott; adapted them to a more sonorous music, as more congenial to Virgil’s minstrelsy; and furthermore, given an earnest of his intention not to ‘suffer them to remain inert;’ whilst as to his *words* and *diction*, he has been at successful pains to link noble words to noble sense, and to seek those words in the mines whence every good translator must dig them, the too generally hidden and buried treasure-houses of our English language and literature.

ART. VI.—*The Communion Office, for the Use of the Church of Scotland*, M.DCC.XCII. Aberdeen: John Wilson, 1866.

THE study of the Christian Liturgies has received a remarkable impulse, within these last few years, from the efforts that are being made for the restoration of the union of the several branches of the Church throughout Christendom, and from the translation of the primitive Liturgies into English by the late Dr. Neale and others. We may therefore believe that the time is not far distant when the various modern Liturgies will be thoroughly examined and compared with those ancient models, and that eventually it will be only what is able to bear the test of such examination and comparison that will be appreciated, or perhaps even tolerated.

With coming discussions in view, we are induced to give more space than we might otherwise have thought necessary to the history of a Liturgy which has already been much before the Scottish public, and which is likely to be still more if we read the signs of the times aright.

'The Communion Office for the Use of the Church of Scotland' is so much mixed up with the history and fortunes of that Church, and especially since the Revolution in 1688, that a brief review of the subject can hardly fail to be interesting.

For seven years after the Reformation in 1560 the English Liturgy was in use in Scotland. John Knox's, or the Genevan Liturgy, was then introduced, and continued to be used for upwards of forty years; after which we hear little more on the subject of Liturgies till the attempt of Charles I. in 1637, to introduce the well-known book which led to the immediate downfall of Episcopacy in Scotland.

At the Restoration, in 1660, very little seems to have been done in the northern kingdom with regard to Liturgies. The Episcopal form of ecclesiastical government was re-established; but the mode of celebrating the Christian mysteries, which had been sanctioned by the Westminster divines, and in use under the Presbyterian dominancy, continued, without challenge or change, down to the period of the Revolution. This, however, is not so much to be wondered at, when it is taken into account that the Westminster *Directory* prescribes a form for the consecration of the elements in the Lord's Supper, in remarkable

apparent agreement with that for which the Scotch Episcopalians have ever since contended—viz. : 1. Institution, in the words of Christ, or of St. Paul, 1 Cor. xi. 23—27 ; 2. A commemoration of the love of the Father, and of the sufferings and merits of the Son, and a thanksgiving for all the means of grace ; and 3. Earnest prayer to God to ‘ vouchsafe His gracious Presence, and the effectual working of His Spirit in us, and so to ‘ sanctify the Elements, both of bread and wine, and to bless His ‘ own Ordinance, that we may receive, by faith, the Body and ‘ Blood of Jesus Christ, crucified for us.’

At the Revolution, in 1688, the Episcopal Church was entirely dissociated from the State, and the Presbyterian established in its stead. Nor was this all. After the unsuccessful outbreak in 1715 in favour of the Stuarts, Episcopacy was not only deprived of the support of the State, but exposed to its active and determined hostility.

Being thus left to defend their cause as they best might, and in the face of the most active opposition both from the Presbyterians, who had now the sole ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and from the State, which looked upon them as enemies, because of their refusal to abjure the rights of the abdicated family, the Episcopalians were compelled to fall back on first principles ; to inquire how the early Church, while unprotected, or persecuted by the civil powers, could maintain her existence ; and so, so far as their own peculiar circumstances required or permitted, to adopt a similar policy. They soon perceived that their only chance of safety lay in bringing the Creeds and Liturgy, as well as the government of the Church, into exact essential agreement with the primitive standards—those standards which had sustained the Church amid the severest trials that could befall her. This led them to study the earliest and purest Liturgies of the Church. The result was that they discovered, even in the Scotch Liturgy of 1637, a discrepancy, although trifling, between it and the Liturgies of S. James, S. Clement, the Ephesine, or that of S. John, and the other primitive formularies ; and Bishops Gadderar, Rattray, Dunbar, Keith, and Falconer laboured, the one after the other, from 1721 to 1764, in bringing the Office of 1637 into full agreement, in all things essential, with those ancient formularies. This they accomplished, but not without considerable opposition. From political reasons, Lockhart of Carnwath, the Chevalier’s agent in Scotland, used his influence to have the English Office introduced into Scotland, and he succeeded in persuading several of the *College* bishops to support that project. Others deprecated the raising of any doctrinal discussion, which might hurt the Church in her then very feeble state. From both these parties

many irregular and uncanonical attempts were made for nearly twenty years to suppress the Scotch Office. But the more the early records of the Church became known, the more rapidly and steadily did the Scottish Liturgy make its way throughout the Church, till at last, so widely was the conviction respecting its primitive and scriptural character established, that even those who nominally employed the English Office altered it so as to bring it into ritual agreement with what had now become the national Scotch Office, or, as it was always entitled, 'The Communion Office for the Use of the Church of Scotland.'—See *Grub's Hist.* vol. iv. pp. 24, 27, and 87.

The exertions thus made by the Scotch bishops to strengthen their persecuted Church by a Liturgy, as well as by a Polity, in accordance with the primitive model, was thus crowned with success; and so great was the regard which it commanded, that Robert Lyon, a Presbyter of Perth, in a letter to his diocesan, Bishop Alexander, of date November 1743, says:—

'I am persuaded that the most of the clergy of my acquaintance, and of great sincerity I can say it of myself, would much sooner resign our several charges than give up the Scotch for the use of the English Office; yea, the greatest number, even of our laity, would desert us should we attempt it.'—*Stephen's Eccl. Hist.* vol. iv. p. 300.

It is not difficult to account for the support under persecution, and the consolation even in the darkest hour of trial, which the Scottish Episcopalians thus derived from their Eucharist Office. When a man knows and feels that the formularies of faith and worship which he uses are in strict harmony with the Divine record and the earliest and purest usages of the Church, he has what nothing else can give him—a full conviction that, however much the world may be against him, it is for God's truth that he is contending, and that he can therefore hold on his way unmoved by the opposition of men. Take away this confidence in the scriptural purity and primitive authority of the Liturgy he uses, and every man's heart, if it is right with God, will tell him that, however much biassed by party prejudice, he could not, in seasons of trial and persecution, possess that determination, nor feel that consolation, which are necessary to sustain him. Hence we can account for the regard and affection which the members of the Scottish Church felt for their national Office. They knew, and were convinced, that, in the most sacred act of worship, they used a form which enabled them to carry out their Lord's command, and to maintain their communion with His apostles and earliest disciples.

That this was the case, we may understand from the following excerpts from a 'Letter on the Scotch Communion Office, by a Priest of the Church in Scotland' (Masters, 1847):—

'The following presents a concise view of the subject :—

- I. The *Divine appointment* of the Holy Sacrament—"THIS DO in remembrance of me."
 1. The bread and wine are declared to be the body and blood of Christ—"This is my body;" "This is my blood of the New Testament."
 2. These are given or offered to God for us—"Which is given for you;" "Which is shed for you."
 3. An invocation or blessing, and a thanksgiving—"He blessed;" "He gave thanks."
 4. The elements are to be received in both kinds—"Take, eat; this is my body;" "Drink ye all of it; for this is my blood."
- II. In the *Roman Church*, the Sacrament is deficient in two of these essential points.
 1. At the time of consecration there is no express *blessing* of the elements, according to the Divine example; but a bare pronouncing of the words of institution only.
 2. The cup is refused to the laity, in utter contempt of the Divine appointment, "Drink ye *all* of it;" "Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink His blood, ye have no life in you."
- III. In the *Anglican Church*, the Sacrament is deficient in at least one of these points.
 1. There is, at the time of consecration, no "invocation" or "blessing;" and certainly it is doubtful whether there be any "oblation," according to the original institution.
- IV. In the *Scotch Church*, the form of consecration, as well as the rule of administration, is in full accordance with the *Divine appointment* in every respect.
 1. There is the form of institution;
 2. There is an "oblation," or "offering," commemorative but real;
 3. There is an "invocation," or "blessing;"
 4. The sacred elements are administered in *both* kinds—in "the bread," and in "the cup."—Pp. 6, 7.

In the same Letter the subject is further treated :—

'Two things are necessary to the right conception of the doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, and of its due administration. *First*, things to be *believed*; *secondly*, things to be *done*. The things to be *believed* are what Christ *said*; the things to be *done* are what He *did*.

'It is to be believed, then, that, *in the same sense* in which our Lord said of the bread, "This is my body," and of the cup, "This is my blood," the body and blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper. And hence, that all who thus discern the Lord's body, and so eat and drink, dwell in Christ, and Christ in them, and are one with Christ, and Christ with them; and that they shall be raised up at the last day.

'*Secondly*, Christ *did* this. 1. He took bread and wine, and said, "This is my body; this is my blood." 2. He gave or offered these to God to be the propitiation for our sins—"My body, which is *given* for you; my blood, which is *shed* for you." 3. He blessed. 4. He brake. 5. He gave thanks. This is what Christ did and commanded His disciples to do—"This do ye as oft as ye shall drink it in remembrance of me." It is by *doing* what He did that bread and wine become, in efficacy and in spirit, verily and indeed the body and blood of Christ, for inherently they can have no saving powers, nor be in any sense the body and blood of our Lord.'—Pp. 10, 11.

This sufficiently accounts for the partiality of the Scotch to their Communion Office. The dislike which they felt to the English Office was not, therefore, on the ground of *doctrine*, but on that of *validity*.

‘With regard to the things to be believed’ (says the same Letter), ‘the *doctrine* is the same in the Scottish and Anglican branches of the Catholic Church. They both believe that Christ is “verily and indeed” present in the Holy Eucharist, but *only* after a heavenly and spiritual manner; that we “spiritually eat His flesh and drink His blood;” that we are “made one with Christ, and Christ with us,” in that Sacrament.

‘But, in regard to the *things to be done*, there is a marked difference in the *practice* of the two Churches—a difference so great as to make it a matter of serious difficulty in the minds of many to recognise the completeness of the English service. The rule, indeed, is the same in both Churches—“Before all things, this we must be sure of especially, that this supper be in such wise *done* and *ministered* as our Lord and Saviour *did* and *commanded to be done*; as His holy apostles *used it*; and as the good Fathers of the Church *frequented it*.” Unfortunately, however, this rule has, in the English Church, become, in a great measure, a dead letter; but in the service of the Scottish Church it is still strictly observed.’—P. 11.

It is of importance to note this point, because on it hinges the whole cause of the dispute between the advocates and the adversaries of the Scotch Office. The *advocates* of the Office maintain that, in order to a valid consecration of the elements, the formulary must not merely contain the *true doctrine* of the sacrament, but also be *scriptural* as an *administrative* rite. ‘It is not a bare recital of the scriptural record,’ say they, ‘of what is to be believed or done with respect to this mystery; but a faithful observance of what our Lord ordained and commanded to be done, as oft as His death was thus shown forth. It is difficult to apprehend,’ they argue, ‘how the great spiritual change in the elements can be effected, where Christ’s ordinance and command are not duly regarded.’

This side of the question was clearly stated in the last century by L’Estrange, in his ‘Alliance of Divine Offices:’—

‘The recital of the words of institution, “*Take, eat; this is my body,*” passeth, in common vogue, for a consecration. Were I Romishly inclined, I should rather impute unto them the power of *transubstantiation*; for that a bare narrative can be qualified to consecrate is certainly new divinity, unknown to Scripture, and to antiquity interpreting it.’

This was especially exemplified in the case of the late Mr. Grieve, of Ellon, who, it is believed, was not singular in his opinion. He openly declared, in Synod, that—

‘He never did, nor could, communicate where the English Office was used, because of its defects as an administrative formulary, while he yet received and held, as firmly as any man could do, the *doctrine of the Sacrament*, as set forth in that Office.’

Nor is this opinion peculiar to the Scottish Episcopalians. Archbishop Laud, when on his trial, said—'As for the oblation 'of the elements, it is fit and proper, and I am sorry we have 'it not in the Book of England.' Bishop Overall, from a desire to supply this deficiency, transposed the first post-Communion prayer, so as to make it a part of the act of consecration. Bishop Wilson, with the same view, recommended a private 'oblation' and 'invocation,' 'immediately after the consecration,' according to the English form.

'Till I turned my attention (says the author of *Remarks on a recent Debate in Convocation, in reference to the Scottish Liturgy*) to the examination of the Anglican divines, with a view of ascertaining their sentiments on the deficiencies of the English Liturgy, I had no notion of the extent and variety of evidence they afford.'

He then quotes from the writings of *thirty-two* divines, among whom, in addition to those we have just mentioned, are Cosin, Andrewes, Jeremy Taylor, Thorndike, Archbishop Sharp, Fleetwood, Waterland, Bramhall, Sancroft, Nelson, Horsley, Horne, Mant, and Routh; and in conclusion he says:—

'This catena of authorities, which might easily be very much extended, ought, I think, to induce those who have spoken of nationality as being the highest ground on which the Scottish Office is defended, to believe that much deeper feelings are engaged in its maintenance.'—P. 104.

The *opponents* of the Office, on the other hand, maintain that the bare repetition of the words of institution, perhaps accompanied by the intention of the celebrant, is all that is necessary to a valid consecration.

'The Scottish Church, having no *authorized service* at all for the Holy Communion different from the Prayer-book,' says Dean Ramsay, 'forms a constant barrier to our full and just recognition by the English Church. . . . We cannot conceal from ourselves that objections are taken to the Office itself. Complaints are made that expressions and arrangements afford cause for conscientious scruples in acknowledging its primary authority. . . . In the arrangement of the service, a departure from the order of Holy Scripture has been much insisted on, as constituting an essential difference between the Scottish and English Offices. In the narrative of the institution of the Eucharist in the Four Gospels, and in the authoritative statement by S. Paul (1 Cor. xi. 23—25), all agree in placing the administration of the bread to follow immediately after the words of consecration, and without any interposition. So remarkable a departure, it is said, from this order, as is found in the Scottish Office, by inserting a prayer of invocation, if not to be considered *anti-scriptural*, may well be termed *un-scriptural*; and no one accustomed to the English form can be expected to feel himself reconciled to it.'—*Present State of the Canon Law*, pp. 16—19.

The Bishop of Argyle argues thus against the Office:—

'There is that, at present, in the character and position of the Episcopal Church in Scotland, which hinders approximation, and which, to a great degree, restricts her intercourse with other Churches. On the subject of

the Holy Eucharist, she has erected a standard different from that of the other Churches, and, in so far and to a great degree, isolates herself from them. A different Eucharist means a different Communion; and a different Communion is a different Church. A separate Eucharist is a sign and criterion of a different Church. One Eucharist makes one Church, and another Eucharist makes another Church: two different Eucharists signify two different Churches. There cannot be two Eucharists in one Church: where there are two Eucharists, there are two Churches.'—*Pastoral Letter*, addressed to the Episcopal Clergy and Laity of the Diocese.

Some have professed themselves unable to perceive the relevancy of the Bishop's reasoning here as bearing on the real character of the Office, whether scriptural and primitive, or the reverse; but his lordship meant it as an argument against the Office, and therefore we have quoted it: 'valeat quantum valet.'

The Scottish Church, having taken her stand on primitive ground, not only thereby secured for herself the earnest support and warm affection of her own members; she also obtained a name which gained for her the esteem and admiration of the most learned and pious men, lay and clerical, of the English communion.

On inquiry into the cause of the friendship of such men as Horne and Horsley, Jones of Nayland, Dr. Routh of Oxford, the Bowdlers, and others of high name, we are left in no doubt but that the principal means of attraction was her pure and primitive Liturgy, conjoined with her steadfastness during a long season of severe persecution, and her patient endurance under the greatest privations and trials. In his *Life of Bishop Horne*, Jones of Nayland says:—

'From the present circumstances of its primitive orthodoxy, piety, poverty, and depressed state, the Bishop had such an opinion of the Scotch Episcopal Church, as to think that if the great Apostle of the Gentiles were upon earth, and it were put to his choice with what denomination of Christians he would communicate, the preference would probably be given to the Episcopalians of Scotland, as most like the people he had been used to.'

It was in this, the season of the Church's deep temporal depression, but high spiritual reputation, that Dr. Seabury came over from the United States of America for the purpose of obtaining the establishment of a regular Episcopacy in the State of Connecticut. He was kindly received by the English bishops, but civil difficulties occurred which made them slow in giving a decided answer to his application. Weary of delay, Seabury was led to make his wishes known to the bishops of Scotland. From these he not only received the gift of the Episcopate, but, immediately after his consecration, which took place on the 15th of November, 1784, he was recognised by them as the

representative of the Church of the States, and admitted to a seat in Synod, where he aided in drawing up a document 'to serve as a Concordate, or bond of union, between the Catholic Remainder of the ancient Church of Scotland and the now rising Church of Connecticut.' The *fifth* article of this Concordate was as follows:—

'As the celebration of the Holy Eucharist, or the administration of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, is the principal bond of union among Christians, as well as the most solemn act of worship in the Christian Church, the bishops aforesaid agree in desiring that there may be as little variance here as possible; and though the Scottish bishops are very far from prescribing to their brethren in this matter, they cannot help ardently wishing that Bishop Seabury would endeavour all he can, consistently with peace and prudence, to make the celebration of this venerable mystery conformable to the most primitive doctrine and practice in that respect, which is the pattern the Church of Scotland has copied after in her Communion Office, and which it has been the wish of some of the most eminent divines of the Church of England that she also had more closely followed than she seems to have done since she gave up her first reformed Liturgy, used in the reign of King Edward VI., between which and the form used in the Church of Scotland there is no difference in any point which the primitive Church reckoned essential to the right ministration of the Holy Eucharist. In this capital article, therefore, the Eucharistic service, in which the Scottish bishops so earnestly wish for as much unity as possible, Bishop Seabury also agrees to take a serious view of the Communion Office recommended by them, and, if found agreeable to the genuine standards of antiquity, to give his sanction to it; and by gentle methods of argument and persuasion to endeavour, as they have done, to introduce it by degrees into practice, without the compulsion of authority on the one side, or the prejudice of former custom on the other.'

—*Grub's Eccl. Hist.* vol. iv. pp. 94, 95.

Bishop Seabury faithfully carried out this article of the Concordate. The Eucharistic Liturgy of the diocese of Connecticut was assimilated to that of Scotland in the act of consecration. Thus, from the Scotch bishops, a free, valid, and purely Ecclesiastical Episcopacy passed into the Western world, and from the Scottish Church an eminently scriptural and primitive Liturgy. Other bishops for the United States were consecrated at Lambeth in 1787, who, on their return to America, entered into full communion with Seabury,—he waiving his objections to the admission of the laity into ecclesiastical synods; they adopting various suggestions of Seabury in regard to their liturgical services, and particularly their Eucharistic Office—the American site thus deriving its features from the Scottish.

Soon after this the Scotch Office was brought prominently under the notice of the British Legislature. On the death of Prince Charles Stuart, in 1788, the Scottish bishops, who had been the most faithful adherents of his house, were now satisfied that they could conscientiously swear allegiance to the Sovereign in possession, and, in consequence, measures were

adopted for the repeal of those penal statutes which had for so many years pressed so heavily on the Scottish Church. It would appear, however, that men were not wanting to throw obstacles in the way of this relief. They represented to the members of the Legislature that the religious principles of the Scotch Episcopalians were, in many respects, of a dangerous character, and that their Eucharistic doctrines were altogether at variance with those of the Church of England. Bishop Horsley, who had taken a lively interest in the Scottish Church and in her claims for relief, made a collation of the several Communion Offices of 'Edward VI.'s first Prayer-book, the 'Scotch Prayer-book of 1637, the present English Prayer-book, and the present Scotch Communion Office,' and permitted Bishop John Skinner, the delegate of the Scotch Episcopal Church, to print and circulate this collation among the members of both Houses, 'in order to confute certain false and malicious insinuations which have been circulated concerning the present practices of the Episcopalians in Scotland, with an evident intention 'to injure them in the esteem of the British Legislature.' As the Communion Office was the only Service in which the Scots differed from the English, Bishop Skinner vindicated his Church from the unjust charge in these terms:—

'That the Liturgy now in use among the Scotch Episcopalians is precisely the same with the present Common Prayer-book of the Established Church of England, except in the Communion Office; and that the variations found there are those, and those only, which are exhibited in this collation, is attested by John Skinner, Bishop and Delegate of the Scotch Episcopal Church.'

By this act, the Office thus attested and presented to the members of the Legislature, on the 30th day of March, 1792, became the virtually legalised text of the Scotch Eucharistic Liturgy. The opposition was counteracted, and the Bill repealing the penal statutes passed through both Houses, and received the Royal Assent in the month of June following.

The Office, at the close of the century, was 'practically universal within the pale of the Scottish Church.' It had, as we have seen, been a principal means of sustaining the Church throughout the lengthened season of her trial; of gaining for her the friendship and aid of the most learned and pious members of the English Church, and at last of removing all opposition to her relief, and obtaining for her an act of justice which enabled her to discharge her sacred functions without let or hindrance from any one. For many reasons, then, Scottish churchmen might well put a high value on their national Office, its inherent merits commanding for it their esteem and affection, and also enlisting others in their favour who had a principal

hand in obtaining for them their release from political persecution. Hitherto the beneficial consequences of bringing the principles and Liturgy of the Scottish Church into agreement with the primitive standard were acknowledged by all who belonged to her communion, and were esteemed accordingly; but an adverse influence was soon to come into operation:—

'The severe penal laws enacted against the members, and especially the clergy, of the Episcopal Church, after the year '45, on account of their loyalty to the exiled family, led to the formation of a considerable number of independent congregations, external to her communion, and ministered unto by English and Irish clergymen, and in them the English Prayer-book alone was used. No attempt was made to organize these congregations into a corporate body. They continued quite independent of each other, and kept up their connexion with the Church of England, much as the English chaplaincies on the Continent do, without making any claim to be considered *the*, or *a*, Scotch Episcopal Church. On the principles of Episcopacy, however, which are held alike by the Church of England and the Scotch Episcopal Church, their position was highly irregular, and only to be justified—if at all—by the political position of the latter Church; and therefore, as soon as its members were able to transfer their allegiance to the House of Hanover, and thereby to obtain a repeal of the penal enactments, a movement was begun to procure the reunion of these English congregations with the Scotch Episcopal Church. With the sanction of the then Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishop of London, acting under the advice of the great civilian Sir William Scott, this union was almost completely effected in the fifteen years which followed the repeal of the penal statutes, and the united body has continued ever since to bear the name of the Scotch Episcopal Church, or some other appellation equivalent to it.'—*Panoply*, vol. iii. p. 218.

These *English* congregations, as they came to call themselves, were, from habit, attached to the Communion Office of the Church of England; and although in their negotiations for reunion with their Mother Church, from which they had separated simply that they might escape the hardships of the persecution, no doubt was raised as to the Scotch Office being the exclusive formula of the Scottish Church, nor any wish expressed as to an alteration on this point, they yet sought an exceptional permission in their own favour; and the bishops and clergy of the Scottish Church conceded to them the liberty of retaining the use of the Service to which they had been accustomed. The concession, however, was confined to those congregations which had up to that time been in separation from the Scottish Church, and which now were anxious to unite with it, if only allowed to retain the use of the English Office. Some of the congregations, such as those at Banff, Cruden, and Peterhead, had no wish to avail themselves of this exceptional liberty, but at once thankfully adopted the national Office.

It would appear, however, that this admission of the thin end of the wedge soon began to be dreaded, as fraught with greater

danger than had at first been anticipated. In the year 1807, we find Bishop Skinner writing in these significant terms :—

‘It is a circumstance well known, that a party has been formed for bringing our humble Church to what they call “complete conformity” with the Church of England ; even in those very points as to which many of the most sound and serious divines of that Church would have been happy in the liberty which we enjoy, to make our Ritual perfectly agreeable to the purest standards of the primitive Church. Yet a privilege so happily preserved to us, amid all our deprivations, there are amongst us those who would tamely renounce, for the sake of affecting a silly imitation, not of the purity and excellence, but of what may be considered the faults and defects of the English Ecclesiastical system, because that system happens to be supported, and all its imperfections covered, by a strong legal Establishment. But as this is not the means by which we can hope to see permanence secured to our poor unprotected Church, the consequence is obvious, that if we are to be subjected to all the restraints imposed by civil establishment, without enjoying any of its benefits, and must neither act, nor write, nor speak, but in the way that the State is pleased to permit the established bishops and clergy of England to do, it will soon be all over with anything like an Episcopal Church in Scotland, and the generation that succeeds its present members will be astonished to perceive that hardly a vestige remains of what they may have heard was the faith of their forefathers. This is the only fear which at present lies heavy on my dejected mind ; not the fear of hurting any temporal interest, or losing the countenance of this or of the other great man, be he peer or prelate ; but the fear of our offending our Great Master in heaven, by sacrificing any part of that which we are constrained to allow is “God’s truth” to our little worldly schemes, and of thus losing the favour and protection of Him who is “King and Head over all things to His Church.”’

—*Annals of Scottish Episcopacy*, pp. 458, 459.

Again, in the same year, the bishop writes to one who appears to have argued that the time of defending the principles and Liturgy of the Scottish Church was ‘peculiarly unpropitious :—

‘Shall we be able to show the truth of our Eucharistic doctrine in a more favourable view, when it has been totally lost sight of, or when men’s minds have been completely blinded against it ? Will the ignorance that now prevails, in regard to the true nature of our altar service, be combated with more success when it has been allowed time to increase in strength, and to derive support from long continuance ? Or will a captious human, or unreasonable prejudice, be as easily set aside by giving it full scope to work its way, as when its progress is checked by showing that there was never any cause for its being cherished, or even suffered to arise ? Ignorance was never yet expelled but by means of instruction ; nor will even the silliest prejudice die away, while pains are taken to keep it alive, by allowing only one side of the question to appear, or shutting the other carefully out of sight. Reflecting on these symptoms of indifference about matters which we of the purely primitive Scottish Church are led to regard as of very great importance, it is no wonder if, with much concern, we see ground to suspect that the principles now entertained by many professing to be of the Church of England are very different indeed from what are really the principles of that Church as established at the Reformation from Popery.’—*Ibid.* pp. 465, 466.

We hear little more of the matter till 1811, when a General Synod met for the purpose of adopting a code of canons for the government of the Church. In these canons, the distinction between the *authorized* Office and the *permitted* Office was clearly drawn:—

‘The Episcopal Church in Scotland . . . hath long *adopted* and very generally used a form for the celebration of the Holy Communion, known by the name of the Scotch Communion Office, which form *hath been justly considered*, and is hereby considered, *the authorized service* of the Episcopal Church in the administration of that Sacrament. . . . And as in order to promote an union among all those who profess to be of the Episcopal persuasion in Scotland, *permission* was formerly granted by the bishops to *retain the use of the English Office in all congregations* where the said Office had been *previously in use*, the same permission is now ratified and confirmed.’—See *Panoply*, vol. iii. No. 4, p. 223. *Canon xv. Code of 1811.*

One might suppose that a formulary which had a position and authority in the Church anterior to the enactment of these canons—an authority which Synods had the power to establish but not to undo—would now have been accepted as a perpetual and unalterable arrangement. But it was far otherwise. From the increased intercourse with England, and a growing feeling that the richly-endowed Established Church of that kingdom must in everything be superior to the poor and merely tolerated Church in Scotland, many—who either did not care to do so, or were unable to look below the surface, or who, even in regard to things sacred, thought more of civil distinction than of the Divine favour—began to entertain the unworthy notion that ‘to be Scotch in anything where it is possible to be English, implies a sort of degradation.’ These were not backward in urging the displacement of the Scotch Office by the substitution of the English. They did not indeed, at first, dare to say anything directly against the national Office; but they argued thus:—‘Why have two Services? Granting that the Scotch Liturgy is faultless; yet, if nothing can be said against the English, why refuse to do that which would secure the peace of the Church, and probably draw multitudes to her communion?’ Some congregations, whose clergymen were either in English orders, or who had never studied the subject, and who, therefore, knew not in what the Scotch Office was superior to the English, nor indeed in what either Office was in agreement or disagreement with the primitive and scriptural standard, gave up, without thought or regret, a formulary which some of the most learned Ritualists have declared to be the purest, and most in accordance with the earliest Liturgies now in existence.

In 1842, the Rev. D. T. K. Drummond, of Trinity Church, Edinburgh, having, in the discharge of his public ministrations, directly contravened the canonical law of the Church, was

admonished by his bishop; but instead of receiving the godly admonition of his ecclesiastical superior in a proper spirit, he persisted in his irregular course, and 'to save himself the danger of being suspended, to which he saw his contumacy must ultimately lead, he resigned his cure;' 'set up an Independent Meeting in opposition to the Church,' and 'invited all Scottish Episcopalians and members of the Church of England to join it.'¹ Mr. Drummond was soon followed in his withdrawal from the communion of the Church by Sir William Dunbar, of S. Paul's, Aberdeen, and one or two others. But—

'Mr. Drummond and his associates, aware that the ostensible reasons for their schism would hardly bear an examination, sought to strengthen their position by assailing the formularies of the Church which they had forsaken. The Scottish Communion Office was selected as the object of attack, and all the objections formerly made by the Covenanters to the Office, in King Charles's book, were now again brought forward. The plain enunciation in the Scottish Office of the primitive doctrine of the Eucharist had always been an offence to Calvinists; and the circumstance that it differed in various respects from the Office in the Book of Common Prayer was a convenient plea for those persons who now affected to maintain their peculiar character and privileges as clergymen of the English Church. Several of the Scottish presbyters, who believed that the abandonment of their own Eucharistic rite would induce the schismatics to return to the communion of the Church, or, at least, would prevent further separations, presented memorials to the college of bishops on the subject.'—Grub's *Ecc. Hist.* vol. iv. pp. 349, 350.

'At this stage, the painful necessity was laid upon Scottish churchmen to show wherein the English service was deficient. It was now a struggle for an essential principle—a struggle for the preservation of that which peculiarly marks the primitive character of the Scottish Church. There was no alternative. Either the Scottish Office must be abandoned, on the plea, indirectly admitted, that it embodied corrupt doctrine; or the English Office must be shown to be defective in some essential point.'—*Letter on the Scotch Communion Office, by a Priest of the Church in Scotland.* Prefatory note.

That this necessity had arisen, and that it was every year becoming more urgent, may be gathered from the fact that the national Office was given up in various congregations where it had ever before been in use, and that—

'At the Diocesan Synod of Ross and Argyle, held in S. John's Church, Inverness, in the autumn of 1843, at which the Very Rev. Charles Fyvie, the Dean, presided, the Rev. A. Ewing, of Forres, moved, "That it is desirable there should be no longer any difference in the mode of administering the Holy Communion between the Episcopal Church of Scotland and the United Church of England and Ireland: and that the bishops of the former Church be memorialised to take the necessary steps for cancelling the 21st canon with that view."'

The historian adds—

'It appears that this unhappy proposal was cordially entertained by the assembled clergy, and passed unanimously; and thus they cast away a

¹ Stephen's 'Ecclesiastical History,' vol. iv. pp. 601-2.

treasure—"their brightest star"—their birthright, of which it appears they are not worthy.—Stephen's *History*, vol. iv. pp. 609, 610.

Again, the necessity of speaking plainly of the defects of the English Office was laid on Scottish churchmen by the disparagement which was directly thrown on their national Office, by the assertions now made that it was unscriptural, and a barrier to intercourse with other branches of the Church Catholic. We may take the following excerpts from pamphlets by Dean Ramsay and the Bishop of Argyle:—

'I have no hesitation,' says the Dean, 'in stating *this fact*, that the difference between our Church and the Church of England, in so far as this Office is concerned, is the prominent and leading cause of the jealousy, the want of confidence, and the severe judgments under which we have long been labouring. So far as I can form an opinion, I should say that there is scarcely a dispute or difficulty which has arisen in this Church during thirty years, where a feeling against the Office has not, directly or indirectly, been mixed up with the question. . . . The jealousy—I may say the hatred—with which many view the Scottish Office may be quite wrong; but, in the relative position of the two countries, the objections are insuperable. It is hopeless to expect their removal. They are growing with every revolving year, just as the old non-juring associations in favour of the Office are fading fast away. The Scottish Church, having an "authorized service" at all, for the Holy Communion, different from the English Prayer-book, forms a constant barrier to our full and just recognition by the English Church.'—*The Present State of our Canon Law*, p. 16.

'Two altars,' writes the Bishop of Argyle, 'must mean two things—two Eucharists; two beliefs—beliefs which are not compatible. If they are, there is no justification for the second altar. Where two altars are, they cannot be in communion. The erection of another altar means the condemnation of the first. Such condemnation alone justifies another erection. Altars are either one, and identical; or two, and therefore not in communion. That which justifies erection, enforces separation. . . . The Episcopal Church in Scotland may erect, no doubt, any standards of her own she pleases; but she cannot do this without the risk of destroying her communion with other Churches. . . . In the Revisal of our Canons, on which we are now engaged, you will have to consider that which is before us—either the retention of our peculiar and solitary position, with its distinctive badge, or unity with other Episcopal Churches.'—*Pastoral Letter on the subject of the present General Synod*, &c. pp. 5—7.

To these serious though rather quaintly enunciated charges, a reply was ready:¹—

¹ During the sad contest for and against the national Communion Office, which so thoroughly divided the Scottish Church, previous to the General Synod of 1863—the Scottish party believing the retention of their Liturgy to involve a vital principle, embracing the very ordinance and command of the Saviour, the Anglicising party contending for its displacement as the only means of popularising the Church and securing for her the countenance and support of the State—such impressive warning as that in the famous 'Tract XC.' weighed heavily on the minds of those who looked beyond the immediate consequences of the proposed change, and who were persuaded, that, however much those who were urging it on might believe they were labouring for the good of the Church, they were in reality led away by a mistaken and short-sighted policy, alike uncatholic and unpromising. 'Religious changes, to be beneficial, should be the act of the whole body; they are worth little

'To be united with the Church of England, in every respect, is most desirable; but it is still more so to be united with the whole primitive Church, especially in a case where England, at the present time, unhappily stands alone among the Churches of Christendom. The *peace* of the Church is certainly to be studied above all things, with one only exception—a regard for *divine truth*. But it may be said, this principle, if allowed to go on to its legitimate result, will lead us to take our side along with L'Estrange and Seabury; and "would not this," it has been asked, "cut off the Church in Scotland from intercommunion with the Church of England?" Let us be truly thankful! This does not, as yet, follow as a necessary consequence. The Church of England, as a Church, both receives and teaches that which Christ *said*, in reference to the sacrament; in other words, in her formularies she keeps and inculcates the *Catholic Faith*; and moreover, although compelled by external influence to omit what Christ *did* in regard to the Eucharist, yet she utters her voice in *full acknowledgment of the obligation upon her to follow His example*. Her voice on this point may be low and weak, but it is happily explicit and clear. "Before all things, this we must be sure of especially, that this supper be in such wise *done* and *ministered* as our Lord and Saviour *did* and *commanded to be done*, as His holy Apostles used it, and the good Fathers of the primitive Church frequented it."—(Homily 15.) Although, then, individual members of the Scottish Church should go fully along with Mr. L'Estrange and Dr. Seabury in regard to the singularly defective mode of consecration in the Church of England, that does not seem, by any decree or canon of the Catholic Church, to imply the necessity of a breach of communion between the two Churches, seeing they both embody the *Catholic doctrine* in their

if they are the mere act of a majority. No good can come of any change which is not heartfelt—a development of feelings springing up freely and calmly within the bosom of the whole body itself. Moreover, a change in theological teaching involves either the commission or renunciation of erroneous doctrine; and if it does not succeed in proving the fact of past guilt, it *ipso facto* implies present. In other words, every change in religion carries with it its own condemnation which is not attended by deep repentance. Even supposing then that any changes in contemplation, whatever they were, were good in themselves, they would cease to be good to a Church in which they were the fruits, not of the quiet conviction of all, but of the agitation, or tyranny, or intrigue of a few; matured, not in mutual love, but in strife and envying; perfected, not in humiliation and grief, but in pride, elation, and triumph. Moreover, it is a very serious truth, that persons and bodies who put themselves into a disadvantageous state, cannot at their pleasure extricate themselves from it. They are unworthy of it; they are in prison, and Christ is the keeper. There is but one way of a real reformation—a return to Him in heart and spirit, whose sacred truth they have betrayed; all other methods, however fair they may promise, will prove to be but shadows and failures. On these grounds, were there no others, the old Scottish churchmen professed that they would be no parties 'to the ordinary political methods by which professed reforms are carried or compassed in this day. We can do nothing well till we act "with one accord;" we can have no accord in action till we agree together in heart; we cannot agree without a supernatural influence; we cannot have a supernatural influence unless we pray for it; and we cannot pray acceptably, without repentance and confession. Our Church's strength would be irresistible, humanly speaking, were it but at unity with itself. If it remains divided, part against part, we should see the energy which was meant to subdue the world preying upon itself, according to our Saviour's express assurance, that such a house "cannot stand."—(Pp. 2—4. Edit. 1865.) The old Scottish party thus earnestly pleaded that their advocacy of their Communion Office was on no party or prejudiced grounds, but on an established catholic principle, clearly enunciated by churchmen wholly unconnected with the peculiar case in hand, and long before the present contest had arisen.

standards, and also both speak explicitly in favour of *Catholic usage*, although from peculiar circumstances one of them is, for the present, precluded from *doing* what she not only approves, but also acknowledges to be obligatory "before all things."—*Letter on the Communion Office*, pp. 18, 19.

'It may, therefore, appear paradoxical,' (say the defenders of the Office,) 'but yet it is the case, that the Church in Scotland will most effectually prove her respect and affection for her sister in England by resolutely refusing to adopt her Communion Office. The Church in Scotland, by adhering to her own Office, adheres to a Service which not only embodies the doctrine held by the Church of England, but also continues the practice of which, as a Church, that Church approves; which her most eminent divines in former times have vindicated as Scriptural and Catholic, and which her best and most learned members of the present day would be glad to see restored within her pale.'—*Ibid.* p. 19.

This opinion is supported by Dr. Wordsworth, the present Bishop of S. Andrew's, in 'A Plain Tract on the Scotch Communion Office,' 1859:—

'If the Office be abandoned,' writes his lordship, 'not only our own Church, but the Church of England, I am persuaded, and the Church of America also, will suffer loss: the Church of England, because she will then be deprived of the elucidation which our Office affords to the fainter and less distinct teaching of her own formulary; the Church of America, because she may then be supposed to have made a mistake in copying our Office rather than the English.'

In an antecedent passage the Bishop has also expressed himself in terms the very reverse of his brother of Argyle in reference to the Office:—

'The Scotch Office follows, far more closely than the English, the model of the ancient Liturgies. It exhibits far more clearly the first great feature of the institution, viz. the *act of sacrifice*; and it secures, moreover, the second great feature, viz. the *act of consecration*, in a manner far more solemn and more satisfactory, because more in accordance with the practice of the primitive Church.'—P. 17.

'There have, for a long time, been *two* distinct parties in the Church of England, actuated by two very different and, in some respects, antagonistic principles—the Catholic, and the purely Protestant or Puritan. There was lately, perhaps still is, a *third* party within the Church of England—the *Romanising*. It is but small, and is daily becoming less. This party would also naturally prefer the *present Service* of the Church to one coming up fully to her own *rule*, because of the ease with which the existing Office may be made to harmonize with Romish doctrine and to admit of the peculiar views of the Romanisers. The late Bishop of St. Andrew's (Dr. Torry), in a very valuable "Pastoral to the Clergy and Laity" of his diocese, alludes to this circumstance. Speaking of the Romanists of Queen Elizabeth's reign, he says, "All grades of them, whether clergy or laity, *could* and actually *did* communicate by thousands, until interdicted by the Pope, for a series of years, and continued to be believers in Transubstantiation still, so that the English Office was found *then* to be no obstacle to the adoption of Popery; neither is it *now*, as must with sorrow be confessed. Let me ask, what can be a stronger proof of the comparative safety of the two offices? For who ever heard of such a lamentable result of the use of the Scotch Office? Not I, certainly, and I have been no inattentive observer of what has been passing in the world for the last sixty years." The Anglican Church, as such, has always contended against the Puritan

party, although that party has succeeded in making such inroads on her liberties, that, in some respects, she is enthralled and restrained from acting on her own acknowledged principles. On the contrary, the Catholic party within her has ever been labouring to support her in her struggles with those, her undutiful children, and to deliver her from their meshes; aiding her in asserting her scriptural and primitive principles, independently of Rome, and maintaining her own proper ground, apart from all modern sects and parties. The Puritan party acts on the principle of a comprehension of sects, and labours to bring down the Church to the level of pure Protestantism, which symbolizes with almost every shade of modern opinion. This party pretends to a great regard for tender consciences; has little or no respect for what was *first* in the Church; studies chiefly what is likely to be most popular; and would for these reasons have little hesitation in depriving the Church, in whose bosom it nestles, of one Catholic doctrine and practice after another, till it left her bereft of every distinctive and strictly Evangelical feature. Its avowed and, as it would seem, its chief object, is to get away as far as possible from everything which it *thinks* savours of Rome; and this, too, apparently regardless whether the truth which it would abandon be not really scriptural. For the same reason it delights in uniting itself with all who speak loudly against Rome, heedless whether they may not at the same time be the bitter and even the avowed adversaries of the Church of England herself.—*Letter on the Scotch Communion Office*, pp. 19, 20.

On these and similar grounds the Scottish party defended their position, neither disparaging the Office of the English Church nor throwing obloquy on her members for using it; nay more, ready when in England to communicate with the sister Church, but not disposed, when at home and free from the trammels of State influence, to displace their own National Office for one of a less Catholic character, which, as they knew, had been introduced through foreign influence into the English Church, and then bound upon her by Act of Parliament, and all this almost against her will and in disregard of her acknowledged principles.

But the contest, once begun, went on with increased bitterness. The battle-ground, however, was changed. It was now contended by the Anglicising party, that the Scotch Office formed a barrier to the passing of the Disabilities Bill:—

‘To all conversant with our position,’ said the Bishop of Argyle, ‘it is notorious that the removal of our Civil Disabilities is of the last importance; that indeed this is now needful for our very existence as a Church. Our orders are not sought for; no bishop can well recommend a candidate to receive them, situated as now we are. The Church is sinking gradually, and will ere long be extinct, unless liberated from its present false position. It is well known that that which keeps us in this false position is the inability of the Episcopate of England and Ireland to declare our faith to be in accordance with the general standards which we receive—that is, with their own.’—*Pastoral Letter*, pp. 8, 9.

The subject of the Disabilities was taken up in the Upper House of Convocation on the 5th of February, 1862, when some of the prelates expressed themselves in a way which

clearly indicated that, as far as they were concerned, the removal of its national Office by the Scottish Church was that alone which would clear the way for the repeal of the law which prevented a clergyman ordained by a Scotch bishop from holding a living in the English Church:—‘Within twenty-four hours of the receipt of the report of the proceedings, our spiritual fathers met to consider the question of the retention or relinquishment of the Scottish Liturgy. . . . The Bishop of Aberdeen proposed, and the Bishop of Glasgow seconded, a resolution to call together at once a General Synod of the Church,’ for ‘the alteration of the terms of the 21st canon,’ which gave the Scotch Office ‘both its sanction and primacy.’¹

In accordance with this resolution, a General Synod of the Church was convoked for the revision of the canons, and, it may be said, principally with the view of displacing the national Office from its position of primary authority, and so of leaving no room on this score for objections to passing of the Disabilities Bill. At the same time, pamphlets were written on both sides: on the one, to prove that the Scotch Office was a stumbling-block and an offence to many, and that its removal would secure the peace of the Church, attract multitudes to her communion, and gain for her friends in England who had hitherto stood aloof; on the other, such arguments were used as those employed by the Bishop of Oxford on the subject of the revision of the English Liturgy. His lordship’s words were quoted:—

‘The noble lord (Ebury) said, the changes he wished would not touch the Creed of the Church, but the Prayers and its Service. But the great truths of the Church that sank deep into the common mind of the people were not so much in the declarations of the Creed as in the repetition of the prayers of the devotional offices. Therefore, by altering a few words here to meet a difficulty, and a few words there to avoid an objection, he might, though quite unaware of it, strike at the very root of the belief of the great mass of the people of England. He confessed, when he regarded calmly what the noble lord had endeavoured to persuade them to alter, he felt the subject was far greater in its peril than had been conceived. What was that peril? In the main part of the Prayer-book they had the worship of the primitive Church recorded for their example; and with that primitive element handed down from the first ages of Christianity, they had a portion of singular goodness, the work of man, prepared with marvellous skill by those giant minds who cleared away the corruptions that during the Middle Ages had gathered round that primitive worship.’—*Speech in the House of Lords*, May 8, 1860.

If these remarks were of force when bearing on the whole Prayer-book of the Church of England, they might well be borrowed by Scottish churchmen in especial defence of their Communion Office. The great doctrines which that Office em-

¹ See *Remarks on a recent Debate in Convocation*, by the Rev. H. Humble, pp. 1, 5, and 6.

bodied—alike distinct from Romish dogma and Puritan novelty—had sunk deep into the common mind of the people; and therefore to meddle with or supersede a formulary in which they had recorded for their example the worship of the primitive Church, and possessed as their inheritance a work of marvellous skill, prepared by those giant minds who cleared away the corruptions which had, during the Middle Ages, gathered round the highest and holiest act of Christian worship—to meddle with such a formulary would, it was argued, be fraught with the greatest peril. This had been clearly shown by ‘A Priest of the Church in Scotland,’ in the Letter already so often quoted:—

‘Looking at the matter in another point of view, it seems most unwise to forfeit the esteem of the steadfast by seeking to conciliate the approbation of the indifferent—to alienate the affection of Catholic-minded members for the purpose of pleasing those of a Puritanical tendency; and this undoubtedly is done, whenever the high principles of our national Office are superseded by the lower teaching of an extraneous service. Nor is the evil confined to those more immediately connected with the Church; it extends to her friends at a distance. The esteem of true churchmen, whose friendship is most to be desired, is lowered by every step in a downward course which the Church takes. Had the Scottish Church not been distinguished for her high-toned principles, she never would have enjoyed the favour of her most valued English friends, and it is bad policy to forfeit their respect, which we shall certainly do by descending to a less Catholic level. The Church might, perhaps, for a time gain in *numbers* by such policy, but as those who would be attracted to her communion on this account are not friendly to her principles, she would virtually become weaker in the same ratio as her members increased; and in proportion as her border was extended, her rulers would find greater difficulty in controlling the adverse elements which would be gradually collected within her fold. Perhaps also by relinquishing her office, and along with it her principles, she might gain a new set of friends, but they would be such as she could have no dependence upon, for she would soon find that if she did not continue to concede more and more to the popular notions of the age, her new friends would turn round and become her bitterest enemies. But it is a well-established fact that truly earnest-minded persons, even if at first most opposed to her principles, are much more likely to be gained over to the communion of the Church by her resolute adherence to her position, regardless of the opinions of the world, than by her weak surrender of her high ground on the first breath of dissatisfaction. They may speak against her doctrines and her practices, but they will nevertheless respect her for a consistent maintenance of what she holds to be Catholic truth. No man ever thought well of that person who yielded to him in a case where sacred truth was compromised. Such an one may be greatly offended because his prejudices or opinions are not complied with, but still he will respect the man who withstands him on the plea of duty; and this is especially the case with the Scottish Church in regard to her most sacred service, if she would really command the veneration of the Scottish people at large, whom, although they have revolted, she is yet bound incessantly to call back to a sense of their allegiance.’—Pp. 21, 22.

Among those who took part in this controversy was the Rev. John M. Neale, one of the most learned Ritualists of the

present, or, indeed, of any age. Dr. Neale came forward as the warm advocate of the Scottish Liturgy; and if the opinion of any man is to have weight, his cannot be lightly regarded by any one who is more willing to listen to reasons drawn from the highest and purest sources, than to the crude and ever-varying opinions of the world—more influenced by the testimony of one who has gained for himself an undying reputation for a thorough knowledge of the records of the best and earliest ages of the Church than by the anile reasoning of those who, perhaps, never spent a day in the study of such subjects—those who value religious rites chiefly by their present popularity, or their chance of recommending to some worldly distinction.

In 'An Earnest Plea for the Retention of the Scotch Liturgy,' Dr. Neale, after stating that 'the Scotch Liturgy is superior to our own, from its far greater likeness to primitive models, and its clearer statement of doctrine; and this by the confession of the best liturgical scholars of the English Church' (p. 4), thus clearly showed the impolicy of the course indicated by those English prelates who maintained that the only hope for the Scottish Church of getting rid of the Civil Disabilities which oppressed her lay in the abandonment of her Eucharist Liturgy, and the mistake of those among the Scottish bishops and clergy who argued that the only way of securing the peace and prosperity of their Church depended on the same thing:—

'We cannot but feel most sadly (wrote Dr. Neale) how completely it is the same Ultramontaniam, whether at Constantinople, Rome, or Canterbury! Constantinople has long since, in favour of her own Liturgies of S. Chrysostom and S. Basil, suppressed the yet more venerable rites of S. James and S. Mark. Mediæval Rome exterminated the old Mozarabic, the old Gallican, the old Patriarchine services. Modern Rome is declaring war to the knife against the Diocesan uses of France. What hard speeches have been made by English divines against her liturgical destructiveness! What bolts of Anglican indignation have been directed against her resolution to thrust her own Office books into every European Bishopric. And by whom? By those very men who are doing, as regards Canterbury, what Papal influence has all along attempted for Rome! How often have our Anglican bishops and doctors spoken of the beauty of liturgical variety! how often charged the Vatican with ignorance, as well as ambition, in its crusade against Office books other than its own! And now the very same thing, only without the tenth part of the excuse, these very men are laboriously pursuing! Yes, without the tenth part of the excuse. Rome pretended a certain jurisdiction over the dioceses with which she interfered. I have yet to learn that Canterbury professes, however much she may exercise, authority in Scotland.'—Pp. 5, 6.

'I have shown,' continues he, 'that, even granting the change in itself good, . . . it would make any closer union with the American Church impossible; that it would, in any future attempt at reunion with the East, put into the hands of the Oriental Patriarchs an argument of irresistible force as against ourselves; that, in abolishing a national rite, we should be guilty of the same Ultramontaniam which we have so bitterly condemned

in Rome and in Constantinople as ignorant and barbarous, as well as bigoted and presumptuous; that the purely legal difficulties would be considerable, and that the danger of a schism would be imminent. Let me finally remark, that the contest is not *ἐξ ἰσού*. We fight for a permissive use; our opponents contend for an absolute veto: we seek not to rob them of the Anglican Liturgy; they do seek to deprive us of our one little ewe lamb—the Scotch. Theirs is an aggression; ours a pure defence: theirs an innovation; ours the *status quo*.—P. 8.

In further defence of the Scotch Office, Dr. Neale shows that it is the only formulary of modern times which would have gained for itself the especial countenance of those great and holy Fathers, who, under God, were the promulgators and defenders of the mysteries of the Gospel under every change and chance that could befall them:—

‘By those who know anything of Liturgical matters, it cannot be gainsaid that the Scotch Communion Office is the only one *in the whole of Western Christendom* which S. Ignatius, or S. Cyril of Jerusalem, or S. Athanasius, could they return to earth, would be able to use. In the Roman and Anglican, they would alike miss the Invocation of the Holy Ghost; an omission of the most vital importance in their eyes, as it is in the judgment of the Eastern Church to this day.’—P. 9.

The General Synod met, and—in disregard of all that had been pleaded in favour and argued in defence of the national Office, and also, it was alleged, but we hope unjustly, in strange inattention to the well-known canon, *Holy Scripture interpreted by Catholic antiquity*—such canon having never, it was said, been so much as alluded to in the discussions which took place on the subject—*displaced* it from its former canonical authoritative position.

The Rev. George H. Forbes, one of the Scottish clergy, considered himself so aggrieved by this act of the highest ecclesiastical legislative court, that he brought an action in the Court of Session against the members of the General Synod, to have it declared that the canon thus enacted was inconsistent with canons previously in force, and *ultra vires* of the Synod.

In giving judgment in the case, both the Lord Justice Clerk and Lord Neaves referred to the number of the editions of the Scotch Office which had issued from the press—amounting to between *fifty* and *sixty*—called attention to the several alterations which were to be found in them, and then expressed a doubt whether it was possible to specify *the* text referred to in the canons as the *Scotch Communion Office*:—

‘The question always returns with increasing force,’ remarked the Lord Justice Clerk, ‘which of these numerous editions is it that the parties to the contract of 1811 agreed to hold as of primary authority? According to which of these numerous editions is it that the Pursuer contends that the authorities of the Church are bound to test the soundness of his doctrine on Eucharistic grace, the Real Presence, and the nature of

the commemorative Sacrifice? To this question no answer has been, or, indeed, under the record before us, can be given; and the result is, that this so-called fundamental article of the constitution, this essential condition of the contract cannot be enforced, because there is no certainty what is the Formulary, or Office, to which appeal is to be made as of primary authority.—See the *Scottish Jurist*, vol. xxxviii. No. 7, pp. 106, 107.

‘Such, generally, is the history of the transition and changes,’ said Lord Neaves, ‘through which the Episcopal Church passed in Scotland during the century that followed the Revolution. It had begun without a Liturgy, but it ended with a form of a Communion Office of a very fluctuating and Protean character.’—*Ibid.* p. 112.

These and other remarks of their lordships laid the Episcopal Church of Scotland open to charges such as the following:—

‘The Court of Session has decided that the Episcopal Church in Scotland has no exact formulary or rule of faith and doctrine, which its College of Bishops may not alter just as they see fit. . . . To adopt one Communion Office in the place of another is held to be no ground of action. . . . Half a dozen different editions all differ in the very important point of the doctrine of Eucharistic grace, so that a man’s soundness in the matter is a question of the edition of the Communion Office which he puts his faith in.’—(Article headed ‘Ecclesiastical Standards,’ *Aberdeen Journal*, Dec. 13, 1865.)

From what we have quoted, it would appear that the Lords of Session were not aware—at all events, they took no notice of the fact—that the Scottish Church possesses an attested text of its Communion Office; and that, in all cases of dispute, that text must be held to be the test by which the point is to be decided. It is not what is to be found in an edition of 1723 or 1764, but what was *attested* by the Right Rev. the Delegate of the Scottish Church, as the only Office in use, or recognised, in the Church, printed and dispersed among the Members of the two Houses of Parliament, in 1792, and so virtually recognised and sanctioned by the British Legislature as the *bond fide* Eucharistic Office of the Church in whose favour they were about to legislate; it is this, and this alone, that is to be received as ‘the Scotch Communion Office.’

We believe, however, that this attested text had, in a great measure, been lost sight of, both by the friends and by the adversaries of the Office. It has now been printed from the text circulated in 1792, and a copy is before us, carefully edited, and beautifully got up; and whatever may be the case in Scotland, we may safely predict that many on this side the border will be glad to possess a genuine edition of a Formulary, for the maintenance of which the Scottish bishops and clergy of the eighteenth century laboured so zealously, and for the displacement of which the Scottish bishops and clergy of the nineteenth century have been so desirous and active. It is a formulary which, in former days, greatly attached the members

of the Scottish Church to her communion, and was a principal means of gaining for her a name throughout Christendom ; we must now wait to see what will be the effects of its removal from its claim to primary authority as her ritual, on her prosperity and character—on her power to repel error in regard to the doctrine and administration of the Holy Eucharist, in whatever shape it may come, and to witness for the Truth in all its scriptural and primitive purity, amid the ever-changing opinions and practices of the world.

ART. VII.—*New America*. By WILLIAM HEPWORTH DIXON.
London: Hurst and Blackett.

THIS is one of the strangest books that ever came in our way: strange in its subjects, stranger still, we might almost say, in its mode of treating them. The elaborate impartiality with which social portents are discussed by the author; the subjugation of the moral sense to scientific investigation; the tone throughout of dispassionate calm; the conclusion, where our own—where ordinary Christian, where the most elementary moral—notions are most startled, which seems (we only say *seems*) to be arrived at, that nothing can be very bad which is compatible with clean floors and efficient ventilation, all pass any former English experience. It is a tone so novel, in the extreme to which it goes, that the whole book really confuses the moral sense of the reader. In the description of sects and communities, the most revolting and nauseous things are taken for granted, or simply stated, or are classed without comment along with matters merely eccentric and indifferent, with such a serene impassiveness, that indignation is lost in perplexity, till something shakes us into our habitual frame of thinking, and we discover that the practices so coolly narrated, practices which constitute the distinctive customs of the community we are reading about,—a community, very industrious, it may be, very clever at fruit-preserving and other innocent arts, very clean—are yet vice, in its most staring, flagrant, gross, and loathsome form.

We do not know what is said of this book in America, or if the tone we remark upon is native to the author, or has been caught in his intercourse with the leading, choicer spirits of that country. Certainly, Mr. Dixon seems to have been admitted into a very free intercourse, not only with men, but with women; so free, indeed, that the topics discussed by him and American 'ladies'—their husbands sitting by—would make any Englishman's hair stand on end, and pass the conception, indeed the comprehension, of a respectable English matron altogether.

It is said that people only find the sort of things they go to seek; if so, Mr. Hepworth Dixon must have gone in search of very queer things indeed. Hence, though we have no reason to doubt either definite statements or positive figures, we allow ourselves great latitude as to the weight and social influence to be attributed to the monstrous facts brought out in these volumes. If America is really in danger of the

deluge of immorality and impiety Mr. Dixon seems to think imminent—if every party or class is really imbued with the licence of opinion he supposes, and if that licence is changing as rapidly, as he would lead us to fear, into licence of conduct—we must say her future is dark and gloomy indeed. But we console ourselves with the assurance that there must be a preponderance of decent people, who did not come in Mr. Hepworth Dixon's way; people not curious to strangers, too commonplace in views and morals to be interesting; whose office may yet be to keep things in their place, and whose ideas of progress may be in the direction of religion and order. We are inclined to think that it is for want of knowing these respectable, moral, good sort of people, that our author has arrived, putting all things together, at the conclusion that America as a nation—not a country—must soon come to an end altogether, for the very simple reason that in a hundred years there will not be any Americans left; all through the causes for decline and decay which his book details, and for which American women are, he argues, mainly to blame. *Mainly*, we say, for in one particular they can hardly be brought to account. Mr. Dixon is strong in the science of statistics, and that branch of the science which reduces all moral evil to the Rule of Three. If America is wickeder than any other country—and he would seem to give it the palm in this respect, with New York for its head centre and pandemonium—it is traceable to the fact of the reversal in the New World of that law which prevails in the Old, of a preponderance of the female sex: a preponderance which keeps them down in our European politics, and makes them know their place; and for the want of which American women break out into fantastic extravagance, monstrous pretension, general revolt, throwing over all allegiance, and snapping their fingers at man, and his old claim of awful rule, and right supremacy. 'In England,' Mr. Dixon says, 'the Census shows 365,000 more women than men.' This surplus in a population of thirty millions, makes woman everywhere a drug. The fact that in America there are 750,000 more men than women makes man the drug;—which would be true enough if he did not assume him to be *everywhere* a drug. But, of course, the greater the excess in the Western States (where, in Nevada, the Census of 1860 gave eight men to every woman, in Colorado twenty men to every woman), the more things must right themselves in the old States. Yet, whereas Mr. Dixon has observed in Paris and London everywhere ladies in excess, and in every family excess of daughters, in America, wherever he goes, it is the other way. The evidences of inequality meet him at every turn. In the ball-rooms at

Washington, in the streets of New York, in the chapels of Boston, at the dinner-tables of Richmond, as well as among the frame sheds of Omaha, the plantations of Atlanta, the miners' huts at Denver, and in the theatre of Salt Lake.

Now this strikes us as going for a good deal too much. If everywhere there are few women to be seen in places of public resort, in proportion to what Europe shows, the missing women must be, not nowhere, but elsewhere.

We mention this as an instance of Mr. Hepworth Dixon's style of assumption and assertion. Things have a way of seeming a good deal too plain, too easily accounted for, to him. We cannot but suspect in his case that trick of subservience common to so many eyes—that do yet see in good faith as far as their light goes—of observing and taking notes in obedience to an inner monitor. However this may be, the whole question—every question in the book, we are often led to suppose—may be referred to this fundamental difficulty, the excess of demand over supply. Let 370,000 women arrive upon the scene to correct this blunder of nature and Providence, and woman's rights, 'and woman's revolt,' will subside into manageable questions. At present woman may defy the indignation and the contempt of *mankind*, in the strength of her numerical minority. And we are assured that she does defy it, with an absolute indifference to a class of terrors very powerful over the feminine imagination elsewhere; terrors relating to what *men* think of her.

Mr. Hepworth Dixon's work is emphatically a clever one; clever in the sense of success according to his own standard. He has, for example, touched pitch with the least possible soil to his style. The mere absence of indignation and disgust throws a veil of decorum over things unmentionable under rougher treatment. Breadth of view, large and general inferences, are his method; and an assumption of world-wide experience which would be more telling on ourselves if the expressions of it did not recall to us now and then the 'cosmogony, or creation of the world,' the 'Sanchoniathon, Manetho, and Berosus,' of the immortal Mr. Jenkinson,—so lightly, and yet exhaustively, does he skim over climes, races, customs, and faiths; paints them in a line, and classifies them to suit his purpose. We think some Americans will stare at the picture Mr. Dixon has drawn of their country; but he has clearly a great reliance on a personal inspection. He is one of those travellers who rely on themselves. What he has seen with his own eyes, and heard with his own ears, has a weight with him beyond the collective wisdom and experience of others, out of all proportion with what we should think reasonable. People who give their own

observations a perfectly different stand from other persons' observations, are apt always to see very strange things. Mr. Dixon seems to us to see and judge by his own unassisted light on all occasions. Views counter to the one side with which alone he became acquainted, go for little with him. He does not care to temper conclusions which are very pretty, telling conclusions as they stand. We are convinced that there must be another aspect altogether of the communities, Mormonite and Communist, with the leaders and heads of which he spent days and weeks in friendly association. All experience shows that the laws of nature and revelation cannot be defied and outraged with plan and system, without some sign of the evil upon the face of things. In Mr. Dixon's eyes, the members of these societies have the air and bearing of respectable people. He does not defend their systems, but he is fain to grant that they work well. No dirt, no drinking, the land made the most of, and a general air of plenty and content. Now this content we don't believe in; and in consorting with the heads and rulers of these monstrous associations, and being shown things under their guidance, we dispute even the testimony of his eyes; though we give full credit to his desire to repeat faithfully what he sees.

Never was an observer more delicate and cautious in attributing evil motives. And, accepting people's hospitality and calling them 'my friend' this and that, we don't know how he can afterwards call them hard names. Yet the fact, for instance, that he exonerates Brigham Young from the charge of hypocrisy and lying has no weight with us. He looked into his face, it is true, and could not detect these vices in his physiognomy, but we are free to remind him that perfectly successful triumphant villany does not portray itself by the same unmistakeable tokens manifest in villains in constant fear of detection. Where doubt, apprehension, conscience, and debate are at work in the soul, they show their working in the features. Confidence and self-reliance keep their counsel better. He gives us a portrait, probably from a photograph, of Brigham Young, which certainly gives the lie to no evil surmise. We see he is a low fellow with a strong will. The rest we believe the man perfectly capable of keeping out of sight, as he probably also does out of thought. Again, when Elderess Antoinette, of the Shaker persuasion, brings him a song in writing which she has just heard sung by angels, and announces to him that the room in which they sit together is full of seraphin and cherubin who keep on singing and haranguing the livelong day, he tells his reader, 'You have only to watch Antoinette for a moment, when you are not yourself engaging her attention, to see, by

'her flushed face, by her rapt eye, and wandering manner, that 'she believes herself in another presence more revered,' &c. We maintain it is no want of charity to hold Elderess Antoinette along with Elderess Betsy and the rest, impostors, if not in the most naked sense of the term, yet in some true sense, and the rapt expression to be part of the imposition. However, the Shakers are among the most creditable of these new societies—much more respectable folks to be on a visiting list than Alice, youngest wife of Elder Clewson, 'with whom I had the honour to make an acquaintance which might be called a friendship,' and, far worse, Brother Noyes and Brother Bolls, Bible communists and Pantagamists. Of course, there is intended to be apparent under the grave civility of these acknowledgments a sense of humour; but there remains an amount of tolerance which is not improving to that abstraction, the general reader, who may be left under the impression that fewer things signify than he thought before; and that a great deal of the worst evil of the world is an affair of climate, or of mere accident.

Having thus declared ourselves on the *morale* of the book before us—a *morale* not probably designed by the author, but the natural consequence of an ultra-coolness in the analysis of social sores—we will enter upon it more in detail, premising that what we thus designate are by him regarded in his preface as 'religious' developments:—

'Some studies of past times, which have long occupied my pen, led me, last summer, to the James's River, and to Plymouth Rock. I went out in search of an old world, and found a new one. East, west, north, and south, I met with new ideas, new purposes, new methods: in short, with a New America.

'The men who planted these Free States—doing the noblest work that England has achieved in history—were spurred into their course by two great passions: a large love of liberty, a deep sense of religion; and, in our Great Plantation, liberty and religion exercise a power over the forms of social and domestic life unknown at home. In the heart of solid societies and conservative churches, we find the most singular doctrines, the most audacious experiments; and it is only after seeing what kinds of forces are at work within them, that we can adequately admire the strength of these societies and churches.

'What I saw of the changes now being wrought in the actual life of man and woman on the American soil, under the power of these master passions, is pictured in these pages.—Preface.

What the *old world* was of which Mr. Dixon went in search he does not further explain. The Mormon colony at Salt Lake seems to have been his first object, which rather belongs to the new, indeed a very new, world. His journey thither is given with a picturesque choice of detail, and a suppression of all but the salient points makes it very easy and amusing reading. What the sufferings must be of the batches of Mormon emi-

grants that continually perform this pilgrimage we may form some idea of from the horrors of the journey to two Englishmen with plenty of appliances to perform it at its easiest. These two Englishmen are the author, and his friend, Charles W. Dilke, who leave S. Louis one hot August morning, and in less than twenty-four hours arrive at a sort of confines of civilization, where the rail was emptying them into a patch of waste land on the eastern banks of the Missouri River, Kansas being on the west. How they had been misled as to the place of starting for Salt Lake is thus told :—

“Guess these Yanks must look alive on this side the River, unless they should happen to enjoy having their eye-teeth drawn—eh, judge?”

‘The man to whom this appeal is made as judge, lifts up his chin from a dish of hominy and corned beef, glances first at myself, then at my fellow-traveller, and after winking an eye to the right and left, says slowly, “Guess you are right there, Sheriff.”’

‘Spoken, as it is, across the table of a tiny hotel in the city of Atchison,—the only wonder about which hotel is, how a place so diminutive can hold so much dirt, and feed so much vermin—this passage of legal wit may need a few words of explanation.

‘The Yanks now warned by the Sheriff that they must look alive, under penalty of having their eye-teeth drawn, are my friend Charles W. Dilke, and myself. English faces are not seen every day in the State of Kansas; and these Western boys (every man living beyond the Missouri is a Boy, just as every woman is a Lady—in her own right), these Western boys, having dim notions of ethnology and accent, set down every man who crosses the River with a white face and without a bowie-knife, as a Yankee—a traveller from the New England States in quest of gold-dust, reservations, and corner lots. The “River” means the Missouri; here flowing between the settled State of that name, and the wild unpeopled region, known in maps as Kansas, in poetry and fiction as Bleeding Kansas. To a Western boy the Missouri is the Thames, the Rhine, and the Seine; his stream of commerce, beauty, luxury, and art.’—Vol. i. p. 1.

Then follows the history of the journey from S. Louis, as a digression :—

‘At seven, the ferry-boat came steaming over; at eight we were seated at table in the Planters’ House, in the midst of the rough aristocrats of Kansas; a jolly set of dogs, each dog with a bowie-knife in his pocket, a six-shooter in his belt.

“Can you tell me, sir, at what hour the overland mail leaves Atchison for Salt Lake?” is the simple inquiry to which the Sheriff answers as above, with that suggestion about our eye-teeth being hardly safe in Kansas. Not taking the reply so quickly as might be, I look the man steadily in the face, and repeat my question; this time with extreme deliberation; on which the company break into a pleasant burst of satanic laughter. Then, we hear from the Judge that the overland mail (to travel by which, on our way to Denver and Salt Lake, we have come from S. Louis to Atchison, its starting-point) has ceased to run by the Platte route, and that the officers and stages have been sent down the river to Leavenworth, whence the mail is in future to be sent across the plains by an easier and shorter line.’—Vol. i. p. 9.

This line is represented by the men of Atchison as swarming with Indians; ‘Black Kettle,’ ‘Roman Nose,’ and ‘Spotted

Dog' being all out on the war-path. However, there is no other course than to take the route for Leavenworth, in spite of the warnings of their new acquaintance. The moral tone of Atchison is happily shown in the following anecdote:—

'Hearing that a small steamer is going down the river to Leavenworth in the afternoon, we send for our bills, and have our boxes put on board. It is now nine in the morning, and as we have nothing to do, our new friends think proper to stay and help us; a courtesy on their side to which we should offer no objection if it were not for their frequent and sardonic allusions to the fact of our having been taken in. About noon an accident raises us in their good opinion to a height yet higher than that from which we had evidently fallen; enabling us to quit the town, morally speaking, sword in hand, and with flying colours. Sauntering down the street, enjoying our gossip and cigar, we note the word Post-office on a shop-front, and on going inside we find there is one letter with my name on the cover, written in an unknown hand, on which three cents are due. Paying the money, and breaking the seal, I find the letter is not for me; on which I fold and restore it to the postmaster, saying it is not mine, and should be kept for the owner, to whom it is perhaps of moment. Eyeing me in a queer way, the postmaster takes the letter, and gives me back my change of three cents. "Do you see?" says the Sheriff to his nearest friend: "darned smart that—read his letter and got his money back! Hang me if I think they are Yanks after all." One touch of roguery, it would seem, is enough to make the whole world kin.'—Vol. i. p. 12.

The new line from S. Louis to San Francisco, though shorter, is fuller of peril than the old, inasmuch as it cuts 'in two' the hunting-grounds, the buffalo-runs, and antelope pastures of the Indian tribes—Cheyennes, Comanches, Arappahoes, Sioux, and the rest,—greatly to their disgust, who threaten war, fire, and tomahawk. The jokes about scalps which were amusing in Pall Mall are scarcely as pleasant remembered in this emergency, but it ends in the travellers taking their place in the mail stage which bears the letters from New York to San Francisco. This is presently exchanged for a light waggon, so full of mail-bags that room for these two personages could only be found by an ingenious violence, which made the prospect of a thirteen-hundred-mile journey of encamping and jolting an alarming anticipation. But for their safety they might rely on the promised escort:—

'But in time, by doubling our legs across each other, by craning our necks, by slinging our elbows into straps, the feat is accomplished: the two human beings afore-named having been persuaded, much against the grain, to wriggle themselves between the bags, under a promise that the said bags will shake down in a few minutes, so as to give us plenty of room. This is not easy, we suggest to each other, since we have our own small litter of pistols, books, maps, brandy-flasks, shawls, night-caps, potted meats, cigar-cases, sticks, umbrellas, and the like, about our feet. We begin to fear that unless the load shall happen to shake down considerably, we may chance to have a bad week of it.

'But see, this fellow is about to start, though the escort is not in sight. Whew! we speak to the agent: "Well," says he, in effect, "the officer in charge will not lend us any troops; his command is very low just now; the country is disturbed by Indians in his front and flank; he has enough to do to

hold his own on the post. But," the good-natured agent adds, for our comfort, "you will find the road all right: some troops went up the Plains yesterday; you will pass them ahead; good bye!" and we are off.

'The truth now flashes on our minds like a revelation:—*We* are the escort.'—Vol. i. p. 37.

Though the dangers of the road were scarcely exaggerated, they escaped actual conflict; but the neighbourhood of Indians as a present formidable power suggested certain ideas to the author. He finds in the Western Saxon race a close assimilation to the people they have conquered; nor in Western Americans alone.

'Those red men whom our fore-comers found on the Atlantic seaboard, and whom they have been pushing back, at first towards the Alleghanies, then to the Ohio and the Wabash, afterwards to the Mississippi, and at length beyond the great river as far west as the Kansas and the Arkansas, have left the traces of their former presence in the national mind; in the popular politics, in the popular science, in the popular life. They have done so in places from which they have wholly disappeared, as well perhaps as in districts where they still exist; among the Spiritualists of New England, among the Mormons of Salt Lake valley. Man is what he eats; and a nation grows into the likeness of that which it absorbs.'—Vol. i. p. 67.

In these lawless States there is an interchange of vices. The Indian beats his pale brother in debauchery; the white man learns to equal him in craft and ferocity. From the Saxon the Indian learns to drink whisky; from the red man the Saxon trapper and teamster learns polygamy. If Little Bear beats his wife to death, Tom Smithers jokes about scalps. And—

'Along with many of their vices, the Yengees have borrowed from the Indians some of their simple virtues—a spirit of hospitality, a high respect for the plighted word, a sovereign contempt for pain and death.

'The red men have taught the whole world how to smoke the Indian weed. Have they received from the Pale-face any one boon to compare with this gift from the savage to the civilized man? It is no figure of speech to say that in White America, a red influence is very widely spread and very strongly felt, alike in the sphere of institutions and in the sphere of thought.

'The confederacy of the Five Nations was the type adopted by the whites when framing the confederacy of the Thirteen Colonies; not only as regards the principle of their union, but also in respect to its most original details. The Iroquois had invented the theory of State rights, which the colonists borrowed from them; an indefinable and dangerous theory, implying a power of separate action, perhaps of withdrawal, from the Union; leading to a thousand quarrels, and to a civil war, of which the end has not yet been reached.'—Vol. i. p. 71.

And their influence is represented as not less in infusing religious ideas:—

'What man can doubt that Indian ideas on witchcraft, on polygamy, on plurality of gods, on the migration of souls, on the presence of spirits, on future rewards, have entered deeply into the popular mind, and are now affecting for good or ill the course of American religious thought?'—Vol. i. p. 75.

How these ideas can affect Christian thought for good we do not see, but the suggestion, which is a very curious one, is characteristic of the author. The link which he finds between Mormonism and the Spirit of the Soil is at least plausible:—

‘He (the Indian) has no priest, as we understand the word, but he submits himself abjectly to his prophet (jossakeed) and seer; and he does so, not only as regards his soul but his body. In fact, his prophet is his doctor also; disease being in his opinion a spiritual as well as physical defect, only to be conquered by one who has power upon sin and death. Brigham Young has very much the same function to perform at one end of Salt Lake, that a Shoshonee seer may have to discharge at the other.’—Vol. i. p. 84.

And the rowdies of Denver are painted into a living resemblance of the Indians with whom Mr. Dixon became personally acquainted.

The question of the red man’s right to the soil is very fairly put. It is said of the Saxon’s treatment of the race he dislodges:—

‘This policy of paying money for the land taken by the white men from the red was the more just and noble, as Indians, like the Senecas and the Walla-Wallahs, have no clear sense of what is meant by right of the soil. The soil? They know no soil. A Seneca comprehended his rights to fish in the Hudson river; a Walla-Wallah understood his right to hunt bison on the plains at the feet of the Blue Mountains; but as a thing to plough and plant, to dig wells into, to build houses upon, the soil was no more to them than the sea and sky are to us. A right to go over it they claimed; but to own it, and preserve it against the intrusion of all other men, is a claim which the red men have never made, and which, if they should learn to make it, could never be allowed by civilized men. No hunting tribe has any such right; perhaps no hunting tribe *can* have any such right; for, in strict political philosophy, the only exclusive right which any man can acquire in land, the gift of nature, is that which he creates for himself by what he puts into it by way of labour and investment alike for his own and for the common good. Now, a slayer of game does nothing for the land over which he roams; he clears no forest, he drains no marsh, he embanks no river, he plants no seed, he cultivates no garden, he builds no city; what he finds at his birth he leaves at his death: and no more property would, under such conditions, accrue to him in the soil than in the air.’—Vol. i. p. 105.

Denver, the half-way house to Utah, in the vast rolling prairies, over which their course led them, was five years ago ‘wifeless,’ and a fellow-lodger told our author that he would then have given a ten-dollar piece just to see the skirt of a servant girl a mile off. Under these conditions the place grew into a sort of hell of drunken violence. And though vigilance committees, lynch law, and individual prowess have effected some sort of reform in it, and fewer dead bodies are to be found in the streets at dawn, with no other remark than ‘Well, there is one sinner less at Denver,’ and though now well-dressed women may be seen there, it yet presents a picture to the traveller which, in Mr. Dixon’s case at least

reconciles him by comparison to any form of life under a rule, whatever that rule may be. But swearers, drinkers, fighters, and generally disreputable as are the miners of Denver; in the language of their leading men, they are founding an empire. Disorderly themselves, they are the pioneers of order. William Gilpin, a descendant of the Quaker of that name, who 'came out' with Penn, is the mind of this community:—by 'nature and habit a State-founder; the idol of 'the West; as noted on the plains as Brigham Young on Salt 'Lake.' Circumstances are the great modifiers; so, without giving up family traditions, he reconciles them with all their contraries, is a soldier, and anything else that is necessary, and calls himself a Quaker-Catholic.

Leaving Denver, the horrors of the journey are resumed through a country which seems to centre in itself all circumstances inimical to human life, till, after crossing the mountains, our travellers are as ready as any caravan of Mormonite peasants to hail the Valley of Salt Lake an Eden, and to regard hospitality, dispensing good fare, as the one virtue of humanity. We cannot but suspect that all a man's fastidiousness is simply starved out of him, and Pall Mall and Piccadilly dwindled to points in the mental vision, when he can describe one of Acting-Bishop Myers's wives at their first halting place at Bear River station, as 'lady-like and bewitching.' That Acting-Bishop Myers should appear to him the very model of a working bishop, though 'he would count for little at Oxford, and in the House of Lords for nothing,' does not surprise us so much. We are not prepared to say what modification our own feelings might undergo, if, when half-dead with hunger, pain, and weariness, a monster-heretic were to perform for us the patriarchal services of setting before us fresh meat, wholesome bread and butter, and 'genuine tea,' and with his own hands were to draw water for our needs. But seeing the effect it has upon opinion is an argument against subjecting our orthodoxy to the trial.

Salt Lake Valley must be a remarkable and impressive spectacle to any traveller who knows from what a wilderness of desolation Mormon industry has raised it. It needs to remember that in all labour there is profit, that God suffers His rain to fall alike on just and unjust, to reconcile the scene with our narrow notions of who are the due recipients of His blessings. What is now described as a scene of beauty and fertility, was known previously as a region in which it was thought impossible for man to live.

'Beyond the Western prairies, beyond the Rocky Mountains, lay a howling wilderness of salt and stones, a property which no white man had yet

been greedy enough to claim. Some pope, in the Middle Ages, had bestowed it on the crown of Spain, from which it had fallen, as a paper waste, to the Mexican Republic; but neither Spaniard nor Mexican had ever gone up north into the land to possess it. In the centre of this howling wilderness lay a dead sea, not less terrible than Bahr Lout, the sea of Lot. One-fourth of its water was known to be solid salt. The creeks which run into it were said to be putrid; the wells around it were known to be bitter; and the shores for many miles were crusted white with salcratus. These shores were like nothing else on earth, except the Syrian Ghor, and they were more forbidding than the Syrian Ghor in this particular, that the waters of Salt Lake are dull, impure, and the water lines studded with ditches and pools, intolerable to the nostrils of living men.'—Vol. i. p. 223.

And Mr. Dixon's own experience of the route, over which a mixed multitude travelled, is thus given:—

'In our own journey across the plains, though the time was August, the weather fine, the passage swift, we suffered keenly from the want of fresh food and of good water. My companion sickened from bile into dysentery; no meat, no drink, would lie in his stomach; nothing but the cognac in our flasks. The water almost killed him. His sun-burnt face grew chalky-white; his limbs hung feeble and relaxed; his strong physique so drooped, that a man at one of the ranches, after looking at him for a moment with a curious eye, came up to me, and said, "You will feel very lonely when he is left behind." My own attack came later, and in another form. The skin of my hands peeled off, as if it had been frayed or scraped with a knife; boils came out upon my back; a pock started on my under eye-lid; my fingers had the appearance of scorbutic eruptions.'—Vol. i. p. 232.

He must have been a bold man who could propose to transport a city-full, even of Mormons, from a luxuriant country to such a desert, and his power must have been beyond our European experience to induce them to obey him, even though flying before the emissaries of the laws they outraged. But once succeeding through his pretensions as a prophet, we see that Brigham Young makes less subsequent use of them over the multitude of converts than we had supposed. The doctrines and essential practices of Mormonism seem, as far as we can gather, to influence mainly the heads of the community. Polygamy is a privilege of saintship: the lower ranks must be content with one wife; and Mr. Dixon leaves us in the dark as to whether this *one* wife is possible to all where the elders have a dozen each.¹ *Labour* seems set forth to the crowd as their religion, and, as a quack can make his patients submit to greater privations than a regular practitioner, so Brigham Young gets more work out of his people than any legitimate ruler. We learn here that only unremitting and hard work can bring and keep the land of Salt Lake Valley under cultivation. It is a testimony, certainly, to his powers of leadership that he should have brought labour to a fanaticism.

¹ M. Rémy and Captain Burton state that the result of Mormon polygamy is a large excess of female births: the Mormons assure us that their colony numbers more female than male immigrants. Neither of these assertions has been subjected to statistical proof.

'All the passions which another sect throws into polemics, the Mormons put into work. They do not shun discussion by the tongue: in fact, they are shrewd of wit, prompt in quotation; but they prefer that their chief controversies with the world should be conducted by the spade.'—Vol. i. p. 211.

Our traveller seems to have passed his time so entirely among the upper ten thousand of Salt Lake City, that we doubt whether this readiness of wit applies at all to the commonalty. At any rate, intellectual efforts of any sort are discouraged by Brigham Young till a formidable amount of hard work has been got through. Mr. Dixon gives the *substance* of a speech he heard him make to a party of emigrants just arrived, a weary and squalid company. We should have preferred it in the native idiom, but either the author's verbal memory was not equal to the task, or his position as a guest was felt a bar.

"Brothers and sisters in the Lord Jesus Christ," he said, in substance, "you have been chosen from the world by God, and sent through His grace into this valley of the mountains, to help in building up His kingdom. You are faint and weary from your march. Rest, then, for a day, for a second day, should you need it; then rise up, and see how you will live. Don't bother yourselves much about religious duties: you have been chosen for this work, and God will take care of you in it. Be of good cheer. Look about this valley into which you have been called. Your first duty is to learn how to grow a cabbage, and along with this cabbage an onion, a tomato, a sweet potato; then how to feed a pig, to build a house, to plant a garden, to rear cattle, and to bake bread; in one word, your first duty is to live."—Vol. i. p. 210.

And along with work he provides them amusement. The theatre is an institution in full operation, while the temple's foundations are barely laid. Mr. Dixon is eloquent on the order that prevails in this playhouse—to his mind the best arranged in many points that he has seen. All that shocks a 'Gentile's' scruples, in fact, is to be seen in the audience; when it is understood how principal a part of the company are the elders' wives and children.

'The pit was almost filled with girls, on many benches sat a dozen damsels in a row; children of Kimball, Cannon, Smith, and Wells; in some places twenty or thirty girls were grouped together. Young, as he told me himself, has forty-eight living children, some of whom are grown up and married; and, since he sets the fashion of attending this theatre among his people, it is only right that he should encourage his children to appear, both before the footlights and behind them. Alice is the young lady married to Clawson. Zina, whom we have seen play Mrs. Musket in the farce of "My Husband's Ghost," is a lady-like girl, tall, full in figure, moon-faced (as the Orientals say), not much of an artist. Emily we have also seen; Elder Clawson is said to be courting her. I am told the flame is mutual; and Emily is not unlikely to be gathered home to her sister Alice. . . . The perils of a double alliance with the Mormon Pope are said to be great: envy among the Elders, collision with the Gentiles, jealousy at Camp Douglas, hostility at Washington; but Elder Clawson is said to be ready to take his chance with sister Emily, as he has done with Alice, answering as the Mormons put it, Washington theories by Deseret facts.'—Vol. i. p. 205.

In spite of these jovial scenes, Mr. Dixon decides that Mormonism is not a 'religion' for women. He will not say it 'degrades' women, for the term is open to misconstruction (so guarded is he); but it evidently quenches her. There is no sparkle or brightness in a Mormonite woman. She lives an immured, secluded life—rarely sitting down at the same table with her lord—and if shown to strangers, betraying an absolute powerlessness in conducting a conversation, and a perfect dearth of topics. When she smiles, it is a wan smile. The only question he found to excite her was polygamy, upon which, all the women he talked with had but one opinion, and that against it. Their authorities say otherwise, but this is his experience. Man is master at Salt Lake City. 'Woman has no rights.' And this seclusion in the women, and constant manual occupation in the multitude, all under the superintendence of a rigorous police, from whom nothing escapes, and who are prompt to suppress and punish every disturbance, produces, according to Mr. Dixon, a general effect of order, good government, and success. Upon which he argues—

'It cannot be put aside as either unmixed foolishness or unalloyed vice. Strange as the new sectarians may seem to us, they must have in their keeping some grain of truth. They live and thrive, and men who live by their own labour, thrive by their own enterprise, cannot be altogether mad. Their streets are clean, their houses bright, their gardens fruitful. Peace reigns in their cities. Harlots and drunkards are unknown among them. They keep open more schools than any other sect in the United States. But being what they are, believing what they do, their merits are perhaps more trying to our patience than their crimes. It is thought that many persons in the United States would be able to endure them a little better, if they would only behave themselves a good deal worse.'—Vol. i. p. 243.

It is certain that for most men fully to realize a corrupt state of things there must be disorder and recklessness. Steady-going sober vice, that keeps regular hours, never lifts its voice to an unseemly pitch, nor wears its clothes Petruchio fashion, does not affect their nerves, or shock their habits. But, in fact, a loud rollicking demeanour is only really shocking as representing an inner state; it is not the sin itself, though constantly identified with it. Tidy, demure vice is just as bad as—nay, inasmuch as it shows a deader conscience, it may be even worse than—rough noisy vice, which swaggers to conceal that it is ashamed of itself, and defies public opinion because conscious that it is against it. We are very sure that the Hittites and the Perizzites were industrious races, from the 'wells digged,' and the 'vineyards planted,' and the exceeding fertility of the land when the tribes of Israel took possession,—a land which also needed an indefatigable industry to keep it fertile and lovely. But under this smiling exterior, and the order indispensable for

all material industry, the iniquity of the Amorites reached its height. Under our author's impartiality towards the Mormons—an impartiality amounting to patronage—he yet allows us to see that the irresponsible power of the head and prophet of the system may soon bear some of its natural fruits; though the cleverness of the man, and the spirit of colonization with which he is gifted, and which clearly is the motive of any acting enthusiasm in himself, keeps them from declaring themselves in the sight of strangers. Whatever tendency to the Oriental type of despotism may lie latent in Mormonism, the energy of the West shapes it now, and gives it a distinctive character. That it is a despotism of the most stringent order is not only evident, but admitted and gloried in by those who submit to it. The passion of liberty seems capable of a sort of vicarious indulgence. It satisfies itself, first by the act of choosing a master in defiance of all previous ties, and then in the spectacle of that master perfectly irresponsible.

‘Casting from them, as so much waste, the things which all other white men have learned to regard as the most precious conquests of time and thought—personal freedom, family life, change of rulers, right of speech, concurrence in laws, equality before the judge, liberty of writing and voting,—they cast aside these conquests of time and thought in favour of Asiatic obedience to a man without birth, without education, whom they have chosen to regard as God’s own vicar on the earth. No Pope in Rome, no Czar in Moscow, no Caliph in Bagdad, ever exercised such power as the Mormons have conferred on Young. “I am one of those men,” said to me Elder Stenhouse—perhaps the man of highest culture whom we saw in Salt Lake City—“who think that Brigham Young ought to do everything; he has made this church, and he ought to have his way in everything.” Many others said the same thing, in nearly the same words. No one would dispute Young’s will. “A man had better go to hell at once,” said Stenhouse, “if he cannot meet Brigham’s eye.” In a caste of Hindoos, in a family of Kirghis, in a tribe of Bedaween, such an act of prostration would have seemed to me strange; in free America, among the countrymen of Sydney and Washington, coming from the lips of a writer who would make jokes and quote the last poem, and who is enough American to carry two revolvers in his pockets, it was more than strange. It was a sign.’—Vol. i. p. 245.

What the real practices of this community are it needs some apology to lay before our readers—practices not so much as named among the Gentiles of old. Yet if Mormonism is the growing evil Mr. Dixon says it is, if our villages and back streets are as infected as he believes by this moral pestilence, if the bands of emigrants that constantly arrive at Salt Lake City are mainly our own countrymen and women, led thither by Mormon missionaries, annually sent forth to gather together new recruits, and especially tempt women, to this apostate city, it is fitting, nay indispensable, that our clergy should know the morals and the habits of life, present and prospective, that prevail there. We regard the passage in which this subject is discussed as a

marked example of Mr. Dixon's manner. It is introduced by an allusion to the Mormon perversion of Scripture. Rejecting the teaching of the Gospel altogether, they appeal to the primitive life of man.

"The Saints go much beyond Abram; and I, for one, am inclined to think that they have found their type of domestic life in the Indian's wigwam rather than in the patriarch's tent. Like the Ute, a Mormon may have as many wives as he can feed; like the Mandau, he may marry three or four sisters, an aunt and her niece, a mother and her child. Perhaps it would not be too much to say that in the Mormon code there is no such crime as incest, and that a man is practically free to woo and wed any woman who may take his eye.

"We have had a very strange conversation with Young about the Mormon doctrine of incest. I asked him whether it was a common thing among the Saints to marry mother and daughter, and, if so, on what theory they acted, since that kind of union was not sanctioned either by the command to Moses, or by the 'revelation' to Smith. When he hung back from admitting that such a thing occurred at all, I named a case in one of the city wards, of which we had obtained some private knowledge. Apostle Cannon said that in such cases the first marriage would be only a form; that the elder female would be understood as being a mother to her husband and his younger bride; on which I named my example, one in which an elder of the church had married an English woman, a widow, with a daughter then of twelve; in which the woman had borne four children to this husband; and in which this husband had married her daughter when she came of age.

"Young said it was not a common thing at Salt Lake.

"But it does occur?"

"Yes," said Young, "it occurs sometimes."

"On what ground is such a practice justified by the church?"

"After a short pause, he said, with a faint and wheedling smile, "This is a part of the question of incest. We have no sure light on it yet. I cannot tell you what the church holds to be the actual truth; I can tell you my own opinions, but you must not publish it—you must not tell it, lest I should be misunderstood and blamed." . . . I asked the President whether, with his new lights on the virtue of breeding in and in, he saw any objection to the marriage of brother and sister. Speaking for himself, not for the church, he said he saw none at all. What follows I give in the actual words of the speakers:—

"D. "Does that sort of marriage ever take place?"

"Young. "Never."

"D. "Is it prohibited by the church?"

"Young. "No; it is prohibited by prejudice."

"Kimball. "Public opinion won't allow it."

"Young. "I would not do it myself, nor suffer any one else when I could help it."

"D. "Then you don't prohibit, and you don't practise it."

"Young. "My prejudices prevent me."

"This remnant of an old feeling brought from the Gentile world, and this alone, would seem to prevent the Saints from rushing into the higher forms of incest. How long will these Gentile sentiments remain in force? "You will find how long," said Elder Stenhouse to me, touching on another subject, "polygamists of the third generation. When these boys and girls grow up and marry, you will have in these valleys the true feeling of patriarchal life. The old world is about us yet, and we are always thinking of what people may say in the Scottish hills and the midland shires."—Vol. i. p. 308.

We are indebted to Mr. Dixon for the facts thus elicited beyond all controversy. What he calls a sign we call a portent, nor can we wonder at the shame, uneasiness, and impatience of American minds under the stigma of abominations such as these attaching to their soil. The idea of exterminating, and putting a stop to the disgrace by force of some sort, though it be by the sword, is freely expressed in New England society. They boast of having put down slavery by the strong hand. Mormonism is to come yet—a threat which gave Mr. Dixon an opportunity of enforcing more pacific counsels by the light of his own experience. In fact, the Mormons are prepared to meet any ordinary force, self-defence being an act taught them with as much zeal as industry itself.

What Mr. Dixon says of the influence of conquered races over their conquerors is sound up to a point. Whatever has hitherto been undisciplined in a man's nature, whatever latent evil in him is kept in order merely by the strong hand of opinion and prescription, and controlled by the traditions of his own people, is apt to find a voice, and leap into life upon the suggestion of a race to whom these opposing forces and traditions are unknown and impotent. It is the first time, perhaps, that the better taught has ever asked himself 'why not?' in the case of a certain class of sins and evil practices, which it has not before occurred to him to believe capable of defence. To a man in this weak-principled state, it is a defence enough to any custom that recommends itself to his fancy that it is practised and meets with no condemnation. There is nothing mysterious in the process by which an English reprobate adopts polygamy, or rather polygyny, as a system; or by which any Englishman who has always acted on low and purely selfish principles adopts practices opposed to his training which he sees prevailing about him. And moreover he will appear a more respectable character under the indulgence, and behave himself with fewer outrages of decorum, where nobody is shocked by his proceedings, than where society raises opposition; and thus, perhaps, he will give the idea that his mode of life is following some occult law of soil or climate; that his life is coloured by some influence beyond his own control: that, in fact, he has got out of the natural sphere of Christianity, which is in the view of this author only one, though the noblest, among geographical creeds, and mainly the religion of the Gothic race—a race we are led to observe in a decided minority when Brigham Young set up his theory of polygamy. Nor even geographically considered does he regard Christianity as a permanent creed with the uneducated who require a sign. He does not see how it is to stand against the emissaries of a new religion promising a present Eden and a living prophet. Such

a view necessarily asserts that faith is not a virtue to be expected from the poor. So that after a time the Gospel must cease to be their gospel. But we are probably not intended to receive these as the author's own arguments, only as arguments for which he is not prepared with an answer. They stand good at least as a plea for education in doctrine.

'When men ask for a sign and receive a date, what marvel if they should turn away? Souls which are groping in the dark do not ask you for controversy, for history, for logic: they want a living gospel, an instant revelation, a personal God.

'Here the Saint steps in to supply all wants. When Young, with a peculiar emphasis, says, "This I know," his followers, &c., take his voice for that of God. Their eyes dilate, their faces brighten, at his word; new hope, fresh courage, shoot into their hearts.'—Vol. i. p. 382.

What seems to us to be really attacked in all the monstrous developments of manners and opinions described in these volumes is family life, family feeling, family instinct. It is not only the law of the Gospel, but the law of nature which, amongst these societies—uncouth and illiterate, or polished and fastidious—is rejected and defied. Whether it be owing to the 'red influence,' or extravagant ideas of liberty tending to the too early independence of children, we have not the data to determine upon; but all readers familiar with pictures of America, whether painted by strangers or themselves, must have noted the peculiar relation of children to their parents in that country, and their extraordinary emancipation from parental control, girls as well as boys. Girls in America, by all report, are prepared for their matron life on a perfectly different system from our English girls. They are allowed to choose their own friends, to spend their time at their own discretion; they are hampered by few social restraints, and when they grow to womanhood they are the acknowledged queens of society. For a long time it has been a subject of wonder and sometimes of admiration, how the American girl, after a life of liberty and flirting, subsides, as according to all representation she does, into the background after marriage, either rocking and yawning away her time in a boarding-house, or devoting herself to the irksome, weary task of housekeeping, nursing babies, and suffering the caprice and incompetence of 'helps.' We must own the transition seems to us severe. For nobody is really happy without a sphere, and it has long been apparent that the sphere of an American matron is a contracted one as compared to that of the English wife and mother, who first finds herself free to carry out her ideal life on her marriage, and who keeps a strong hold over her daughters, exercising control and direction over them so long as they remain under the parental roof. We gather from Mr. Dixon that American married women begin now to assert their position, and that the labours of

maternity, without its honours and authority, are not coveted by them; that is, family life ceases to be the ideal life, and is associated with thoughts of drudgery and loss of all that constitutes the charm and attraction of womanhood. We hardly care to quote all that strong-minded matrons said to our author on this subject. No fashionable woman, he says, is proud of her young family. There is a resentful feeling, according to his report, that these rosy blooming plagues will wear out her beauty, and make her old and haggard before her time. We cannot really believe this to be a very common state of things: but we are sure that whatever our author states is in good faith, and because he thinks so: only the object of his journey took him among the exceptions.

‘The fact that many of these delicate and sparkling women do not care to have their rooms full of rosy darlings is not a matter of inference. Allusions to the nursery, such as in England and Germany would be taken by a young wife as compliments, are here received with a smile, accompanied by a shrug of undoubted meaning. You must not wish an American lady in whose good graces you desire to stand many happy returns of the christening day; she may resent the wish as an offence; indeed I have known a young and pretty woman rise from the table, and leave the room on hearing such a favour expressed towards her by an English guest.’—Vol. ii. p. 270.

Because children are out of sight we need not necessarily believe them out of their mother’s thoughts; but Mr. Dixon has it on American authority that the perverted sentiment he believes to exist is attributable ‘to the rapid growth in society and in the household of disturbing female creeds,’ and is a fact ‘of which the wiser men and the graver women of New England—the great majority of sound and pious people—think very much more than they talk, at least in public.’

Whatever these disturbing creeds are, we cannot go along with our author in laying them mainly to the charge of women. Men everywhere are the originators of thought—the heralds of change. But once set new ideas in motion, and women will put their own colour upon them. In all the wild sects he brings before us, women are but the instruments of men. Even when their pretensions are most extravagant, and man-defying, men’s scientific discoveries or wild speculations gave the impulse, and set the absurdity going. Men first preached the licence of liberty which has disturbed the old theory and practice of parental rule and authority; a doctrine which must necessarily have suggested a new class of pretensions to the women who have been taught to agree and approve; though women are by nature so conservative that it has needed some generations to overthrow the old home and family traditions. With some, it must be allowed, they have been reversed at last, with a vengeance.

That men are the leaders wherever Mr. Dixon had opportunities of insight, and does not go by hearsay, admits no doubt. Brigham Young sets his foot decidedly on all feminine pretensions, and, in the heart of the Red Man's territory, who notoriously spoils his children (perhaps only the boys), holds his daughters in such awe, that a Mormonite girl always addresses her father as 'Sir,' and does not sit down in his presence without leave. Amongst the Shakers, though equality between the sexes is affected, Elder Frederick finds that 'females need steadying some,' and steadies accordingly.

But it is time to pursue our inquiries into these phenomena. Amongst these he gives an important place to the Shakers, treating them with such respect that we find no description of the eccentricities which excite the mirth of strangers, and have got them their name. We have said before, that Mr. Dixon is always profoundly impressed by what he sees with his own eyes. He has to apologize for the numerical smallness of the sect which he feels a power in America—

'Of course, when they are measured against the thirty millions of Christian people living in the United States, some six or seven thousand celibate Shakers may appear but of small account; and this would be the truth, if the strength of spiritual and moral forces could be told in figures, like that of a herd of cattle, or a kiln of bricks. But if numbers are small, they are far from being all. One man with ideas may be worth a Parliament, an army,—nay, a whole nation, without them. The Shakers may not be scholars and men of genius. In appearance they are often very simple, but they are men of ideas, men capable of sacrifice.'—Vol. ii. p. 106.

Whatever feminine element there is in Shakerism is due to the old country, their founder being a certain Mother Ann, daughter of a Lancashire blacksmith, 'a wild creature from her birth, and subject to hysteria, violent, ambitious of notice, and 'devoured by a lust of power.' The creed of her followers is that in this impostor Christ was a second time incarnate. 'Their Church is based on three grand ideas. The kingdom 'of heaven has come; Christ has actually appeared on earth; the 'personal rule of God has been restored.' In the wake of these ideas, and dependent upon them, follow many more:—the old law is abolished; the command to multiply has ceased; Adam's sin has been atoned; the intercourse of heaven and earth has been restored; the curse is taken away from labour; the earth and all that is in it will be redeemed; angels and spirits have become, as of old, the familiars and ministers of men. 'In the firm belief of these people, the call which they obey is 'not to a mere change of life, but to a new life of the soul, in 'which the world has no share. Birth and marriage are at an 'end; death itself has become to them a change of dress, a 'shedding of the visible robe of flesh for an invisible glory of

spirit.' Most of those who come into union at Mount Lebanon are young men and girls, such as in Italy and Spain would go into monasteries and convents; but when married people enter, they must agree in future to live apart in chastity and obedience, free from all fancies and desires of their olden life again. No man may be drawn by lures of the world into union with their societies, since the elected ones are all strictly forbidden to make use of any lure, any argument with the Gentile. God, it is said, in His own time, in His own way will draw to Himself the men whom He has made His own. The Shaker Union being considered by them as the heavenly kingdom, they are to have no part in the task of peopling it with saints; for the children of grace can be called into this rest by none but God. Heaven must be sought by man; He will never again go forth and seek. The day of missionary work is past.

The difference between celibate establishments in the New World and the Old is, that in one case it is thought advisable for men and women to dwell apart, in the other they meet every day at the same table. In the instance of the Shakers, their new life seems to be adapted for that aversion to and weariness of the family life we have noted;—the aim is to escape the jars and worries of time under the ordinary type. Nobody is to care for anybody in particular. Love and peace are to be procured by the suppression of all natural feeling.

"Husbands and wives," says Antoinette (the female head), with a smile, "make very pretty Shakers." . . . Some of these married ladies have husbands living close beside their rooms, but they would hold it a weakness, perhaps a sin, to feel any personal happiness in each other's company. The love that is in their hearts ought to be shed on all the saints alike.

One cannot place any very exact reliance in a stranger's observations for a fortnight in such a peculiar scene as Mount Lebanon; but to him all seemed correct among the Shakers, and as pure as it professed to be. There must be, in the main body, a stupid deadness to all that makes life noble; but they live in carefully scoured, well-ventilated rooms, and they work as hard as Mormons, making their territory of 10,000 acres the model farm of the States. We have already hinted an opinion of Antoinette's visions. It is easier at third hand to believe a woman says what is not true, than that she actually thinks she sees and hears spirits and angels talking around her. The position of the women, except the heads, is scarcely suited to our idea of the American *esprit fort*. The ladies—all these sisters are ladies in speech, in manners, and in garb—have no out-door work; some are employed in the kitchen, some waiting on others (duties which they take in turn), some in weaving cloth, some

in preserving fruits, distilling essences, in making fans and nicknacks. They teach children, and their school is said to be one of the best for a good general education in New York.

In fact, it sounds so dull, that but for the variety of labour which is enforced, humanity could scarcely stand it; but work, especially where the taste is studied, is the great soother and reconciler of the world. Perhaps, these 'ladies' for the first time are provided with regular and congenial occupation; and why people should retire from the world to make fans and distil scents is a question which *perhaps* need not be asked of the Shakers of Mount Lebanon.

Mr. Dixon devotes a chapter to the inquiry, and it is one which must suggest itself to every reader, how are the eighteen Shaker communities formed and recruited? The answer is, from revivals. Every great revival has added a fresh society to the Shaker community. When things go on as usual, the rich New Yorker and the smart Kentuckian would no more dream of coming into the union (the Shaker phrase for conversion) than of going to live in a negro shed; but in the day of spiritual wrath, when sinners run staggering up and down, and the churches of the world are stricken dumb under the portent, then these new sects and societies make their harvest.

'Other sects regard a revival as a movement in the mind, inviting them to labour for the good of souls; the Shaker looks upon it as a Spiritual Cycle—the end of an epoch—the birth of a new society. "Only in the fervour of a revival," says Elder Frederick, "can the elect be drawn to God;" that is to say, in Gentile phrase, drawn into a Shaker settlement. Mount Lebanon sprang from a revival; Enfield sprang from a revival; in fact, the Shakers declare that every large revival being the end of a Spiritual Cycle, must end in the foundation of a fresh Shaker Union.'—Vol. ii. p. 141.

Pursuing this subject of revivals, he repeats the observation of others on the phenomena of a Camp Meeting, and after describing the frantic revivalist preacher 'who does the rough work of the Spirit,' continues—

'Many visitors fall sick, and some die in the camp. In the agonies of this strife against the power of sin and the fear of death (I am told by men who have often watched these spiritual tempests) the passions seem to be all unloosed, and go astray without let or guide. "I like to hear of a revival," said to me a lawyer of Indianapolis; "it brings in a crop of cases." In the revivalist camp men quarrel and fight, and make love to their neighbours' wives. A Methodist preacher of twenty-five years' experience, first in New England, then on the frontiers, afterwards in the battle-fields of Virginia, said to me, "Religious passion includes all other passions; you cannot excite one without stirring up the others. In our church we know the evil, and we have to guard against it as we may. The young men who get up revivals are always objects of suspicion to their elders. Many go wrong: I could say one in twenty at the least; more, far more, than that number bring scandal on the Church, by their thoughtless behaviour in the revivalist camp."—Vol. ii. p. 147.

From the Shakers we pass to Spiritualism, which seems to absorb another class of abnormal natures; and here we can well believe the spirit-world of the red man to underlie the whole system, though it is traced to the same Mother Ann who founded the Shaker community.

The outward aspect and bearing of the two sects show them adapted to distinct temperaments. The Shakers are soft in speech, demure in bearing, gentle in face, and wear their queer costume with an utter unconsciousness of the grotesque. The Spiritualists have a wild expression, and aim at the picturesque; most of the men wearing long hair, while all the women are closely cropped. These are open professors, but Mr. Dixon thinks that a man would hardly be wrong in assuming that a tenth part of the population of the New England States and a fifteenth part of New York, Ohio, and Pennsylvania are under the influence of the spirit world, of which the rendezvous is Poughkeepsie, the college of the seers. In Young America, there is no shrinking from a public exposition of opinion. We read here of a convention of Spiritualists held at Providence, in Rhode Island—a city chosen for its fame as a camp of heretics—at which the president, in his inaugural speech, addresses the audience, mortal and angelic, as the great heretics and infidels of the day, and as such the regenerators of the world; where it was taken for granted that the old Gospels are exhausted, and the churches founded on them are dead; the phenomena of rappings, tappings, table-turnings, &c., &c. having, it is assumed, supplied their place. In a hundred American cities they have their Lyceums, catechisms, newspapers, male and female prophets, clairvoyants, Sunday services, pic-nics, camp meetings.

Like Elder Frederick, they maintain the dual nature of the Godhead, assuming a male and female essence—a motherhood, as well as fatherhood, in the Creator—and, like Sister Mary and Elderess Antoinette, they inferred from this duality of God the equal rights of man and woman. Indeed, from first to last, the ladies seem to have played the leading parts in Providence, whether in exposition or in expostulation.

“There was much of both these articles,” Miss Susie Johnson said; “she was tired of talk, and wanted to work.” . . . “I am sincerely devoted to the interests of the children of the coming generation.” Miss Susie Hutchinson was wilder still, in rebuke of her brethren in the spirit. This lady, who represented the Charleston Independent Society of Spiritualists in the Convention, said she had laboured for eight years in the cause of Spiritualism, and had always been ashamed of her associates. The official report makes her say:—She had never met a whole-souled Spiritualist yet. She had hoped that they would pass resolutions that should be active, and not dead letters, going back to the buried past; and that they would find manhood and womanhood coming up to the work of humanity. If there was one single soul in the universe

to be shut out from the convention, she wanted to be shut out with them. If there was a single person going to hell, she wanted to go with them; and if there was work to be done in the lower regions, she would go to help the Eternal Father to do that work."—Vol. ii. p. 160.

Various sentences are given, to show the uncompromising tone of their convention. They are curious as showing what people will say and do when encouraged, and protected from themselves by numbers, assembled for the sensation of hearing audacity carried to greater lengths than they had known before.

'A tone of stern hostility towards the religious creeds and moral standards of all Christian nations marked the speeches of men and women throughout this convention, a tone which is hardly softened by a word, in the official reports.

'Miss Susie Johnson said—"She for one would build no more churches, for they had already too long oppressed and benighted humanity."

'Another "thanked God this was not an age of worship, but investigation."

'Dr. H. T. Child said that—"Spiritualism has bridged the gulf between Abraham's bosom and the rich man's hell. Let thanksgiving be added to thanksgiving for every blow that is struck to weaken the superstructure of human law—law which by the hand of man punishes man for doing wrong."

'Mr. Perry said—"As a Spiritualist I have yet to learn that we hold anything as sacred, and I am opposed to every resolution that has the word sacred in it."

'Mr. Finney said—"The old religion is dying out. We are here to represent this new religion, born of the Union and of the types of humanity in a cosmopolitan geography, the die of which was cast in the forges of Divine Providence."—Vol. ii. p. 163.

After this very candid statement of spiritualistic opinion, Mr. Dixon reminds his readers that, however repugnant the system is to our feelings and hostile to our institutions, it is due to fairness to remember that, strange as it may appear to them, it has been embraced by hundreds of learned men and *pious* women. We are disposed not only to ask what this piety is worth, but how it can exist at all with complicity in such declarations as we have just read; but he argues, 'No one can assert that a theory is simply foolish and beneath the notice of investigators which has been accepted by men like Judge Edmonds, Dr. Hare, Elder Frederick' (for whom he is the voucher), 'and Professor Bush,' without, however, stating how far all these men are committed to the whole length of the convention. All we can reply is, there has never yet been a theory so foolish to which some clever folks have not given in their adhesion to it. This is true of all the world. If no able men made fools of themselves, commonplace people would keep straight; but their own Hawthorne has seen it exceptionally true of his countrymen, under whose provocations he has written, 'There is no estimating or believing, until we come into a position to know it, what foolery lurks latent in the breast of very sensible people.'

In advance of Spiritualists generally, has arisen a female sect whom Mr. Dixon designates 'Female Seers,' and from their founder, Elizabeth Denton, 'Elizabethans;' their gift being 'literally to read into the very heart of millstones.' No man has reached to this intimacy with nature. It belongs to the finer organization of woman; but the conception, in all its absurdity, is man's, who put a temptation in her way, which, in the flighty state of female pretensions, was irresistible. For it is clear, if women are to take the place they pretend to, it must be through the supernatural, or, at least, what is above *man's* nature. The new philosophy had its origin in this wise. We must remark, that in this case Mr. Dixon regards the whole as simple imposture; what he would have thought if, instead of taking it on hearsay, he had been an eye-witness of the phenomenon, is by no means certain, for we doubt not the women played their part well, and as though they believed it.

'The new gospel of the Female Seers came to Anne Cridge and her brother William Denton in this manner. Buchanan, a doctor in Cincinnati, had noticed in his practice, that some persons could be purged without pills and doses, simply by being made to hold the cathartic medicine in their hands. It was an act of the imagination not to be expected from every one perhaps, but certainly to be found in some; especially in females of delicate genius and sensitive frame. Why not in Anne Cridge?'—Vol. ii. p. 171.

She tries the experiment with such success as to pursue the inquiry in other fields. She lays a sealed letter on her forehead, and discovers, not only that she can read the contents, but *see* the writer, so as to tell his height, colour, and the shade of his eyes. Science now steps in. Her brother, William Denton, a student and geologist, accounts for the phenomenon on natural principles. This image of a man writing must be a sun-picture, which had been thrown upon the paper as upon a lens. The reason why he could not see it and his sister could was due to his grosser qualities of mind. But if his theory was correct, then must the sun be perpetually multiplying these pictures, and any surface must receive and retain them for those gifted organizations which can read these precious memorials. Every flint must have its history inscribed on itself, and the reflection of every passing object, since it was a flint; and geology, which was his science, had found an infallible interpreter, and a new light had dawned upon the world. Not only was Denton fortunate in a sister, but his wife discovered in herself the same faculty:—

'She one day told her husband that she too was a Female Seer, able and willing to look for him into the soul of things. Denton tried her with a pebble, which she instantly read off, in a fashion to extinguish the modest pretensions of Sister Anne. In the published list of experiments, we are told that a piece of limestone from Kansas, full of small fossil shells, was held by Anne Cridge

against her brow, when she read off: "A deep tide here. What shells! small shells; and so many. I see water; it looks like a river running along." The next experiment was tried upon Elizabeth: a bit of quartz from Panama being held before her eyes. "I see what looks like a monstrous insect, its body covered with scaly wings, and its head furnished with antennæ nearly a foot long. It stands with its head against a rock. . . . I see an enormous snake coiled up among wild wiry grass. The vegetation is tropical." "Well done," cried Denton. . . . The mysterious faculty of Elizabeth Denton has left that of Anne Cridge immeasurably behind. She has acquired the gift of looking not into flints and fossils only, but into the depths of the sea, into the centre of the earth; she can hear the people of past times talk; she can taste the food which saurians and crustaceans scrunched in the pre-diluvian world. 'From these Female Seers we have learnt that men were once like monkeys: that even then the women were in advance of the men; being less hairy, and more erect than their companions.'—Vol. ii. p. 171.

The subject of equal rights so engrosses the women of the New World, that Mr. Dixon is told by those understanding the matter that the whole female population of the States, and especially the New England States, would be engaged on that side but for a weakness, which still holds back some of them, we gather,—the young and pretty, 'who are fond of being taken care of.' What the advocates of the cause demand is, that society shall grant to women all that it allows to men, 'from pantaloons and latch-keys,' up to seats in the legislature and pulpits in the churches. At the first female congress, held in Ohio, under Presidentess Betsy Cowles, twenty-two resolutions were passed, all claiming an exact equality, and concluding with the statement 'that, as political rights have nothing to do with sex, the word "male" shall be struck out of the State constitution,'—which is precisely what Mr. Stuart Mill proposes for us here in England. Whether as women or as philosophers, the topic of dress always comes on the *tapis* in these conventions; and here Mr. Dixon remarks that it would hardly be too much to say that this question is the husk and shell of all discussion in America, as between sex and sex. We gather that in these feminine assemblies the petticoat is upon its trial. Does the gown become a free woman? Can she be really man's equal till she wears his garb? Mr. Dixon grants that the question is important. A flowing garment impedes the wearer, and is a practical hindrance in the race. We also learn that feminine fancy and fastidiousness need not be swamped under the garb she claims for herself. The lady who first put her theories into action (Helène Maria Weber) had her suit, consisting of dark blue coat and brass buttons, buff waistcoat richly trimmed, and drab breeches, direct from Paris. Next to dress, naturally, *marriage* is the great question, and the great crux with this school. They object to the institution as it now stands as a pagan one, and therefore 'see no moral beauty in the state.' On this Mr. Dixon enters upon his own view; and while partly

agreeing with their objections, granting women are hardly used by our 'pagan laws,' on which he is very severe, still gives himself some trouble to prove that S. Paul 'had no idea of banishing marriage from the new society' (Christianity). 'Have we any right,' he asks, 'to infer from Paul's advice to the Corinthians that he held the views of Ann Lee, or even of Alexander Mack?' In fact, S. Paul is interesting to him. It is evidently pleasant to treat the great apostle apart from the glosses of Fathers and orthodox commentators. Thus he takes for granted, in a passing sentence, that 'Paul allowed polygamy,' and that the doctrines enunciated by him were derived from the Essenes. 'The spirit of the Essene was strong in Paul.' This, however, is by the way.

But the pretensions of women from the causes already stated pass beyond equality and equal rights. In a chapter headed 'The Revolt of Women,' we learn that there is a considerable school among them who claim to be superior by right of their finer organization and by their gifts. To them the right to labour in man's field is an unworthy and undesired concession. Man, as endowed with physical strength, is the worker; woman, created with finer nerves and a more elaborate, complex, and delicate organization, is the soul. 'Man, with his slow, dull gift of reason, and his sinewy arm, is but the paragon of animals; woman, with her intuition and higher functions, belongs to the celestial ranks.'

'The sexes, too, according to this female creed, differ in office as they differ in endowment. Man is here the tiller of the soil, while his sister, nursed at the same breast, is meant for a prophetess and seer. One is made coarse and rough, that he may wrestle with the outer world; the other tender and douce, that she may commune with the spiritual spheres. . . . Man has to work, woman to love.'—Vol. ii. p. 197.

We are assured that this creed has its votaries in every populous city in the Union, and that during the twenty-five years in which Eliza Farnham has preached it, though she has not made one male convert, she has found it a system readily apprehended by woman's finer intelligence, who perceives at a glance that the reign of science is over, that of spiritualism begun, and the gospel of woman a declared fact.

'In the details of the Fall, Eliza finds much comfort, when she can read them by her inward light. Wisdom (in the form of a serpent) addressed the woman, not the man, who would have cared little for the tree of knowledge. The temptation offered to her was spiritual. She took the forbidden fruit in the hope of becoming wiser and diviner than she had been. Man followed her. Yes; the ascendancy of woman began in Paradise.'—Vol. ii. p. 207.

These windy doctrines, however, the fruit of a fantastical female brain working in the presumption of ignorance, are things to laugh at compared to the next 'Utopia' under review, which

calls itself 'Bible Communism,' and is called a religious sect. The leading doctrine of Communism is that the Perfectionist has a right to do what he likes. He knows no law, neither that pronounced on Sinai, nor that administered at Washington. Whatever he desires to do that he does, calling it a life under grace. Laws are for sinners; he is a saint. The distinctive dogma is that, not only man's property is common, but all that, under natural feeling, would be most exclusively his own, is common too. The practice of Communism carries these doctrines to their extremest limits, but still under that veil of industry and order which are necessary—the one for the maintenance of the community, the other for its existence under the eye of law, indeed for its continuity as a body. 'Marriage as a rite and as a fact they have abolished for ever;' but the ladies of this society still present the usual features of these communities. Mr. Dixon found them all busy, brisk, and contented. All whom he addressed called themselves happy in their lot. It is well to note how constantly this form occurs, as a sign how little an outside cheerfulness in its members tells for the truth and morals of any system. The chapter headed 'Pantagamy' opens thus:—

'How shall I describe in English words the innermost social life so freely opened to my view by these religious zealots of Oneida Creek? To an Arab family I could easily shape the matter, so as to leave out nothing of importance to my tale, for the Arabs have derived from their fathers a habit of calling things by their simplest names. We English have another mood, that of hushing up nature in a fine sense of silence, of spending our curiosity on facts about trees, birds, fishes, insects, while we are carefully putting under dark covers anything that relates to the life and nature of man.'—Vol. ii. p. 256.

Elder Frederick, the celebrated Shaker, gave it as his opinion to Mr. Dixon that he would see the 'Bible Families' increase very fast, especially in New York; and Brother Noyes, the head of the society, and Mr. Dixon's host, told him that he refused applications for admission every day. But until the evil assumes the gigantic proportions prophesied for it, perhaps enough has been said on a subject which will not stand much handling; except what is needed to show that Mr. Dixon tells nothing, either of the principles or working of this sect, from mere report.

'I have been spending a few days at Oneida Creek, the chief seat of the three societies founded by Noyes—Oneida, Wallingford, and Brooklyn—as the guest of Brother Noyes. I have lived in his family; had a good deal of talk with him; had access to his books and papers, even those of a private nature; had many conversations with the brothers and sisters whom he has gathered into order, both in his presence and apart from him.'

Nothing strikes us as more forcibly exhibiting the real differences between America and England in the nature of public opinion than the little circumstance of this visit. If we can conceive such a community, with their principles declared in books

and pamphlets, as tolerated among ourselves, can we conceive a gentleman not owning their views putting himself on the equal terms of a guest among them? But probably the two things go together. Public opinion, therefore, we are driven to assume, stands at a lower level in the New World than with us. Englishmen can do in America what they could not do at home, and what an American gentleman could not do either. There are plenty of causes for this, exonerating respectable American society. The geographical contrasts in the two countries explain a great deal; the wild licence of the extreme West tells upon a whole continent.

But also manners and morals cannot be wholly dissociated. A long indulged habit of pleasing self, irrespective of your neighbour's convenience, naturally ends in doing what you please, in entire disregard of his ideas of right; and the society that tolerates rudeness has soon to tolerate worse breaches of the social compact. On the subject of manners, Mr. Dixon avoids details; we have no curious traits of ill-breeding. He admits that a lady might easily fall into the error, 'that the only liberties to be found in America are the liberties people take with you;' but only alludes to the cause to correct it. But the absence of good manners in the scene of his recent travels has suggested a theory which may well reconcile an American to belong to the worst-mannered nation in the world. Good manners, according to him, are flowers that will not bloom in the fresh air that circles around

'That mountain nymph, sweet Liberty.'

Manners decay with the advance of freedom. The further east you go, it is argued, where man is most removed from free institutions, there you find the utmost suavity of manners; and duly as you advance westward, that grace fades slowly but surely away. Tell Mr. Dixon the longitude of any nation, and he will give a shrewd guess as to their civility. 'Manner declines in a regular order, from east to west.' In Europe, he has found it best at Stamboul, and worst in London. In the world, as far as he has seen, it is best in Cairo, and worst at Denver and Salt Lake. If ever he goes to California, he expects to find manners at San Francisco something surpassing even his present experience. We should have thought, on the other hand, that the perfection of manners would be found where people have both to command and to obey. Thus manner, from all report, was brought to its highest finish under the *ancien régime*, where the command and the obedience were both of the vast imperial sort; but the question is one for more leisurely discussion. Having laid down his view, with mathematical distinct-

ness, he turns what a sensitive American thinks disparagement into compliment. Manner, after all, is but a slavish accomplishment, never to be found in commonwealths, and rarely among men of genius; and the conclusion is—

‘That a people has this exceeding grace and spirit in exact proportion to the length and strength of the despotism under which it has been schooled. . . . It is well to know that the rough liberties for which our cousins have exchanged, as a rule, the deferential habits of their fathers, are of a solid fruitful kind. If they have sold their birthright of civility, they have not sold it for a mess of pottage. Indeed they may be said to have made a very good market of their manners, having got in return for them houses, votes, schools, wages, a splendid present for themselves, a magnificent future for their children. They have risen in society; they have ceased to be servants.’—Vol. ii. p. 288.

Perhaps this is hardly to be reconciled with Mr. Dixon’s giving the palm of civilization and refinement to America, in the case of the working class of women. He is English enough to pronounce his countrywomen the most beautiful. ‘Many American girls, indeed, are comely, many more smart; but among the lower grades of women there is no such plentiful crop of rustic loveliness as an artist finds in England.’ But here her superiority ends. Our fair rustic ‘must close her book in the presence of her keen and natty American sister.’

It is these qualities of neatness, readiness, and self-respect, which probably suggest the title of ‘lady,’ so often accorded by our author. Where no woman has a servant, as is the usual case in the farms and homesteads of the West, and where every woman, we are forced to gather, whatever her social pretensions, expresses herself in an uncouth idiom, but with no other coarseness of voice or manner, the distinctions of gentility are not easily made by a stranger; and where the woman is trim and kind, and her neighbourhood has no higher standard of finish and manner to shame her shortcomings, she deserves the benefit of the doubt.

To ourselves—who hear and judge, not by sight, but by report—the phraseology of the New York belle, as rendered by Mr. Dixon, bears out his theory, rather than his experience. The lady who ‘would pass for a lady in Hyde Park,’ has a twang which confuses her with the ‘lady’ of the prairies, to our ears. ‘The young, sweet, and elegant girl, a lady from head to instep, with a fine carriage, a low voice, a cultured mind,’ who yet, with dash and frankness, will talk to a stranger about her lovers, in the enigmatical terms—‘I was very bad upon him, but I got over it in time, and then let him off’—strikes us as due West, according to Mr. Dixon’s theory. He regards the phrase rather as an illustration of the peculiar standing of American women.

'Her oddity consisted first, in the thing which she said, next in her choice of words; in other phrase, it lay in the difference between an English girl's and an American girl's habits of thought, with regard to the relations of men and women. "I was bad upon him, but I let him off," expresses, in very plain Saxon words, an idea which would hardly have entered into an English girl's mind; and even if it had so entered, would never have found that dry, passionless, escape from her lips.'—Vol. ii. p. 39.

This touches upon the great grievance Mr. Dixon has against the women of America. Every subversion of natural order is ultimately to be traced to them, and their false position; thence comes that spirit of separation which produced the sects of which his volumes give the history, and at length the war. Before the late war, he tells us, there was a universal rage for dissolution,—for casting off law and custom; the final state of freedom as it merges in chaos was fast setting in. Family life was disturbed and convulsed by the same evil spirit. Disputes arising at the domestic hearth issued in public congresses, where angry women discussed the most secret and sacred privacies of home and family life. 'Women raised their voice against nursing babies, against the sanctity of wedlock, against the permanence of marriage vows.' To this we can only reply, that it is the inalienable privilege of man to give the impulse to thought. Woman, indeed, is so naturally conservative, that he is apt to indulge in the freest speculations, trusting to the check that keeps things in their places, so long as she holds to tradition and prescription. Men alone can hold theories in widest opposition to existing usage, without their infringing so seriously upon practices and opinions as to reverse the aspect of society; but, if they convert women to them, practice *must* follow, and the result may frighten even the speculatist himself: which seems to be the case in America. But if Thais there 'leads the way'—a frantic figure of mischief—it was not till man, flambeau in hand, had infected her with his own zeal to destroy.

- ART. VIII.—1. *The Gentile and the Jew in the Courts of the Temple of Christ: an Introduction to the History of Christianity.* From the German of JOHN J. I. DÖLLINGER, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Munich. By N. DARNELL, M.A., late Fellow of New College, Oxford. 2 vols. London: Longmans. 1862.
2. *The First Age of Christianity and the Church.* By JOHN IGNATIUS DÖLLINGER, D.D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Munich, &c. Translated by the REV. HENRY NUTCOMBE OXENHAM, late Scholar of Balliol College. 2 vols. Second Edition. London: Wm. H. Allen and Co., 13, Waterloo-place, S.W.

A HISTORY of religious thought is one of the great needs of our age, and one which is becoming every day more keenly felt. We want what, in German style, we ought to call a connected historical survey of the hieropathical element in humanity. Lessons from the Old Testament, as they are only too commonly imparted to our rising generations, have, as might indeed be foreseen, a somewhat narrowing tendency. This produces in the end an impression which the Scriptures themselves emphatically discountenance again and again, that the Jews were not only the immediate but exclusive objects of God's care and mercies in Revelation; that there was in heathendom neither instinct nor hope: nothing alive in the embers; nothing remembered of all the fugitive glory of the great Beginning. This making the Jew not only first, but also last, is such a knowing of Christ after the flesh as involves the greatest conceivable disparagement to the Incarnation. It is not perhaps too much to say, that every known nation of heathendom was the depositary—of course in some partial, and, we may also believe, some distinctive form of the one great universal hope. Corrupted tradition bears witness to the statement. Tradition, in the main uncorrupted, whether among the star-readers of Chaldæa, or among the more meditative intellects of Rome,—who in the calm of the nations, and the exhausted condition of society, found as they thought, and fixed the critical moment for the intervention of Deity on the stage of human life—offers its willing testimony to the truth, that the hands of heathendom were even passionately stretched out to feel that God whom so soon they were to touch. If that terrible passage in the moral history of our race with which the Apostle prefaces the Epistle

to the Romans were true of the Gentiles only, to the exclusion of the Jews, the one-sidedness we are criticizing might plead some justification. We contend that the pagan nations, in presence of those natural vicissitudes which testified to a Providence, never lost wholly a sense of moral destitution, and an instinct of Divine hope. They were preserved in these, not only by the sacramental presence of God's elect nation on the earth, but also by the general dispensations of the providence of God. Israel was trained to look for the *verification* of the promises of God: while the consciousness of heathendom was moulded to depend upon God's *mercy*. The line of prophets and witnesses of God which had been granted to Israel and denied to them was to be vouchsafed to them in the new dispensation. It is this fact which illustrates the incident in the narrative in which we find our Redeemer for the first time using the word 'Faith.' The Roman soldier, whose conduct drew from Christ a high eulogium, believed not so much in the person of the Great Physician, as in His power to delegate His authority to the effectual agents and ministers of His word. Thus a belief in the Holy Catholic Church is a peculiarly appropriate article in the creed of Gentile Christendom.

The works whose titles are prefixed are a contribution to the history of religious thought, and have some relation to the subject which we discussed in this Review in connexion with Mr. Allies' 'Formation of Christendom,' with this difference: that where the same historical area is traversed by Mr. Allies and Dr. Döllinger, the one works with the fanaticism of a partisan, the other with the well-balanced and deliberate judgment of a well-matured and philosophical Christian mind. But the earlier work of Dr. Döllinger consists of a review of the whole moral condition of Pagandom as it existed prior and up to the eve of the Incarnation. The title which the author placed on this work was '*Heathenism and Judaism—A Porch to the History of Christianity.*' This title represents the nature of the work with sufficient accuracy. Perhaps it may fairly be objected to, as being over-fanciful a designation for a work so large and elaborate. But the Translator, who in all else has done his work with admirable fidelity, even so far as to verify, we are informed, nearly three thousand quotations, has, in his rendering of the title, selected whether wisely or not by the learned writer, not only here given too free a version, but has really obscured the purpose of the work. When Mr. Darnell entitles his translation 'The Gentile and the Jew in the Courts of the Temple of Christ,' he exposes himself to the discomfort of being told by some 'particular fellow,' that the Gentile and Jew never were together in the courts of any temple; that the Redeemer

had not any temple for them to be together in; that not a line or sentence of the two volumes implied that in any way the moral history of the two divided families of mankind represents them as attracted to one another in the acknowledgment of Christ. The title adopted by Mr. Darnell belies the thesis of the whole work, and the facts of all the history examined by the writer. If the reader of the title-page of Dr. Döllinger's book, as that title is rendered by Mr. Darnell, imagines that he will find in these volumes an account how Jewdom trained, quickened, pruned, and regulated the ancient, grievously-perverted traditions of Pagandom, so as in the process to qualify the Gentile to appear as co-liturg with the Jew in the vestibule of the Church which Messiah was about to build; if with such a notion as this the reader takes up Mr. Darnell's version of the author's 'Porch,' he will soon find how erroneous such a notion is. Neither law nor prophets, nor the national history of the Jews, prepared the Gentile world to acknowledge the Babe of Bethlehem. Whatever instinct of Divine hope survived in Heathendom—the universal expectation did not owe its origin and hardly, if at all, its preservation to the influence of the Jews.

I. The main shortcoming in this very remarkable work, 'The Porch,' by which shorter title we shall venture to designate the earlier and larger work on our list, is that it offers no clue to, nor endeavours to bring into a synoptical harmony, the leading principles of the belief of the heathen nations. The author has supplied most liberally and industriously the materials for his readers to draw their own conclusions from. In his short preface he says, 'What soil did Christianity find to build on? To what doctrines and systems of thought could it attach itself? What circumstances paved the way for it, and forwarded and facilitated its expansion? What obstacles, prejudices, and errors had it to overcome? What adversaries to encounter? What evils to remedy? How did paganism react on Christianity? All these questions, on the importance of which it were superfluous to waste a word here, admit, it appears to me, of a satisfactory solution only through an exposition penetrating as deeply beneath the surface, and of as wide pre-assigning its limits to the work before us, whether chronologically, as the present. Here, then, are the circumstances logical or geographical. In the latter point of view, the paganism of Eastern Asia, Brahminism, and Buddhism were obviously excluded; for both, after many centuries, still stand so completely aloof from the Christian Church, as to put out of question all contact that might have left behind any trace on the side of Christianity. As regards time, it seemed not only to the ose, but even imperative for the due fulfilment of

' my task, not to stop short at the period of Augustus, and of
 ' the founder of the Christian religion, but to continue the
 ' picture of Græco-Roman paganism down to the time of the
 ' Antonines, or A.D. 150—160. Up to that date it progressed
 ' in course of development, unimpeded by pressure from without;
 ' only from the middle of the second century after Christ were
 ' Christian influences observable upon it. After that date, the
 ' Græco-Pagan soil produced but one intellectual fruit of im-
 ' portance,—the doctrine of Plotinus, with its developments and
 ' modifications by the later Neo-Platonists.' This school of
 thought was not really the product of pure and unmixed
 heathenism; and the doctrines of the faith exercised a very
 great influence over its development in its religious aspect.
 ' The phenomenon of Neo-Platonism generally is only to be
 ' grasped through the medium of antagonism to Christianity.
 ' This fact I allude to here simply because it helps to prove my
 ' assertion, that the internal history of old Heathendom, up to the
 ' commencement of the process of its dissolution, really came to
 ' a close at the epoch mentioned. If I be not mistaken, there is
 ' in the agitation of the pagan intellect throughout the century
 ' before, and the century and a half after Christ, amid much that
 ' seems accidental, a certain regularity discernible, an entering
 ' of that spirit into forms of ever-progressive precision. The
 ' genius of antiquity essayed, exhausted, and used up, so to say,
 ' every combination possible of the principles once intrusted and
 ' handed down to her; the entire of the plastic power that
 ' dwelt within her. It was only after she had become com-
 ' pletely incorporated, after each one of her doctrines, forms, and
 ' institutions, her sum of vital power, had been sifted and con-
 ' sumed, that, with the period of the Antonines, a mighty revolu-
 ' tion commenced, not visible, indeed, to those contemporary
 ' with it, suspected by but a few; and a leaf in the history of
 ' the human mind was turned over.'

We have no doubt that our readers will share our disappoint-
 ment that the illustrious author has declined to investigate a sub-
 ject of all the most difficult and perplexing, at least the most diffi-
 cult and perplexing of the subjects connected with the history and
 development of Christianity. How is it to be explained that
 Eastern Asia has remained unsubdued to the Cross of God? What
 are the latent and unexhausted energies of Oriental heathenism
 which enable it to present to this day an unbroken front to the
 armies of Christ? Nay, more, how was it that, as many a venerable
 tradition justifies us in believing, a once widely-spread Christianity
 succumbed to, and was engulfed by, a system which offered to man-
 kind a supposititious Incarnation? How was it that a system which
 overcame the last effort of paganism, put

forth under the thin disguise of Neo-Platonism,—a system which eventually controlled the Gnostic heresies, those varying forms of Neo-Platonism *plus* a larger infusion of Christian sentiment,—eventually surrendered to the teaching of Gotama Buddha, and the Æonology of the East? We do certainly wish that our author had helped us to a clearer view of the mythological relations of East and West. If the theosophical conceptions of the Græco-Roman Paganism are in truth the common property of all the Aryan race, whether we account them or not the results of a necessary process of human speculation, it is certainly most desirable, in a book like the 'Porch,' to embrace the whole subject. In the arguments as to the origin of the Myths, we confess that we incline to the view of Mr. Gladstone,¹ with slight modifications, and refer the origin of the heathen sagas to the involuntary perversion, in the first instance, of sacred traditions. The corruptions which the Truth of Christ has undergone in the past nineteen centuries seems to us to more than justify the conclusions which we have arrived at on the subject. If, with Schlegel, we accept the statement that universal tradition took its rise in the dispersion of Babel—an event of which there are traces to be found in Chinese as well as European records—the number of revealed truths which then fell to the inheritance of the nations could not have been either many or clear. The existence of a Deity at once invisible and unnameable; a worship of the Deity by the method of sacrifice, which also included the consecration of a day; an inherited hope of the advent of a deliverer, and a restoration of human nature,—these were the conceptions which the scattered families of the earth would seem to have carried away with them into the several scenes of their dispersion. However clear these conceptions might have been in themselves when mankind first became settled in the earth, after the Deluge they must have been speedily obscured. The fact that such a design as that of building the tower was formed, demonstrates that already the traditions of the race had lost somewhat of their distinctness. The practical unity of the race being lost, the religious depositaries were impaired; and in course of time the fair humanities of the primitive faith were all but lost, through that undue reverence for the elements of nature which first took the outward shape of Astrolatry, and through the coincident rise of hero-worship. If, indeed, we were to admit that the original religious traditions of the race included an express assertion of a Trinity in the Godhead, and of a Redeemer to come, there might be some weight in the objection that the corruptions of these truths have been so early and so grievous

¹ Gladstone's *Homer*, vol. ii. p. 42.

as to have no parallel in the history of mankind. But if even in the lifetime of Solomon the abominable thing found its way into the Temple of God, if even in the days of the Apostles the anti-Christian influence of Gnosticism made itself felt, it seems an unsound mode of arguing to urge that the premature and gross perversions of the supposed original tradition demonstrate that there never was any such tradition at all. It is equally unjustifiable to assume that the human family at the time of the dispersion had any defined notions of a Trinity. It will be correct to say that they believed in the existence of a Deity—in whose being a plurality in some sense existed—who since the days of Enos had been named, but whose name was wholly unintelligible. They believed that this Godhead was to be approached in a ritual of a sacrificial character. They believed that at some future time there would come some *Goel* or avenger—for this was the primary idea of redemption—who would renew human nature, and reinstate it in its long-lost inheritance. Strange would it have been if these few elements of revelation, unsecured by a religious system, and not in the first instance intrusted to a sacerdotal caste, had not been speedily obscured, and all but wholly obliterated from the conscience of mankind. It would be of the very nature of the case that these truths should become overlaid with numerous and irreconcilable accretions; that growing error, as in the case of heresy, should occasionally present a part of the truth in a clearer light than ever. Nor does the principle we contend for require us to affirm that the elemental truths of primary tradition should regulate the forms of the successive myths; or to admit that they themselves should become less distinct amid the growing distortions of the later legends.¹

Döllinger's great work is divided into ten books. In the first book he takes a survey of the Roman Empire; and in the close of the book he notices that part of the result which was not Roman. How very sketchily this is done may be gathered from the fact that the whole book embraces only sixty-two pages, and of these only twenty are devoted to the review of the non-Roman world. The second book discusses the Hellenic religion—its origin and its gods. The third book contains a discussion, peculiarly interesting, as to the contents and value of the mysteries, and Orphic religious systems. In the fourth book we have an analysis of the whole ceremonial system,—priesthood, oracle, purification, prayers, sacrifices, temples, and a discussion of the crimes against religion punished with death.

¹ See the whole subject argued in Mr. Coxe's charming essay in the 'Introduction to the Tales of Gods and Heroes.'

The fifth book inquires into the Greek philosophy and its influence, and the development of the religious ideas among the Greeks, from the sixth century before Christ, down to the first century after Christ. The religions in anterior and middle Asia and Africa are reviewed in the sixth book. The religions of the West, Etruria, Rome, Gaul, Germany, are reviewed in the seventh book. The eighth book examines the philosophy and religion in the Roman Empire, from the end of the Republic to the Antonines. The ninth book, in like manner, examines the social and moral state of Greece and Rome, and of the Roman Empire; and the tenth and last book discusses the historical development of Judaism, the law and religious doctrines of the Jewish people.

We do not think we could have done justice to this remarkable work,—remarkable for the labour and industry bestowed upon it, nor could we have given our readers an adequate conception of the breadth and length of it,—without having placed before them clearly the outline of the whole.

Some points of detail deserve to be particularized before we pass on to the more special consideration of our subject.

In the heathen religions the *mysteries* formed the most awful and important part: and among mysteries in the Hellenic religion, those celebrated at Eleusis were the very flower and perfection. But the mysteries as known to history, or as opened up by the labours of our modern scholars, were not what they have been too generally thought, systems established for the maintenance and preservation of high and recondite doctrine; and so far the name seems to be somewhat out of place:—

'People have indeed represented the case, as if it were a matter of secret doctrine, hereditary in and propagated by particular families of priests and theologians, and which had to be resorted to as an explanatory commentary upon symbolical actions and exhibitions,—a kind of monotheistic teaching, by which the prevalent errors of the popular polytheism were to be corrected. That, however, is not to be thought of; the sacerdotal families which were charged with the custody and representation of the mysteries, as for example the Eumolpidæ at Athens, were as little teachers or preachers as the other ministers of the Hellenic worship; and besides, the propagation and tradition of mystical lore, destructive of the prevailing religious creed, was a thing which the Greek States (punishing as they did with death every attack on that belief) would never have tolerated for an instant, much less have taken under their special protection. There was no exposition of doctrine in the mysteries, and no course of dogmatical instruction. The address was not made to the understanding, but to the sense, the imagination, and the divining instincts of the initiated. And if in this way he carried off any instruction, if he was enriched with a store of conceptions to which he had been hitherto a stranger, concerning divine things and his own destiny, as dependent on the divine will, assuredly what was so acquired was but indirect and symbolical; though just as certainly it had, in its degree, a very considerable effect, and left a deep impression behind. For the whole

was a drama, the prelude to which consisted in purification, sacrifices, and injunctions, with regard to the behaviour to be observed. The adventures of certain deities, their sufferings and joys, their appearance on earth, and relations to mankind; their death, or descent to the nether world; their return, or their rising again,—all these, as symbolizing the life of nature, were represented in a connected series of theatrical scenes. These representations, tacked on to a nocturnal solemnity, brilliantly got up, particularly at Athens, with all the resources of art and sensual beauty, and accompanied with dancing and song, were eminently calculated to take a powerful hold on the imagination and the heart, and to excite in the spectators alternately conflicting sentiments of terror and calm, sorrow and fear and hope. They worked upon them, now by agitating, now by soothing, and meanwhile had a strong bearing upon sensibilities and capacities of individuals, according as their several dispositions inclined them more to reflection and observation, or to a resigned credulity.

‘Hence all that was generally put forward in the mysteries might be reduced to “things exhibited, things done, and things spoken.” The things exhibited, to wit, were certain objects, symbols, or relics, given out as being particularly sacred. The things done and represented by imitation were the acts and adventures of the gods, inclusive of sacrifices and purifications. The things spoken were partly the so-called “Holy Legends,” in each of which a mythical event—something done or suffered by a Deity—was conveyed by way of illustrating a symbol or a rite; partly liturgical formulæ, and short enigmatical exclamations, relating to the occurrences represented, in which, moreover, prayers, hymns, and songs must be included. The mysteries, then, were certainly based upon a doctrine, or some doctrine or other was involved in them, and could be practically deduced from them, though of course in different ways. Still, this doctrine was not put forward as such; it was partly hypothesis, and in part it lay veiled, under the symbols exhibited in the histories of the gods represented, and in the formulæ of the prayers; and it was left to each individual’s own judgment and degree of enlightenment to interpret these things as he would. The Mystagogues, that is, the Athenian citizens who were charged to help stranger Greeks as assistants and guides in the initiation, also gave them instructions how they were to act, or explanations of what had preceded; but wherever they went beyond their own private sources of knowledge, or actual fact, and the symbolical veil, all was but presumption, and attempt at private interpretation.

‘An examination of the views and expressions which the Greeks and Romans have left behind for our use respecting the mysteries, shows that, far from imparting a solid teaching, with precise formulæ, these institutes were much more calculated for leaving a wide field of conjecture, and the play of the imaginative powers of the mystics, some of whom, without drawing further dogmatic conclusions, contented themselves with the immediate impression of the histories of the gods represented, and with the hopes thrown out in them of a life of bliss after death; while others always referred what they saw and heard to the standard of their preconceived notions, and were widely divided in their estimate of the lessons contained under the symbolical veil of the mysteries.

‘If we distinguish the expressions and views of Greeks, Romans, and Christians, concerning the substance, value, and effects of the mysteries, there appears at first sight an irreconcilable contradiction, not only between the heathen and the Christian statements, but also between those of the heathen Greeks themselves. Yet many an apparent contradiction is solved, if only we discriminate duly between the mysteries themselves, namely, the Samothracian, and those private mysteries which came from abroad, the Eleusinian and Orphic.’—Vol. i. pp. 125—130.

Perhaps the safest view of the mysteries will be to regard them as the only possible means of preserving a religious despotism, and of offering to the devotees an opportunity of communicating with the divine nature. That they should appear to us, and that they have appeared to the citizens of Greece, stale, flat, and unprofitable, can scarcely be a matter of surprise; otherwise they might have seemed to represent some real life and light. With the exception of the author of the Homeric hymn, Sophocles, and Pindar, few of the great intellectual leaders of Greece have done otherwise than disparage or condemn them. The impressive silence of Socrates, when a word in praise of the mysteries would have reconciled his countrymen to him, the lofty censures of Plato, the unfavourable criticisms of the devout Plutarch, point to the same conclusions. Clement, the pupil of the Athenian Athenagoras, the exact historian of the mysteries,—Clement, who had pronounced the Greek philosophy a gift from God to the Greeks, severely condemns the mysteries. To mankind, however, they were most acceptable. Crowds were attracted by the charm of the secrecy; and not a few by the belief that righteousness was communicated in them. The mystery system itself, having passed from its Asiatic birthplace, would seem to have been naturalized in Crete, and thence to have passed to Delphi, and to have extended its influence back upon Lemnos, Samothracia, and Athens. The principal conception in every form of the system was that of a god of nature violently deprived of the power of generation, dying, and resuscitated. They were institutes in which, as Clement represents them, a mangled boy (Zagreus), a wailing woman (Demeter), and members which modesty refuses to mention, were adored. The righteousness which alone the mysteries affected to confer, was a physical and external, not a moral and interior purification. The silence and secrecy may have owed its origin not more to the peculiarities of the religious doctrine involved in the rites, than to the fact that the popular and exoteric theology knew nothing of a dying and suffering God. But beside the secrecy and the purification by which the mysteries attracted the masses, for in truth it may be said that every one at Athens was initiated in the Eleusinia, there was one other potent charm. It is now beyond dispute that no philosophico-theological doctrine concerning the immortality of the soul was taught at the Eleusinian or other mysteries. That men lived on after death in a melancholy state of shadow-existence was the hereditary belief of the Greek people. But after death the initiated were to fare better than others, fare better than those who had not the good fortune to have been initiated during this life. For the initiated were

reserved the favour and protection of Persephone ; and the hope of such care and cherishing as Demeter had herself bestowed on Dionysos. Nor is it for a moment to be supposed that the doctrine of the Mysteries was stationary, either as to speculations regarding the state of being after death, or the significance of the present life. Thus we discover a development of doctrine in the belief of a later period, that the history of the soul of man was mystically and symbolically exhibited in the Zagreus' legend, to wit, 'that the life of earth was a continued 'laceration, like that of Dionysos, to the soul bound up in the 'body, and drawn into a vortex of sensitive affections,' and that it returned to the unity of the divine substance by death.

Modifying, then, in some degree what seems to be the conclusions of our author, we may hold that if the Mysteries represent religion run wild, as Schelling somewhere expresses himself, in accordance with S. Paul's image of the wild olive, they may also be accounted the witnesses, and, in a measure, the keepers of the primæval traditions. They possessed no dynamic influence,¹ and professed to minister none ; were this otherwise, they would admit of being, to a small extent, contrasted with the holy mysteries of the Gospel ; but they presented a wholesome protest in favour of religion, against the shallow and unreal affectation which every day was on the increase—of belief in the State-Gods which had long ceased to be revered. The efforts of the Emperor Valentinian failed to overthrow them, and it can scarcely be denied to be a singular historical coincidence, that the Mystery-system to which we owe the altar to the 'Unknown God,' erected by the oldest Orphic priest known to history, the Cretan Epimenides, survived till the imperial establishment of Christianity under the elder Theodosius.

The subject of prayer is connected with what we have been just considering, and may well engage our attention here. The whole life of the Greeks was permeated by religion ; the gods were brought in in all the affairs of life, and prayer also was interwoven into the whole public and private existence of this people :

'Of course a Greek could not associate with his prayers that signification which prayer has to a Christian, as an ascetic practice, and a means of obtaining moral purity and holiness. As a rule they consisted only of a short formula, which was easily transmitted among the priests ; and, so far as the gods of the Greeks retained their ancient character of powers of nature, persons attached to these formulæ a compulsory power, binding their gods, and infallibly securing a hearing to their requests, a common

¹ Of a divine kind. What demoniac influence, through the potency of fallen spirits, they actually exercised over the senses of the initiated we cannot stay to discuss, important as the subject is.

feature of paganism. If, as Plato assures us, Barbarian and Greek were everywhere accustomed to kneel and pray at the rising and setting of the sun and moon; and if, as the same philosopher asserts, all who had yet any sense appealed to the Deity on every occasion, in great and little matters, so much so that meal-times were concluded with either a prayer or hymn,—then it follows that the Greeks, on the whole, were a people that were very diligent in prayer. The question, no doubt, is “What was the substance of these prayers?” and on this head Bayle’s assertion that Greek and Roman never asked of the gods for virtue or other moral qualities, but only victory, health, long life, and the goods of fortune, has been severely censured by modern authors, and yet his view was already clearly expressed even by the ancients as by Cicero. We still have on the other side to consider that, already, according to the Homeric view, the understanding and will of man were subject to the influences of the gods, and that it was they who infatuated and blinded him, or inspired him with good thoughts. So Simonides, Pindar, Æschylus, Callimachus point to virtue and wisdom as gifts of the gods. Socrates prayed the gods to vouchsafe him interior and moral beauty; yet even his great disciple, Plato, states on the contrary—“If any man obtain more or less virtue, that depends on himself alone, and not on the Deity” (*Rep.* x. 617 c). If, lastly, we consider that the Christian idea of grace was unknown, and that sacrifice, without which prayer was scarcely considered efficacious, was ever and only offered (so far at least as we can infer from the evidence) to obtain external and material good, we shall then see in these expressions of a few poets, but glimpses of light sprung from the schools of philosophy, and which had no significance in the minds of people in general.’—*Vol.* i. p. 223.

We have touched here upon perhaps the most ominous fact in connexion with the religious state of heathendom: the loss of *prayer* proved to be, in truth, the loss of all things. The sentiment of the Latin poet corroborates the judgment of the German theologian:—

‘Sed satis est orare Jovem, quæ donat et aufert;

‡ Det vitam, detovos; æquum mi animum ipse parabo.’

HOR. Ep. i. 18. 111.

This irreparable loss of heathendom was perhaps bound up with another loss not so familiar to Christians. We are much accustomed to the argument, that because a priesthood was an institution of Jewish, and also an institution of heathen religion, it ought not to have any existence in the Christian system. But what are the facts connected with the priesthood among the Greeks? They had no doctrine to guard or demonstrate; they were little more than what churchwardens are among us. Neither intellectual capacity, nor special education, nor preparatory training were required of them. Plutarch does not reckon them among those from whom a knowledge of religion was to be gained: no intellectual qualification was required from the priests in Plato’s ideal Republic; and it was the saying of Socrates, that the priestly dignity belonged to all men. Yet practically it was not open to all, for there were many hereditary

priesthoods, and, as a matter of fact, strangers were excluded from the sacerdotal dignity altogether. Had, indeed, the office of divination been united with that of the priesthood, the latter office, as under these circumstances it might have presented itself to us in Hellas, would have appeared, while daily interpreting the will of God, clothed with somewhat of the influence to which it affected to be entitled; but, properly speaking, though often united with the priesthood, divination was exercised as a separate calling, and in many different ways. The main duties of the priesthood, in fact, were connected with the celebration of the mystic and scenic ceremonies of initiation, and the offerings of sacrifice. If the Greeks had to endure the great loss of having no priests,—at whose lips they could seek knowledge,—at least they were happy in the possession of a sacrificial ministry. With them sacrifices were not offered of the free and common gifts of Nature: that only was fit for sacrifice which man had 'appropriated by labour and care, and had then translated into his domain.'

'According to the view of early antiquity, blood is the seat of the soul and of life, and was especially acceptable to the Deity, as the highest and best of natural things, the prince and bloom of the whole animal world, and suited to be offered to him as a gift and a token of gratitude for benefits received. But, again, the blood, from its close connexion with human passions, was also considered the root and seat of sins, which were, therefore, to be expiated by it, and their guilt and stain washed away. It was a grace of the Deity if he admitted the substitution of strange blood for one's own. This was the meaning of the sacrifice of beasts, which, even when consecrated as a holocaust, without a portion being reserved for the offerer, he used to kill with the knife; or if they were struck down with a club, it was still the custom for him to cut their throats to preserve the blood, and enable him to offer it to the Deity, by pouring it round the altar, or wetting the altar with it.

'Nevertheless, the fact that human sacrifice, excessively frequent and ordinary as it was in the earliest times, was maintained here and there up to the latest times, indicated a view of the meaning of sacrifice, which, in the historical period, had already, in great measure, disappeared from the conscience of the Greeks. According to the ideas of the substitution, which formed the groundwork of sacrifice, the blood or the life of an individual member of a race of people must have seemed the noblest or worthiest sacrifice where the guilt of a whole nation was to be expiated; and where the blood of animals appeared to a panic-struck man as worthless and insufficient, then he would put his trust in the offering of a human life, particularly if the victim offered himself freely, or at least if the act of sacrifice would bear the appearance of a voluntary offering. We see, however, in these human sacrifices, error and truth intersecting one another in unnatural confusion. One truth is, that man's free sacrifice of himself to the Deity is the noblest and highest offering, the flower of the entire worship consecrated to him; and the heathen error on the point in question was, that this self-sacrifice was not accomplished by the sanctification, but by the destruction of life. Another truth is, that of all created things, man is the best and most acceptable to the Deity—the

crown of creation ; but Pagan error again added to this, the notion that man was distinct from the animal only in degree of his personality, not having an absolute, but only a relative value, like any other possession ; and hence that an unqualified right embracing life and death for the common good, was given to the race over its members ; to the State over its citizen, corresponding to the rights of a master over his slave. If the Greeks still retained sacrifices of the kind in many places till a late date, they were, undoubtedly, founded on the vague notion, that what had been introduced by the declared will of the Deity himself, or by the oracular bidding, could not be set aside without danger. Zeus, Diana, Artemis, Apollos, and Poseidon were the deities to whom human life was most frequently sacrificed. In the historical period, the case of Cratinus, at Athens, is almost an isolated one ; he offered himself to die as a sacrifice on the purification of the city by Epimenides. And precisely here, in the seat of all heathen humanities, in a city the inhabitants of which were distinguished above all the Hellenes for a milder and more compassionate disposition, the annual tragedy of a human sacrifice was exhibited. At the festival of the Thargelia, celebrated in the honour of the nativity of Apollo, two persons as "scapegoats," decked with strings of figs, were conducted out of the town, and were obliged either to kill themselves by leaping from a rock, or were burned alive, and their ashes sprinkled on the sea. In this same Athens, it was the custom, for the purposes of State, to maintain certain people, otherwise considered worthless and unprofitable, in order to sacrifice them as an atonement on the occasion of a disaster, such as a pestilent sickness befalling the State. As men were made victims at Rhodes to Chronos, and at Chios and elsewhere to Dionysos Omestes, these several rites must have been Phœnician originally, and allied to the old worship of Talos, in Crete ; both of these deities were only Hellenized imitations of the Asiatic Baal-Moloch. On the other hand, the human sacrifice, which continued to be offered to the Lycæan Zeus at Lycosura, till a very late period, was genuine Hellenic ; there is positive evidence that it was the general Greek custom to immolate a human victim before setting out on a war expedition, or before a battle ; and it is related of the Lacedæmonians that they offered one to Ares. This usage, however, seems to have died out by the time of the Peloponnesian wars.—Vol. i. p. 228.

In Asia, in Africa, in Gaul, and in Rome there were also human sacrifices ; but that at Rome specially deserves our attention. Not to speak of sacrifices of human beings made by the Romans in pre-historic times, there was a custom the oldest Romans had, of casting grey-headed men of sixty from the Pons Sublicius : then there was the oft-repeated sacrifice, beginning from the year 227 B.C. of a man and woman of the German and Gallic nations. In the year 95 B.C. all public sacrifices of this kind were prohibited, yet not absolutely. We read of two of Cæsar's soldiers being sacrificed by the pontiffs, of three hundred prisoners being put to death by the triumvir Octavian as an offering of expiation at the altar of the divine Cæsar, on the surrender of Perugia. Sextus Pompeius offered human victims to Neptune ; and Caligula for himself, and Hadrian for the good of the State, resorted to the oblation of human beings. The same may be said of Nero and Tiberius. Furthermore, there

was an annual sacrifice to Jupiter Latialis, in which the statue was sprinkled with human blood. 'This was in regular occurrence still in the second and third centuries after Christ, indeed to the days of Constantine.' After the earthquake at Antioch, Trajan sacrificed a beautiful woman as a propitiation, perhaps, for the safety of that city. Hadrian for his own safety accepted the voluntary self-sacrifice of Antinous. Caligula and Didius Julianus, and Heliogabalus and Julian, all sacrificed children, and this—indeed the same may be said of almost every form of human sacrifice—in some connexion or other with magical rites. Not to pursue this subject further, it will suffice for our purpose here to state that the sacrifice of human beings was the sublimest effort of the natural conscience, troubled by the sense of sin, in its pursuit of purification. We acknowledge that we are unable to shake ourselves free from the impression that in this crowning act of sacrificial worship there was a dim and indistinct feeling after the Eternal Sacrifice of the Eternal peace; nor is it without significance that that instinct found its fullest expression among the heathen nations at the very time when the true and one oblation of Christ Jesus was offered; that poetry has never reached a higher inspiration than it attained in the eulogy of Prometheus, wherein the Greek imagination, surely not unvisited by a divine impulse, has delineated in legendary form the sacrifice that reaches through all time, and fills all thought:—

'Meanwhile, this glory man attains in me,
 Seeing true love wrought out in martyrdom,
 Here on this crag, as on an altar, I
 Midway between the heaven and the earth,
 In the great gaze of nature, am stretched out
 An unconsumed sacrifice, and plead,
 Through centuries, the cause of truth and love;
 Ever embodying in my human part,
 The heavenward instincts of the race of man,
 And his sublimest longing after God;
 Ever unveiling to the Eternal Will,
 The sufferings and hope of human life!
 I, searching in the future have beheld,—
 I, the lone martyr of the ages, there
 Have seen the glory that shall yet descend
 Upon you both; when I, Prometheus, I
 Shall disenchained be, and all this form
 And sensible part shall undergo its change,
 Made capable of God.'

Here, at least, few will be forced to doubt that we have the 'broken rays' of a higher intelligence; the manifestation of an insight which, by setting forth the suffering God,—this Prometheus, with his three personalities, Avenger, Deliverer, and

Primal Man,—contains the most exalted conceptions of the poetic thought of Greece; the fatal limit, beyond which it never passed, and up to which it never afterwards reached.

It was the cosmogonic theogony which the poets propounded that gave birth to the Greek philosophy; that philosophy which a Catholic saint declared was given by God to the Greeks as an education for Christianity. We have seen how the Mystery, system maintained a silent protest against the unstimulating formalism of the State religion. Philosophy was still more unreconciled. This is illustrated in the history of Socrates, the one great moral philosopher, first and last, of Greece. It was not granted to heathendom to advance beyond; it was not granted to heathendom to accept and preserve the Socratic doctrine of the 'inner voice,' which in truth implied such a faith in the moral influences of religion, and in the possibility of a genuine revelation, the like of which is not anywhere to be met in pagandom. The testimony of Socrates on this subject marks the farthest advance made in the way of truth by the heathen conscience. *Est quiddam prodire tenus, si non datur ultra.* Not only did not the world take up this truth, new to it, but, through the frailty of our nature, Socrates himself in his trial seems to have faltered in his fidelity to the great trust given him.

'The accusation of his introducing new divine beings had reference to his "daimonion," or interior warning voice, which did not desert him even in these last moments of his life. He certainly looked upon this as a gift specially imparted to him by particular favour of the Deity, but assuredly he had no thought therein of any new or strange Deity. This appeal to an internal oracle, of the kind for which no analogy was to be found in pagan life, or in the customary methods of consulting the gods, must have always had an offensive appearance in the eye of the people; it is all the more striking that Socrates should have made so very weak and evasive an answer on this head, and only attempted, by a play on the word "demonic" to entangle his accuser in a contradiction. His denunciation of election by lot to offices of State as absurd, according to the statement of Æschylus, proved the proximate occasion of his death. Next to that, however, it was himself who invoked the doom upon his own head, by the high tone of his defence, by his refusal to fix the measure of punishment to be awarded himself, and by his own declaration that he would not obey the mandate of the State, forbidding him to propagate his doctrines. Upon this, eighty of his judges, who before declared themselves in favour of his innocence, now agreed in voting for his death. He made good use of the respite of thirty days allowed him till the execution of the sentence, on account of the sacrificial embassy to Delos, tracing his doctrines in indelible characters upon the hearts of his disciples, while he spurned to save himself by flight, and looked death in the face with indomitable composure and cheerfulness. The conclusion of his life is the sublimest and noblest scene the pre-Christian period of Paganism has to point to.'¹—Vol. i. p. 280.

¹ Rousseau says, *Émile* iv. vol. ii. p. 110—'Quels préjugés, quel aveuglement ne faut-il point avoir pour oser comparer le fils de Sophronisque au fils de Marie?

In some respects the moral sensitiveness of the people, of whom Socrates was one, was very high. They were acutely sensible of the pains and sorrows of this mortal estate. Their beauty is ever sad. But withal 'Socrates regarded moral evil but too lightly, and 'he had no consciousness of the law of sin in his members; and 'there is no people in history which has come so near the Greeks '—first, in inclination to, and talent for, veiling evil under forms 'agreeable to the sense and æsthetically beautiful, and then in 'readiness for apologizing for it' (p. 295). And yet our author reminds us that, this notwithstanding, the relics and echoes of a tradition of original sin, and of the changes therefrom ensuing, have been unmistakeably preserved among the Greeks. Blending itself with this was the Orphico-Pythagorean doctrine, which, to the reminiscences of a primitive fall, united the sense of the soul's need of purification; the sense, too, of the grievous and wearisome burden of this mortality. From this death, in the belief of Plato, the grave was a release; was, in fact, a consummation of that progressive dying which consisted in the progressive mastery acquired over the sensual faculties. This is the highest conception of heathen antiquity on this subject. Plato also shares his master's eminence as a religious teacher by his monotheistic conception of God, the most refined to which pre-Christian speculation attained.

'Yet he contributed nothing whatever to the knowledge of the perfect, living personality of God, and its absolute and unconditional liberty. Men of old, and in the earlier Christian period, fancied that frequent traces of a Divine Trinity were discoverable in him. Alcinous, by an arbitrary distortion of Platonic doctrine, and a combination of it with the Aristotelian, deduced a complete divine Triad therefrom; and the Neo-Platonists converted the predicates of God, between which Plato had merely known a metaphysical distinction, into self-subsisting hypostases; and by this, Christian theologians then allowed themselves to be deceived into evolving out of isolated expressions a doctrine, or at least the forecast of a doctrine, to which he was in truth an entire stranger. Plato, in fact, himself distinguishes between the archetypal world of ideas and the world which he calls good, or the World-soul; though the latter with him is a particular created God, not eternal; and there is a wide distinction between the collected series of ideas never represented by Plato as a really personal unity, and the Christian Logos.'—Vol. i. p. 329.

Again, while the god of Plato is not a creator, but a Demiurgus who makes the world, the god of Aristotle, the Supreme Cause, is but pure intelligence—pure, but powerless; on a level with the World-soul of Plato, ever active in the thought of self. We have here the most advanced speculations of heathen-

Quelle distance de l'un à l'autre !' P. 111 : 'Oni, si la vie et la mort de Socrate sont d'un sage, la vie et la mort de Jésus sont d'un dieu.'—Quoted by Professor Luthardt, in the notes, p. 344, of his very interesting lectures, published in a translated form by T. & T. Clark, of Edinburgh.

dom on subjects the most important and sublime. The total inability of the pagan intellect to master the idea of personality, marred and rendered useless the noblest theological and anthropological speculations of those who have proved themselves in other departments of thought, and who deserve to be regarded as ranking among, the greatest teachers of mankind. To this failure in the conception of personality, we must refer their notions of fate and providence, and their analogous misapprehension of sin and liberty. And to this, also, was it owing that Greek philosophy rapidly declined; that, at the beginning of the Christian era, it was impoverished and exhausted; and that the rich treasures accumulated by Plato and Aristotle lay for the most part unvalued and unused.

Passing over into Asia Anterior, we find the first adequate notion of a divine doctrinal revelation in the Persian religion, which owed its formation to Zoroaster. The results of the controversy respecting this great teacher are, that the generality have agreed to acknowledge two. The Greeks speak of Zoroastrian writings which are different from the Zend; and—

‘They assign a personality to the name of Zoroaster as different to that of the Zarathustra of history, as the Magians were distinct from the Athravas of the Zend-books. Their Zoroaster was, at bottom, a representative of a form of religion, the type of a worship and a priestly caste in connexion with it, and was domiciled in Western or Central Asia, in one or other of those countries which, in primitive times, formed a contingent of a great Chamite-Cephenic kingdom. Again, Zoroaster, or Zaratas, is also spoken of as a Bactrian king, who, with the aid of magic arts and the Arcana of the Chaldeans, had a contest with the Assyrian Ninus, but was worsted in spite of his magic; or he is a Governor of Assyria and Medea, who rebelled against Semiramis.’—Vol. i. p. 382.

The foundation of all this was most probably a religious struggle between Magianism and the worship of Bel, and the Syrian Dove-goddess, the result of which was, the blending together of two forms of religion, the Cushite and Scythian; Magianism, which spread from the West, and the Arian dualism, which made its way from the East. From the former of these arose the Persian form of religion as it was exhibited after the time of Darius Hystaspes. The Persian doctrine, rightly conceived, knows of only one true perfect God under a personal conception; and ‘it is distinguished above all other heathen sagas and doctrine’ in this respect, that in it the idea of creation is prominent. This doctrine of creation, unique in heathendom, suffers limitation from the belief that the elements of nature were co-existent with Ormuzd. It was only at a later period that Zervan, the Magian god, passed from the Magian schools and came to be consecrated the Father of Ormuzd and Ahri-man. The Parsi religion, which was also unique in having no

images or temples, inasmuch as they held that the gods did not resemble man—a religion which also had this further peculiarity, that it demanded of its members the greatest activity and vigilance—was characterised by the Homa, a sacrifice possessing the plenary signification of a sacrament and a communion imparting a fellowship with the Deity. Beside this mystic drink, they had the Miezid, a second sacrament or sacrifice, consisting of fleshmeat, with bread and fruit blessed. The Homa of the Zend religion was the Soma—at once drink and god of the Vedas. We must pass over the account of Sosiosh, and what the Bundeheesch says of the doctrine of a resurrection, in all of which we have, in dim outline, the Catholic tradition of the two witnesses and the final judgment by our Lord. The fact is, the Bundeheesch is not older than the times of Mahomet; and is, undoubtedly, largely indebted to Christian doctrine. The idea of the Zend writings, containing the doctrine of the Resurrection, rests on the well-known mistranslation of Anquetil, when he renders 'for ever' by the words 'until the resurrection.'¹ Nor does our author give us any information on the subject how far he regards the Zend books as embodying the real teaching of Zarathustra himself. There are no facts to justify us in believing that these works are older than the Sassanidæ, and the date 226 A.D.² Evidently very little comes from Zarathustra himself. 'A tone of prophecy, a feature of yearning, a presentiment of truth, pervades all heathendom.'³ 'The Parsees still have a tradition which speaks of the four empires from one root, after which the Saviour is to come.'⁴ After the kingdom of the Dēws—the fourth kingdom—will come the Saviour Sosiosh. These hopes—'petrified fragments' of a purer revelation, which, no doubt, kept alive the hopes of heathendom—were fated to be crossed by, and so suffer eclipse from, the last effort of the pagan imagination: from the final form of heathen mis-religion, which was to revelation, before Christ came, what Neo-Platonism was to Christianity. The *cultus* of Mithras⁵ was, undoubtedly, of Persian origin. It would seem to have been unacceptable to the rigid maintainers of the Zend doctrines; and to have, in consequence, separated itself from the Parsee creeds, and gone on

¹ Pusey's Daniel, p. 509.

² Luthardt, 213.

³ The *Yacna*, or Zend Liturgy, we are told, speaks of two Mithras. Herodotus

is our authority for regarding *Mīrpay* as = Aphrodite. There is no allusion in the Zend-Avesta to a female Mithra. The Persian *mīhr*, a contraction of *Mithra*, means "Mithra," "Love," and "Sun." Just as in the autonomous coins of Dyrrachium, and in the temple of Acrocorinthus, Aphrodite, Eros, Helios, were conjoined. We have here availed ourselves of a valuable paper in the *Journal of Philology*, on the Classical Authorities for Ancient Art, vol. i. p. 242.

⁴ *Ib.* p. 543.

⁵ Pusey's Daniel, 97.

its own way. It owed its introduction into Europe to the Asiatic pirates, and became known in Rome about 70 B.C. It made converts of many who were indifferent to, or unbelievers in, the State religions; it propagated itself by means of the Roman Legions, and 'threw upon the last moments of expiring 'heathenism the gleam of a mysterious worship, noble and 'earnest in its ethical teaching.' Yet even here it is not difficult to trace the Apocalyptic ideas underlying the whole *cultus*.

'Mithras was not originally Sun-God of the Zend believers. In the Zend-Avesta he is clearly distinguished from the sun, and has his own place in heaven between sun and moon; is called the fructifier, "Lord of life," the mediator between Ormuzd and Nun, the bond indispensable to the harmony of the world. But in principle he is only Ormuzd himself in his active and energizing aspect; for if Ormuzd is God plunged in repose, Mithras is the ever productive, ever in combat with Ahriman; on him the duty has devolved of judging the dead; he comes down too, and watches over the dead. According to some passages in the Zend-Avesta, he was the same as the planet Venus; in other passages, however, he seems to be contemplated as the God of the daylight. As Anahita, in character of goddess of the heavenly springs, is related to the earthly element of water, so it appears Mithras is connected, as one of the Vedesh Aditjas, or deities of the celestial light, analogous to the ether of the Greeks, with the visible light of earth, a clear daylight. Mithras was, then, Ormuzd in his physical conception; the God to whom belongs the lordship of heaven; and, in a somewhat stricter sense, the God of the daylight, and yet always the vicegerent of Ormuzd in this lower sphere, and the subduer of the Ahrimanic powers. The moral position he holds, in the Zend doctrine, towards men, must necessarily be the consequent of this his physical signification. In course of time, and in Central Asia, Mithras, as the God of light ruling in heaven, gradually became converted into the Sun-God, and more and more identified with simple sun-power. The time at which this change of Mithras into the Sun-God was consummated may be calculated with a considerable degree of probability, and appears to fall somewhere between the years 460—380 B.C. When the Romans had subjugated the countries beyond the Tigris, and came into contact with the seductive worship of Baal, Mithras was turned into the Sun-God; and it is decidedly the same influence which induced a sovereign of a people so otherwise averse to idols, to erect the images of Anahita. It was also quite natural now, that Mithras and Anahita, nearly akin as they were before, should gradually be drawn closer together in the relation of Baal and Astarte, so as that a Roman of the fourth century could say, the Persians had divided Jupiter into two deities, a male and female, both Gods of Fire. Mithras, as a Sun-God, received a mystery-worship of his own, no doubt established by the Magians, in which he appears in a triple character and action—the impartor of earthly life, or a consummator of the sacrifice of the bull on earth; as the protector of the souls in Hades consecrated to him upon earth, and as their guide to bliss through celestial regions. In this manner Mithras became at last, when the other Gods waxed pale, the sheet-anchor to which the hopes of the heathen clung; and even with one who was jealous for the honour of the Hellenic gods, as Julian was, the expectation of a blissful life after death was dependent on the knowledge of "Father Mithras."—Vol. i. p. 416.

The worship of Mithras may be called the last form into

which the worship of the Sun was thrown. That worship began probably in Egypt, where it was the basis of the whole system, and rooted itself finally in Babylon, the metropolis of idolatry. At Charran, the most inveterately heathen place in the world, where idolatry prevailed so far down into Christian times that it at last provoked the opposition of the Khalif Mamun,—at Charran the chief god was a sun-god called Schemal, 'the great Lord.' In the same way the principal god worshipped in the temple of the Caaba at Mecca was, under the name of Hubal, identical with the god of the Harramans.

The Roman theology presents many features unlike the Grecian. It is observable that there is a bias towards monotheism running through it. The god from the beginning who comes forth as Jupiter Optimus Maximus at last always retained his hold on his people; and, as S. Augustine says, all the gods and goddesses were after all but the one Jupiter, who 'by the dissection of his essence into the various aspects of his operations, and by the personizing of his individual powers and properties, has been resolved into a multiplicity of gods.' (ii. 14.)

By this process the Roman people multiplied their gods, till at length the Romans became the victims of *deisidaimonia* above all other people. The influence of Greece over the religion of Rome became decisive after the second Punic. Thenceforward we can trace the gradual disappearance of the cold and unimaginative character of the national *cultus*, and the progressive Hellenization of the old Sabine and Roman gods. The writings of Ennius mark an epoch in the theological history of Rome. His Pythagorean poems taught the Romans what the kernel of the old Italic wisdom was, that fundamentally there was but one God, that Jupiter was the sun-fire, or world's soul, pervading all things. The Greek influence was, however, found to be prejudicial to the welfare of the State. The public conscience was alarmed by the fact that some 7,000 men had engaged in the wildest and most disgraceful orgies at the Bacchanalia: an effort was therefore made to counteract the Hellenic bias. In 185 the laws of Numa were said to have been found, and also certain writings, which it was pretended were injurious to society and destructive of religion. We may gather from all this that there was some great religious fermentation at the time; and this we seem to understand more clearly when we find that, in 161, by a decree of the Senate, philosophers and rhetoricians ceased to be tolerated at Rome. The opposition of the Senate to the introduction of new rites broke down, as might have been expected, under the strong pressure of the popular desire: the full tide of superstition swept away old religious standards, and eventually the custom of deifying was introduced.

The primitive Roman worship fitly prepares us for a passing consideration of the even more austere worship of Germany and Gaul. While the latter held Pythagorean doctrine respecting the soul and offered human sacrifices, the Germans did not allow of this; nor had the Germans any priestesses. The two nations agreed on selecting groves for their favourite places of worship, and the Germans, though they did not worship animals in Egyptian fashion, yet they had sacred beasts, as for instance the white horse, which was maintained at the public expense, and whose neighings were interpreted by priests and kings.

How far philosophy at Rome was the helper or opponent of the State religion deserves consideration:—

'No attempt was made by any Roman towards a new creation, or anything peculiarly Roman, in the department of philosophy. If any one of them occupied himself entirely with that study, he was either content to attach himself unconditionally to one system, or to put together, eclectically or syncretically, portions of various systems. In Rome the Stoic doctrine alone met with an enduring applause and adherents, alongside of the more transitory success of Epicureanism. Yet not only in Rome, but in all other parts of the empire, the schools of the philosophers became extinct after the imperial power; and they only held their ground whose tendency was predominantly practical, and directed to the department of ethics. In Seneca's time the old academies had already died out, and the school of Pyrrho was silent. The Stoic system, meanwhile, in its Roman school, was ever dwarfing and shrinking into narrower dimensions.'—*Vol. ii. p. 125.*

Seneca, who appears alone to have held an antagonistic position towards the State religions, held that any man carried about God in him; but called to account for the universal presence of sin, he explained it as a kind of madness. The celebrated Epictetus, who, 'with the exception of Aristotle, has perhaps exercised a wider influence than any other thinker of heathen times on succeeding generations, the Christian inclusive,' directs man to God; but it is the God in us. In early Christian times Plutarch—in reality a monotheist, although holding a dualism in a modified form—was 'the last of the really religious-minded Greeks who were devoted to their hereditary religion in its entirety. After him there was no one to take up the cause of the Greek religion with the like warmth, or at the same time with such cultivated philosophical ability. The religious zeal and conservative opinions of the Neo-Platonists, of whom Plutarch was in some measure a precursor, took an essentially different direction' (ii. 135).

But the foolishness of the heathen faith was destined to survive the wisdom of the Schools. The latter all died out, leaving the irrational and inconsistent systems in possession all their old authority and power. The wisdom which could

not find out a better, was providentially kept from destroying the inferior religion with which it came into collision. Even State patronage could not prolong the failing life of the Schools. Professors were paid out of the imperial treasury to no result. 'At last, on the ruins of the collective schools of the older philosophy there remained but one, as universal inheritress of Greek speculation, the Platonico-Pythagorean school of Ammonius Sacas and Plotinus.'

That which Rome contributed to the whole body of heathen theology was the idea—the natural result of her theories of universal empire—of a universal religion of the Roman Empire, where, under whatever variety of form or name, the same gods should be everywhere worshipped. The natural outgrowth and realization of this idea was the deification of the emperor; thus the identity in language and administration could be extended most easily and directly to religion. But nothing interfered with the contemptuous indifference with which the whole subject was treated, save when some *tenet* started up which affected the existing state or law of society, or which affected the State-gods, or confronted their worship with a new one. Thus Suetonius declares that the Emperor Claudius had extirpated Druidism. The idea of Octavian in admitting his own apotheosis, was no doubt the consolidation of power. It was thus that that monotheistic instinct which, we hold, worked under all the varieties and accumulations of Polytheism, ultimately exhibited itself. The very deification of Augustus seemed to rouse the hopes of humanity; and the thoroughly anti-Christian manifestation of a god-emperor, instead of quenching all thought of the ulterior hopes of humanity, seems to have rather called them forth; and it is at the foot of the throne of the Cæsars that the Latin muse raised that solemn chant—*Paullo majora canamus*—which bewitches us with the wondering thought that a prophet who knew so much, knew no more. 'It was a principle in Rome till the times of Caius Caligula,' says our author—omitting to add, save in the case already noticed of Augustine—'to follow the general analogy of the manes,' and not to raise any one to the order of the gods until they had departed this life. Caius claimed the honours for himself in his lifetime, and the Senate decreed them to him. He had a public worship of himself on the Palatine. The next step was the deification of his female relatives; and he had the same honours as were decreed to Augustus, paid to his sister Drusilla, with whom he lived in incestuous intercourse. In this downward way one further advance was possible; and this was made by Hadrian; when, to avoid the mischiefs threatening the life of Hadrian, his further favourite Antinous threw himself as a sacrifice into the Nile, the inconsolable god Cæsar

erected a temple to Antinous; and the worship of the Sodomite lasted for centuries, specially in Egypt, where the unhappy favourite was ranked, by inscription, in the temple of Isis, as 'the temple-associate of the Egyptian gods.' 'Between the first apotheosis of the Cæsars and the deification of Diocletian, there were fifty-three solemn canonizations, of which fifteen were of women. The deification of the dead increased the number of the gods in the Pantheon; in the case of the living, the canonized one was accounted as an incarnation of a god already worshipped.'¹ Yet the fact most suggestive in all this subject is, that the old pure Roman religion came to an end by the time of the Cæsars, although the worship of some of the ancestral gods was still carried on. New and strange rites took the place of the old religious forms; and the more unintelligible the religious rites, and the more obscure and unknown the character and function of the god, the more eagerly and zealously it was followed after. No one of mark carried the prevailing superstition to a more dismal excess than that philosophical perfection, Aurelius, who, on his Roman inscriptions, avowed that he was a worshipper of Serapis. The long-resisted *cultus* of Isis was admitted into Rome, and the emperors became its zealous devotees. It shows the strength of paganism in its last throbs, that in the second century after Christ, it was able to propagate through the world the *cultus* of another mysterious deity; and Serapis, the Sun-god, and identical with Zeus, was in fact all the other gods in one. 'The verse of Julian indicates how Serapis absorbed or blended with other deities.' Serapis was Zeus, Hades, Helios, Mithras, Attis, Jupiter Ammon, and Adonis. In the propagation of the doctrine of Serapis we have displayed the last effort of paganism to vindicate and justify itself.

The most remarkable rite which remains to be mentioned was one introduced under a conviction of the inadequacy of all the old methods of purification. Hitherto water had been regarded as sufficient for the sanctifying even of the murderer. As in the case of human sacrifices the consciousness of a higher need expressed itself, so in the application to the unclean of the blood of the victim, while that blood gushed out in a warm stream, the later Romans found, they believed, a means of recovering a radical purity from all defilement, and a sanctity for many years to come. In this way arose the taurobolia and criobolia, of which rites we have been unable to find any account in Smith's valuable 'Dictionary of Antiquities.' A pit or roomy grave was made and covered over with pierced boards. In this pit or grave the man to be purified took his place, and received on his

¹ We spell the word as our translator spells it, and we do so under protest.

body, and more particularly on 'cheek, ears, lips, eyes, nose, and tongue,' the blood as it descended in a rain through the boards. He then came out of the pit dripping with blood and showed himself to the people, who received him reverentially as a being perfectly pure and hallowed, and threw themselves on their knees before him. The blood-stained clothes were worn till they fell away, and the lustral effects were believed to last for twenty years. Nor was this singular rite only resorted to by individuals for their own purification—it was resorted to for the welfare of others, and specially of the Emperor and the imperial family: thus the service was celebrated on behalf of the Emperor Antoninus, and this bloody baptism for the absent emperor was received by Æmilius Corpus. Mommsen gives an inscription¹ which marks the year A.D. 133, as that in which the taurobolium first occurred. That a record of it should have been preserved upon a monument indicates that the ceremony itself must have been regarded as one of great and solemn significance, and our author rejects the idea of this being an imitation of Christian baptism or the doctrine of 'the blood-sprinkling,' as held in the Church, because at this date the attention of the heathen had not been as yet directed to these Catholic usages. In this conclusion we heartily join. In the institution of this rite there seems to be the operation of that religious instinct of heathendom, which, still unquenched, was feeling after God, and unconsciously adopted imitations of the Christian idea, and this too with an increasing distinctness towards the close. The taurobolia, however, may have owed its increased observance in the fourth century, when the most distinguished officers of religion and the State submitted to it, to the knowledge then general, of the implicit reliance which the Christians had on 'their Baptism and Communion.'

That amidst this 'confusion and medley of rites, each overbidding the other in its promises,' the Jewish religion, by its very exclusiveness and dissimilarity should have not only obtained an imperial recognition, but have even extended itself by proselytising, until Seneca had to lament the wide diffusion of this degraded religion—if he be not confounding Jew and Christian—is scarcely a matter of surprise. But even this implies a disaffection to anything like the direct profession of Christianity. It argues simply the moral and mental exhaustion of the heathen world; not the conscientious recognition of a purer and holier religion. That under such circumstances a sect of Jumpers—exactly analogous to what we are brought into acquaintance with in the history of Methodism—should have

¹ R. Neap. n. 2602.

acquired a good deal of public notoriety, and should have come under the consideration of the historian, cannot be a matter of surprise; and the only result of the universal debauchment of the religious sense that could be expected, was that realized, in the spiritual deadness of mankind,—an entire absence of all sense of sin, of all need of holiness, and of the requirements of conscience. In the darkness which covered the nations, and the absence of any higher guides, implicit confidence was reposed in divination; and dreams were regarded as sent by God. It was a dream that led Augustus to appear once a year in Rome in the attire of a beggar. He consulted astrologers before he ascended the throne; and Severus publicly recognised the schools of the astrologers. This leads to the consideration of the magical arts:—

'The Greek and Roman States, in addition to their public worship, had also sacrifices and ceremonies of secret observance, to which the special power was attributed, of making the gods subservient to the will of man. The barrier between the religion of the State and magic proper being practically removed, we discover the magic character in particular rites and ceremonies, as, for instance, the Roman rites of the dead, in the formula of prayer, a matter which the Romans were so thoroughly conversant with, that the perceptible difference between a prayer and a charm was rather formal than essential. The Roman evocation of the gods falls entirely within the province of magic. We have already seen what an important position the magic element occupied in the Persian religion of Zoroaster by means of its dualism, its doctrine of Ahriman and his demons, and the operation of the herb Omonic. The same is true of the Egyptian religion, with its threatenings of the gods, its star-worship, and the thoroughly magical character of its system of therapeutics. The same, again, is true of the Chaldeans, who were not satisfied with merely forecasting destiny by the constellations, but undertook to fix it by sacrifice and ceremony, and through these media to react upon the stars, avert foreseen calamities, or direct them upon others. Thus from Persia, Babylonia, and Egypt, a tide of magic arts and usages set in towards the West, and mingled with the kindred rites and ceremonies which had been long previously in existence there. The influence of philosophy contributed to this result. It is true the Stoic teaching, with its comprehensive and binding fatalism of a mere concatenation of physical causes, was not favourable to the development of magic art; but the Pythagorean system, on the other hand, was all the better suited for, and disposed to it: in it was a Supreme First Cause, anterior to all quantity, though virtually confirming it, by means of which it was supposed possible for man, provided he knew how to put himself *en rapport* with them, to sway the laws and conditions of the physical world. Hence among the younger Pythagoreans, magic was quite identical with the genuine worship of the gods in its higher and purer forms; to their minds it consisted in the science and art of using certain means,—sacrifices, formulæ, and ceremonies,—so that the gods being carried away in the current of events, and implicated in the chain of physical causes, in accordance with man's desires and wants, changed that current in our favour: and not only gods, but demons, heroes, and souls of men, endowed with greater or less power over nature, in the different quarters of the universe which they were distributed amongst, could thus be made man's subjects, upon the Pythagorean prin-

ciple that all beings with souls are homogeneous. By reason of this homogeneity and affinity, the spirit of man can act directly on higher natures, and attract them into the circle of its existence and requirements: but as he has a double soul,—that is, besides that which has emanated from the deity, a natural one, in affinity with other natural beings,—so he is enabled, on the strength of this other soul, to exercise a magic power on nature. The magicians are wizards and chiefly natives of Egypt; they pretended to expel demons from the possessed, to blow diseases away, to summon the souls of heroes, and made tables appear furnished with sumptuous repasts, and figures of animals to move, as if animated. But with the exception of the Epicureans, it was not easy to find persons who rejected magic *in toto*. The highest and most difficult part of magic was theurgy, the secret science so lauded by the Pythagoreans and Platonists, by which a man did not communicate with the lower and medial beings or demons, but was enabled to enter into the presence of the very gods, and make them subservient to certain of his purposes. This was done by purification of the lower soul, which was put through a severe discipline, cut off from the external world, and thrown back upon itself.—Vol. ii. pp. 211—216.

The cultivation of magic and theurgy marks the lowest point of moral degradation which a people or a race can attain to. This lowest level, however, was not reached by the heathen world alone. In the progress of the demoralization of society—when keener instincts of religious needs appear marvellously associated with usages and habits increasingly debased,—the chosen people of God were ripening for that terrible condition which our Lord has so fearfully described under the image of the dispossessed demoniac seized anew, but now by the old enemy reinforced with the seven-fold spirit of impurity. The Babylonian woe, and Asmonean trials, had indeed exorcised the evil powers which had hitherto possessed the nation; the ministry of the Baptist had, in a measure, swept and garnished the house. Yet the process of Hellenization had been advancing rapidly, and perhaps few things in the history of a nation can be named more affecting or solemn, than the language becoming dead while the people continued to live. Even this but partly describes the whole catastrophe. The mysterious treasures of the Divine Book were sealed. Not only had the nation, so to speak, become tongue-tied, but the ear was closed; and no sigh of God, freighted with a divine 'Ephphatha,' ever after reached it. After the fearful enormities which marked the decline of the Asmonean dynasty, and the capture of the city twice by the Romans within the space of twenty-seven years, and on the same day, the house of Herod began to reign; and the first of the name, by rebuilding the temple, every stone of which was fixed by a priest attired in his official vestments, hoped to reconcile the exasperated people to the establishment and propagation—by means of Jewish wealth—of heathen temples and heathen ideas. When the race of Herod passed away, the nation came at last, and for the

last time, face to face with the dread enemy. The encounter of the Roman and the Jew is one of the grandest moments of history, each believing himself the host of the Most High. But there was nothing for the Jew but to submit to be enrolled among the nations, to have all his hereditary distinctions despised and cancelled; while the tax-gatherers of the Emperor made every family and house feel the despotism ubiquitous. For many centuries the Jews had known of the deposition of but one high-priest. During the interval from the capture of Jerusalem by Herod, till its capture by Titus, a period of one hundred and eight years, twenty-eight high-priests had been appointed.¹ The nation seemed, in its efforts after self-enfranchisement, to be animated by the same hopes which have been supposed to have been the motive of Judas in his crime—that his design was to place our Saviour in a position so critical, as he thought, that it would leave Him no option, but compel Him to vindicate irresistibly, His claims to the Messiahship. So at the time of its downfall—at a moment of national uncertainty—many thought that if the nation were once fully committed to a life-and-death struggle with the Romans for the Holy Temple and City, the Deliverer would be forced out of Zion, and the heathen would be scattered away. This logic of despair might well be employed by a nation marked by excessive 'criminality and an infamous tone of feeling.' The elect people had fallen into irreparable ruin. The great lesson of the age is unfolded in this parallel degradation of the Jew and Gentile, and a parallel event appears to signalize the consummation of the two dispensations:—

'It was on the 19th day of December, in the year of Grace 69, during the civil war between the Vitellianists and the Vespasianists, that the Capitol, including the Temple of Jupiter and the sanctuaries of Juno and Minerva, were consumed by a fire kindled by Roman hands. Tacitus calls this the saddest and most shameful blow which the Roman State had met with since the foundation of the city; and he could only explain its being permitted to take place by the anger of the gods against sinful Rome. Eight months afterwards, on the 10th of August, a Roman soldier threw a brand into the Temple at Jerusalem, which reduced it to ashes. And thus within a few months the national sanctuary of Rome, and religious centre of the empire, as well as the temple of the true God—the two most important places of worship in the old world—owed their destruction to Roman soldiers, thoughtless instruments of the decrees and judgments of a higher power. Ground was to be cleared for the worship of God in spirit and in truth. The heirs of the two temples, the Capitoline and that of Jerusalem—a handful of artisans, beggars, slaves, and women—were dwelling at the time in some of the obscure lanes and alleys of Rome; and only two years ago, when for the first time they had drawn public

¹ Up to this period there were eighty-three high-priests in all—thirteen from Aaron to Solomon, eighteen under the first temple, and fifty-two under the second temple. For seven years the succession was suspended, 160-153.]

attention on themselves, a number of them were sentenced to be burnt alive in the Imperial gardens, and others to be torn in pieces by wild beasts.'—Vol. ii. p. 290.

It is with these striking words our author concludes the first part of his learned work. We have paced with him the mysterious Atrium, and confronted all its dim and desolate phantoms. What is it that these contribute to 'An Introduction to the History of Christianity?' How do the delirious imaginations we have passed here in review stand related to the Divine revelation of the Cross?

We stated at the outset that we would do well to be on our guard against forming too high and exalted a notion of the original tradition of mankind. Thus, we may not believe that a doctrine of the Trinity was known to man at the time of the Dispersion—the starting-point of all tradition; but heathendom has constantly, though not always with equal distinctness, witnessed to the truth of Monotheism—that fundamental truth which only the heirs of Abraham have been able to maintain undefiled. Again; whether we ascribe the existence and continued observance of the mysteries to the braggart pride which, under a tedious parade, seeks to hide its conscious poverty, or to an honest aspiration of true devotees after communion with some deity, those mysteries formed a continued protest against the state of society as it was. They were a protest against the secular character of common life; they pointed to a higher state of being, and kept alive better thoughts and ennobling, of that 'life continuous, being unimpaired;' 'that being unexposed to the blind march of mortal accident,' which has recurred to the initiated amid the calm haunts of the sacred Persephone. We are, of course, unable to point out when, in addition to the old premiss, a new one—false wholly—was adopted, and the crazed intellect, reasoning rightly on this wrong premiss, arrived at the deification of the creature; yet, in the conception of a suffering God, suffering in some way with and for man, the unquenchable instinct of humanity was true to itself. The malignant ones had indeed wrestled down the unfortified spirit of our kind, but they had not robbed it wholly, but they succeeded in perverting still more what they could not take away. The Saga of Prometheus, the recognition of the sun as the centre and source of being; the worship of the sun-mediator, Mithras; the deification even of the Emperor—and this, too, at the very time of the Incarnation—are all very suggestive facts. Upon every one of them there was a uniform consensus among mankind. They may be classified under three heads:—I. The Idea of God; II. The Restoration of Man; III. Communion with God,—upon which we shall proceed to make a few remarks.

(I.) To the proper maintenance of the monotheistic doctrine one thing is essential—the *name of God*. All nations have the unknown and nameless God. In Revelation we trace three stages in the use of the name. First, there is no name: then men appropriate to themselves or call upon the name, which comes thus to be known, though not understood. Then the name becomes understood as well as known: it becomes connected by certain covenant transactions with a particular family, from which, when separated, it again seems to lose its significance, and the preservation of it is bound up with the maintenance of a certain Sabbatical law. Thus at once the Godhead was raised above the creature, and separated from the Kosmos. The religious history of heathendom is summed up in the inscription on the Athenian altar. It was inevitable that the heathen world, thus unenlightened upon the subject, should fall back on the Kosmos, and either evolve it from, or identify it with, the Deity. Alike by wisdom and madness, the heathen world had striven to find out a pure god. This was what the 'vexed creature' longed after; the forms of antique superstition which were brought out and renovated in the closing hours of paganism, perhaps deserve to be accounted, not so much signs of the careless perversity of man, as proofs of his insatiable desire to try every means rather than be foiled in the search. It was this surviving instinct which the Incarnation met so gloriously, and satiated so fully. In Jesus the covenant of the patriarchs and the Sabbath—with which hitherto the knowledge of the Name had been inseparably bound up—was extended through all time to all the families of the earth. He, through the veil of whose humanity appears the awful person of the Godhead; He, whose humanity is crowned with the incommunicable name; He, who is Himself God manifest, unfolds the mystery of mysteries, and shows the Father to His children.

(II.) The whole of heathendom was pervaded with the hope of an Avenger, who was to adjust the balances, and vindicate the oppressed race of man. It is in the form of the *Goel* that the idea of Redemption is first presented to the scattered nations. It was thus presented to our first parents. The first prophecy of our race speaks of the vindictive Avenger of our wrong, not of the merciful Redeemer from the responsibilities of personal ill desert. The universal legend of the nations represents God manifested and suffering for man. The idea of an Incarnation underlies the whole myth. The promise of the 'seed of the woman' seems to have taken the deepest root in the heart of man, and to have perpetuated along with itself all the connected truths of a fallen perfection arraying itself against the creature; of the anger of the Almighty; of a judgment to come.

Coextensive with this diffusion of the power of promise, has been the antagonistic effort of Satan to efface it. It is in this light that we are bound to regard the wide dissemination in the East and West of the *cultus* of the Phallus or Lingam, next to Dualism the most widely disseminated of all the superstitions of mankind, which found its way even into the Temple,¹ which ensnared Israel while yet in the Plains of Moab, which reckons to this day its votaries by millions in further Asia. What the Capitol was to classic Paganism, what Zion was to the elect people, what Mecca is to the unelect descendants of Abraham, that the temple of Juggernaut is to the Hindoos. Among these the rites of the idol are carried out in shrines, in which the hieroglyph of shame is conspicuously set forth; not that the fanaticism of impiety was more violent, or ragged with less restraint, in the temples of Mahadeo than in Jerusalem or Rome. It is very early in the history of the Tabernacle, and not long after the shame of Beth Peor, that we read in Holy Writ of the harlots busied at the Tabernacle door. In all the religious history of our race, there is not one subject connected with the corruption of faith more singular and astonishing than the truly catholic diffusion of this most remarkable *cultus*, whose origin is unknown, which prevailed from the Pacific to the Atlantic; as wide-spread as the race whose supreme hopes it seemed to profane and decry. It is not without its spiritual significance that the great empire of the Chinese has placed itself, so to speak, under the tutelage and care of the Dragon: and this, despite the fact that in the ancient religious books of the Chinese records, almost in scriptural language, remain of the traditions which ascribe the fall of man to the interference of this very Dragon. Nor yet, again, can we read how Juggernaut is represented as a seven-headed dragon, whose devotees are marked in the forehead, without being reminded of the awful imagery of Scripture, what Revelation tells us of the malignant antagonism of the evil spirit. In the Orphic mystic myth of Zagreus, the feeling and the glory of the suffering God are connected with his mutilation. We cannot help seeing in all this a perversion of the primal tradition of the restoration of the race by means of the mystery of an Incarnation, communicated in the seed of the woman, to the exclusion of all natural fatherhood. All the myths testify to the avatar of

¹ Bishop Patrick and S. Jerome (Comm. Hos. iv.) are at one with Dr. Oort, Professor Dozy, and Dr. Colenso in understanding what Queen Maachab, in 1 Kings xv. 13, set up to have been what Herodotus (ii. 106) says that he himself 'saw in Syria of Palestine.' The *Mipheletzeth*, or detestable thing, was the figure of shame, in that same composite form in which it is used and venerated among the Hindoos to this day. The *Ashera*, which unfortunately our English version renders *grove*, properly was the Phallic Pillar.

such a Restorer. Tacitus and Suetonius are witnesses to the general expectation in their time of a world-wide monarch, and Virgil chants the birth-song of a renovated humanity. The deification of Augustus at the very critical moment of the Lord's birth, the blasphemous pretensions of Caligula to be worshipped in the temple at Jerusalem, show how our corrupt nature was bent on verifying its own inner cravings for a manifested Deity. When, centuries afterwards, the Moguls had well-nigh achieved universal empire, it was by the sword of one who dared boast of the immaculate conception of his Virgin Mother. How far Zenghis in this pretension, was putting forward a notion borrowed from the Christians, or inherited of old, we are unable to say; but the pretension itself embodied the aspirations of the Hindoos, and added to the ambition of conquest the irresistible enthusiasm of religion. Upon one part of the subject superstition was unfurnished, and philosophy itself was estopped from all speculation. The doctrine and hope of a resurrection of the *body* was undreamed-of and unknown. Life surviving death, life clothing itself with new forms, or old forms renewed, was a cherished faith; even more than this, life intensified, but bodiless. As in the case of moral responsibility and sanctification, so here. The heathen came very close to, but it was not granted them to reach the great mystery in which the Incarnation is to be consummated.

(III.) Communion with the Godhead so that man, whether through the media of sacramental ceremonies or not, became a partaker of the God's nature, was one of the main principles of heathendom. A sensual excitement produced amid the paroxysms of devotion was the familiar form of the divine visitation. At times, indeed, as pre-eminently in the case of Socrates, the fact of a moral and intellectual communication was admitted, or asserted: but the prevailing form which the traditional belief assumed, was that of an hysterical affection, passing on into an epileptical seizure: and this, again, where physical weakness had been induced by impurity and sensuality, settling down into a chronic delirium, and, in its last stage, into actual subjection to and possession by one or more of the messengers of Satan. After all the dreams of classic and Oriental pagandom it was into this most revolting state of dehumanization—it was into this uttermost slough of apparently irreparable despond, the spirit of the race and the reasonable soul of man fell prostrate. In the case of the demoniacs of the Gospel we have a record of the progress and the triumph of devilish power. We know what men are capable of, what they longed and looked for in this appalling and mysterious visitation. This terrible counterfeit of all divine pneumatical influences was only known

to have reached its climax, when it was confronted with the promise and the presence of the Holy Ghost ; and the Evil One was at last bound with the chains of God. Yet in all this desolation, even these seduced and enslaved victims of the Devil kept their individual life in some part unabsorbed : and even so far retained the old human instinct of a God that even the most hopeless condition of man, in alienation from his God, seemed not wholly hopeless. The ruins of our nature are suggestive : and interpret, in a measure, the outlines and splendours of the restoration.

While the creature was thus daily feeling after God, the High and Holy One, who inhabiteth eternity, by the way none else should pass, even Jesus came in the perfectness of a new humanity to them who darkly and unintelligently, in varying measure of passion or bigotry, had not ceased to look for Him.

II. In the second work Dr. Döllinger appears more as a dogmatical than a philosophical divine. In one respect he has been most happy. He has been admirably rendered by both his translators.¹ In both cases we are not in the least conscious we are reading a version. The larger work, which we have just reviewed, is characterised by its *methodical* treatment of the subject. Baiting the one point which we have ventured in some small measure out of the depths of our poverty and the fulness of our presumption to supply, the *Porch* is an exhaustive work. The latter work is, in truth, equally exhaustive. Though there is here no display of research, though the page presents itself as an artless and simple narrative, it is in fact the result of profound study, and is directly, though not avowedly, aimed at the school of Strauss and Baur. This *methodical* treatment of the subject is the very thing which makes more patent the singular omission of the work. There is nothing of the narrow polemical advocate, nothing of the indiscriminate partisan in Dr. Döllinger ; and we are the more reluctant on this account to touch upon a subject that is in dispute between the Churches. Our duty, however, is obvious. The one absorbing topic in the daily religious life, the all-engrossing dogma of our day,—which, in the changelessness of the Roman Church and faith, must have been all this in every age of the Roman Christianity—is the immaculate conception of the Mother of God. ‘A youth approached him in whom he (St. John the Baptist) recognised a near relative on the Mother’s side’ (i. 3). This notice of the first interview between the Baptist and our Lord is also the first notice of our Lord in the

¹ If Mr. Darnell prefers it he is welcome to the form *Semigod*. But in interests of orthography in general, and such verbs as *trip*, *rip*, *slip*, etc., we protest against the spelling of *worshiped*, which meets one in every page almost of Mr. Darnell’s translation.

Book. There is no allusion whatever to the circumstances of His nativity. Yet there are events connected with the Lord's conception and birth which have been pounced upon by the Hegelians, and industriously perverted; and on these grounds we might have expected the same skill in dealing with this part of the divine narrative, as the author devotes to other parts, not in themselves more important. But, what is no less remarkable than the oversight or omission which we have just mentioned, is that nowhere in the whole work, even in connexions where it lies close beside or directly before him, does he in the most distant manner refer to this—in the judgment of his Church—fundamental article of the Catholic faith. However this may be accounted for, what to others must seem a serious flaw endears the book all the more to us; and we are not surprised to find that it has already passed into a second edition. Like the larger work, it is written in a simple and perspicuous manner. The style is no more like what we are so familiar with in German authors, than the English is like that of a translation. A few lines in the short preface of our author will show how appropriately Mr. Oxenham has inscribed it to the greatest divine of his Church:—

'The foundation of the Christian Church closes a preparation and development of many thousand years, and is the starting point of a new order in the world. The world before Christ, and the world after Christ—that is, and must ever be, the simplest and truest division of history. It is but the beginning and simple form of the original Apostolic Church, self-contained like a seed-corn, and hiding its inner reality from strangers, that we are here concerned with. Nearly two thousand years of Christian history are spread before our eyes: we are in a position to embrace and measure the process of development working itself out by an internal law of necessary sequence.'

If in a methodical and historical work like the present we are surprised at the omission of all reference to the nature of our Lord's mother, we are no less unable to account for the like omission of other leading and distinguishing doctrines of Rome. It cannot be urged that being undeveloped, that lying as it were in the seed-corn, they did not and could not properly come under review. For our author has elsewhere touched upon the embryology of doctrine. For instance, in what S. Paul says of celibacy, laying down what applies as much to the laic as the cleric, our author can say that 'the principle of clerical celibacy is here involved,' while he admits that the obligation 'at that critical and preparatory period of the Church could not be imposed.' Again: the obligation to confession is adverted to: but between the primitive observance of this obligation and the modern discipline of Rome on the subject there is a very wide interval. Now, Dr. Döllinger does not refer to the doctrine of

Purgatory, and the connexion between this and the Church on earth. He does indeed tell us, on the authority of the Divine Word, 'He who has begun a good work in you,' that the discipline of God is continued to the soul after its separation from the body:—

'So long as it retains any moral defect, any vestige of sin and its consequences, it cannot really attain to the beatific vision of God; and, if the cleansing process is not completed in this life, it must be carried on in the interval between death and resurrection. God disciplines us that we may partake of His holiness, and "whom He loveth He chastiseth," so long as the soul requires this means of purification. These purifying chastisements are expressly declared to be signs of His favour; but since the roots of evil, implanted by separate sins in the soul, must be rooted out, they cannot in our human state be other than painful. Christ Himself, with unmistakeable reference to the interval after death, spoke of a prison whence men should not be released till they had paid their whole debt to the uttermost farthing.'—Vol. ii. p. 56.

The last sentence is almost word for word to be read in the Lutheran Olhausen; and as a legal decision of our Ecclesiastical Court declares that a clergyman of the English Church may hold and teach a purgatory after this life, there is, doubtless, in the above passage nothing that might not be, under this sanction, advanced from an Anglican pulpit. The question that presses upon us is—Does Dr. Döllinger believe this to be the whole or a correct statement of *any* part of the Roman doctrine of Purgatory? Surely he has heard of release without purging at all in one's own person. The statement of the effects of purgatorial *discipline* in rooting out the lingering remains of evil habits is, of course, correct so far as it goes. But surely the doctrine of purgatorial punishments, the doctrine of '*pœnæ ultrices*,' is an essential primary element of the whole doctrine. Surely the duration of the pains of purgatory, in the separate estate, is also a principle, and cannot come under the head of a development. If the existence of purgatory be itself an *original doctrine* of the faith, and not in itself a development, these limitations and definitions, to which we are referring, must have been known and accepted from the beginning. Our author might say, 'The doctrine of Indulgences, as held and taught in the Holy Roman Church of this day, is part of the necessary development of inherent truth, and has come into recognition in the course of Christian history.' But this cannot be said of the very nature, end, and design of purgatory. This, for the subject to become an article of faith at all, a topic of hope and fear to Christian souls, must have been tolerably clear from the beginning. A fund of saintly merits had accumulated from the very beginning, to say nothing of the ever-present and ever-exhaustless merits of Christ Himself. But by the admission of our author, we might

have been a Catholic as late as the Council of Nicæa without being bound to believe more than this: that mortal dissolution has no power to check the purifying grace of the Holy Ghost; that the Divine pity never ceases to heal, and perfect, and minister to the disembodied being, thereby till the day of Christ fulfilling the good work begun in the blessed Sacrament of our regeneration.

We have indicated one point of view in which we cannot but hail this book of Dr. Döllinger as one of the most important contributions to the same divine cause as that which our own illustrious divine promoted in the composition and publication of his 'Eirenicon.' Whether this was, or was not, the purpose present to the mind of Dr. Döllinger matters little; but judging from his position in his own communion, and the high eulogium on his candour and charity which he receives from Mr. Oxenham, we are bound to say that we believe that the writer meant the book to be an offering to peace. We shall return, ere we close, to one or two points which we have left unnoticed in the remarks made just now on the admissions of our author, and we shall now proceed to lay before our readers the outline of the work. Taken in connexion with the previous work, it leaves on our minds rather the sense of an *hiatus*, from the author's having omitted to point out how the Incarnation, at the very birth of the Lord Jesus, met the wants, fulfilled the instincts, and realized the prophetic aspirations of mankind.

The 'First Age of the Church' is arranged in three books, which treat successively of Christ and His Apostles; the Apostolic Doctrine; the Constitution, Worship, and Life of the Apostolic Church. The First Book, in three chapters, discusses the ministry of Christ, the ministry of Peter and Paul, the ministry of the remaining Apostles. In the Second Book, the subject of which is the doctrine of the Apostles, he discusses in four chapters: Scripture and Tradition; the Trinity, the Incarnation, and Redemption; the Church and Sacraments; the Four Last Things, and the Future of the Church and World. The Third Book consists of six chapters:—Orders; Gifts; Ordinances of Public Worship; Ecclesiastical Institutions and Customs; and the Social and Political Relations of the First Christians. The book concludes with three short Appendices—On the Doctrine of the Man of Sin; and of Christian Marriage; between which is interposed a short Essay on the power of life and death vested, in our Lord's day, in the Sanhedrim. It will appear from this that our author is really as full in this as we found him in his former work, and that he sets forth the treatise as an exhaustive work on the subject. The two extracts which we are about to give will illustrate—the one a point to which we

have already adverted; the other, the singular moderation of our author on a most pertinent topic.

The subject of the Incarnation is thus briefly disposed of. He has in a previous page said that the moral and religious condition of that age explains why Satan is named the Prince of this world, or the God of the present world; that is, of the era characterised by heathen dominion. His spirit recurs the heathen worship. The idol sacrificed to, as Paul says, is nothing—a mere work of men's hands, with no corresponding reality, of which it is a representation; but the gods of the heathen are actually existing, not powerless beings; they are demons, and sacrifices offered to them are offered to demons. We thus read:—

'The Word became Flesh; that Divine Being who existed long before the birth of Jesus, yea, before creation [let us add from all eternity], was born on earth in man's likeness. He appeared at the predestined time sent forth from God, in the likeness of our sinful nature, only that in Him it was and remained sinless. In His outward appearance, attitude, and mien, all was human; but He was not a man like all others, He was the Incarnate Son of God, in a condition of abasement and humility, into which "He emptied Himself;" exchanging for the form of a servant His Divine form and the glory which He had with the Father. The Apostolic Epistles do not dwell upon His supernatural generation without earthly father, but it is always assumed, and Paul intimates it in saying, "Christ was born of a woman." According to S. Paul's teaching Christ could not be a descendant of Adam, because He is opposed to him as the Second Adam, the father of a new race.'—Vol. i. p. 247.

Upon this passage and subject we will not say more than that it is not in these moderate and most catholic words our English Roman Catholics would write. They would not be able, even if they had the will; and we are bound to say they would not be loyal to the teaching of their body to omit dwelling on this connexion, on the anterior mystery of the Immaculate Conception, and the consent of the mediatrix of all grace to become the mother of God, not yielded till she was satisfied and assured that the miracle announced by the Angel Gabriel would still leave her virginity unforfeited. Again, Dr. Döllinger speaks, of the throne of Peter:—

'Peter held a pre-eminence among the Apostles which none of the rest contested. He received the keys of the kingdom, and is the rock on which the Church is built—that is, the continuance, increase, and growth of the Church rests on the office created in his person. To him was the charge given to strengthen his brethren, and feed the flock of Christ. "The Gospel of the circumcision," as Paul says, was especially committed to him, as to the man of Tarsus that of the uncircumcision. Christ Himself was a minister of the circumcision: His Messianic energies were devoted to the good of Israel, so that He said Himself, "I am not sent but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel." In this Peter followed Him; he is particularly the Apostle of Israel—the head of the Church of the circumcision. And he is this in a higher and more eminent sense than James,

who is doubly inferior to Peter, both as being confined to Jerusalem, while Peter included the whole dispersion in his labours, and as holding aloof from the Gentiles, while Peter was the first to incorporate them into the Church, and also extended his ecclesiastical labours, though in a lesser degree, to uncircumcised converts. For there were not two Churches—one of the circumcision, one of the uncircumcision; but there was one olive-tree, one people of God, one Israel, and into this tree the Gentiles were grafted, and thereby made partakers of the root and the juice, as adopted children of Abraham, whence Peter tells the Christian women of the communities he addresses that they are daughters of Sarah. And thus the Apostle to whom Israel is especially intrusted by God, is necessarily the head of the Apostolic college and the whole Church. The agreement between him and Paul regarded a division of labour, not of the Church; and Paul, who travelled to Jerusalem for the special purpose of spending fifteen days with Peter, knew well that Cephas was chief among the three pillar Apostles, although he would not be dependent on him in pursuing the way shown to him by Divine call and revelation, and opposed him at Antioch. The point on which Paul laid such weight, that the Gentiles were to be converted immediately to Christ, and not through the medium of Judaism, was first taught by especial revelation, not to him, but to Peter. Nor did Paul enter on his peculiar office of preaching to the Gentiles till after his fifteen days' conference with Peter. While the Apostles remained united at Jerusalem, the primacy of Peter displayed itself on all grave occasions.'—Vol. ii. p. 101.

At the very evident risk of wearying our readers, we will ask, Is this moderate notice of the *primacy* of the divine Peter—a point never brought into question by the authoritative divines of the Anglo-Catholic communion—the way in which we are accustomed to hear the question of even the Roman *precedency* debated? Do these calm and considerate words imply that Paul looked to the shadow of the Chair of Peter as the wanderer of the desert to the shadow of some goodly rock, 'o'ershadowing all the weary land?' Do these well-balanced and mature sentences tell us anything of the Apostle of the Gentiles in an access of hysterical feeling, and, penitent for the expression of his independence and selfwill, betaking himself in whispering humbleness to the throne of the Apostles? And yet, if Roman truth is always the same, in England as in Bavaria the same, it is this, and nothing less than this, which we ought to have been taught here.

Upon the 'Infallibility and Indefectibility of the Church' we read (after quoting S. Matt. xxviii. 19, 20):—

'Such words have only once been spoken to men; and, after eighteen centuries, they have an echo still in the soul of every believer. He to whom all earthly power is committed will not forsake His Church; He will let no enemy subdue, no persecution destroy, no error darken it; for her teaching and office of handing down revealed truth, pure and uncorrupt, to all peoples and to all generations, He has promised her for ever His presence and almighty aid. He has explained more exactly the manner and kind of that presence; while He goes to the Father, the Paraclete and the Spirit of Truth descends, sent by Him to dwell for ever in the Church,

whose office is to guide her into all truth; to bring to remembrance all that Christ has spoken, and proclaim His teaching. Thus, since the first Pentecost, the Church has a Divine teacher and guide; and is the organ by which the Holy Ghost instructs believers. This gives the Christian Church a great superiority over the Jewish, which was not the body of the Incarnate Son, with Him for head, nor filled and taught by the Holy Ghost. Paul knows a house of God on earth, but it is no more the people of the Old Covenant; Israel is no longer the community where God has His dwelling, but the Christian people, "the Church of the living God," which is "the pillar and ground of truth." Outside this Church is falsehood and deceit, or truth defenceless, mixed with error, and left a prey to human caprice, alteration, and disfigurement. But the one Church, and that alone among earthly institutions, is the vessel where the truth can be preserved unadulterated, for Christ is her indivisible Head, and the Holy Ghost, the Spirit of Truth, is her Lord, her Life, and her Light. And thus the stream of truth, as of grace, flows for ever in the Church. The substance of which Christ taught, and His Apostles preached, is become an abiding illumination, a light which never leaves the Church, and never turns to darkness. Outside, not within the Church, is that state realized which Paul described, "where men are carried about by every wind of doctrine," given over to "the deceitfulness and cunning craft of men."—Vol. ii. p. 12.

No Anglo-Catholic could say less. We shall take two more illustrations in the same direction, passing over what our author says on the subject of extreme unction, in which he justifies to the full one of the most unreasonable perversions of an Apostolic usage:—

'The leading idea of the Epistle to the Hebrews is that Christ continues His priestly office in the heavenly sanctuary, in His state of eternal glory. Christ died on the cross as the great sin-offering, to restore the broken communion between man and God. In that supreme act of self-denying love, the surrender of His person and life, He showed the world the true meaning of sacrifice, the nature and end of all sacrificial worship. The prerogative of the priesthood and offering of Christ are contrasted by the writer with the defectiveness of the Levitical and Aaronic priesthood. Thenceforth His priestly function is discharged in heaven. Christ the Lamb offers Himself continually on that heavenly altar; He is the Priest for evermore who has brought the reconciliation of the human race, and the Victim who applies to us, in the fulness of His gifts, the fruit of the reconciliation He has won. And here the Church on earth was not to be poorer than the Church in heaven. Therefore on the eve of His Passion, He ordained on His Church the offering of His Body and Blood, whereof He would here as there be Himself the Priest, only that here both priesthood and sacrifice, in accordance with the present order and economy of faith, are veiled from the eyes of men, His body concealed under the form of earthly nourishment, His priestly act under the ministry of men called by the Church to represent Him. As the Church was founded by the Incarnation of the Word, and His dwelling among men, so is her continuance, her constant blossoming and increase on earth, dependent on the abiding presence of His living body in her midst, hidden, indeed, but indicated and pledged by sensible signs. But where He is present, there He is and must be continually offering and discharging by that oblation His office as our Intercessor, so that on the earthly altar of the Church is the same presence and the same performance as in the heavenly sanctuary; here concealed on the altar from the believer's gaze, there unveiled. For

since the Incarnation unites the Son for ever indivisibly to man's nature, His sacrifice is also everlasting. God and man for ever, with a true though glorified body, which has suffered and died, He is Victim and Priest for ever, High Priest and Minister of the Sanctuary, sitting on the right hand of the Throne of Majesty. In this unbroken celebration, His death, once suffered, over whom death has no more power, is but a single moment, a moment which lives in the commemoration of the past, but ever energizing, fact; and thus the sacrificial rite of the earthly Church represents and typifies that act of love of which it is the appointed memorial. If the Jewish sacrificial feasts expressed the need and desire for drawing nigh to God, and holding communion with Him, the Eucharist is the means for realizing the closest fellowship and union possible for men on earth, and has also enabled us to present continually to God the sole worthy oblation. As then the flesh of the Jewish peace-offering had first to be prepared by fire for eating, so has His flesh and blood been made capable of being received under the form of bread and wine; and He has thereby given us the noblest and most powerful thing we could receive, that by tasting and partaking of His mind we may be united with Him, and offer the one great sacrifice alone acceptable to God. God will not receive Christ from us without ourselves, nor ourselves without Christ. Only that oblation where the self-sacrifice of Christ and His members is wanted, is pleasing to God, and befits the disciples of the Crucified. The Eucharistic offering of the Church is a recapitulation and summary of the whole Christian religion. Thus the offering of Christ in the Church is both peace-offering and thank-offering; it contains all which is wanting to the oblation of the Cross. As in the Old Covenant the peace-offering was not only allowed but commanded to be eaten of, so now is communion added as a sign of peace and reconciliation, unsought as the consummation and seal of sacrifice. The event on Calvary was hidden from the comprehension of men; the offering was dishonoured without partakers, without public testimony to its dignity and power. But in the Church it is the object of unceasing veneration, the centre of her worship and her solemnities. It is as well a sin-offering as an offering of memorial and thanksgiving, for He who wrought the great reconciliation is present here in His quality as a sin-offering, and the memorial of His accomplished Atonement, celebrated by those who need constantly fresh forgiveness, is necessarily a constant renewal of the reconciliation. In offering Christ to the Father as her sin-offering, the Church is but imploring Him in the most effectual way to grant to believers pardon and power over sin, by cleansing and strengthening their will directed to Christ and joined to His, through Him our Mediator and Intercessor, and in virtue of His atoning death once suffered on the cross. In so far as the general reconciliation has once for all been accomplished, mankind restored to its true relations with God, and the way of access to Him again laid open,—in this sense all was accomplished by the sacrifice on Calvary, and the sacrifice of the Church can claim no similar end or significance, for it neither is nor can be a supplement or repetition of the offering on the cross. But in all that concerns the individualizing, applying, and imparting the blessings and gifts of God thus won, and inasmuch as constant forgiveness is not the least of those gifts, so far the Church's sacrificial celebration has the meaning and power of an atoning sacrifice. The author of the Hebrews repeatedly asserts, that Christ has offered Himself but once, and needs not to offer Himself often. In fact His sacrifice can neither be supplemented by another—for it would then appear inadequate—nor be repeated—for it would then lose its unity, and sink to the level of the sacrifice of the Mosaic Law."—Vol. ii. p. 50.

We have not room to examine how far language like this can be reconciled with, indeed, either the formal language or the practical tendency of the Church of Rome at this day. Suffice it to say that the Anglican Church, whose cry is, 'O Lamb of God, that takest away the sin of the world,' recognises in this dogmatical delineation of Eucharistic truth no more (possibly some among us may say something less) than she actually accepts. Considering the eminent writer whose words are these, we cannot but lift our hearts in thankfulness to God for this full and accurate deliverance of the Sacramental verities, which quietly, yet studiously, ignores the unlicensed definitiveness of modern Roman teaching on this subject.

One other extract we shall lay before our readers with somewhat of a polemical purpose. No chapter will more easily attract the attention of theological readers than that which discusses the subject of Scripture and tradition. Within the compass of this subject are the grounds for all the divergencies in belief and practice between the Anglican and Roman communions. Upon this subject our author does but maintain precisely the same attitude that he holds on the other points passed under review. Nor does the first edition contain the whole expression of his judgment. In his second edition he has inserted a passage which scarcely fits in with the extracts which we now subjoin. Of the Scriptures he says:—

'It was nowhere said or assumed in these most ancient documents, which do not bear testimony to themselves, that men were to take the writings of the Apostles and their disciples for the sole rule of faith and discipline, and to seek in them alone the knowledge of God's revelation. Neither was it anywhere said or hinted that the Apostles had written down all that was essential for believers, or all they had taught by word of mouth. In the bosom of the Church, as an expression and embodiment of the spirit that ruled and the tradition laid up within it, the New Testament Scriptures were written in the course of fifty years. Men did not miss anything in them, or find anything obscure, uncertain, or doubtful, while they possessed the living commentary and supplement in the Church's oral traditions, in the intellectual and moral convictions which lived in the hearts and on the lips of believers. They had not a book handed them from which they were to extract a summary of *credenda* with painful uncertainty, and at the risk of misconception, but were referred to a living, ever-speaking authority open and accessible to all. In the Apostolic succession of her Bishops the Church had a certainty; but every Church had, besides, a higher certainty of its own, which excluded all doubt or possibility of error, in its membership with the body of the Universal Church. Enlightened, confirmed, and set at rest by this testimony, and already possessed by a fixed conception of faith, individuals whose zeal so inclined them read what they could procure of the Gospels and Apostolic Epistles, and found there a confirmation of what they had been taught.'—Vol. i. p. 226.

Upon this subject he further states in his second edition:—

'But at the same time we must maintain, in accordance with the frequently-repeated testimonies of the Fathers and the other writers of the ancient Church, that there is no point of Christian doctrine which is not attested and laid down in the Apostolic writings. The Church cannot, and does not, receive any teaching which does not find its justification in the Bible, and is not contained somewhere in the New Testament, in a more or less developed form, or at least indicated and implied in premisses of which it is the logical sequel, and thus shown to fit into the harmony and organic whole of Christian doctrine.'

Upon these extracts we shall take the liberty of making one or two remarks. It boots not to ask who they are who regard, or who they were that regarded, the Scripture as the sole foundation of faith and discipline; or who conceived that the first Christians were handed a book, out of which they were to select the *credenda* of the Christian state. To this troop the Church in this empire does not belong. The divine tradition we are taught not only—to use our author's phrase—became embodied in the Scriptures, but the Scriptures became the test and standard of the tradition. But, to revert to our author's position, we must avow that in our poor judgment there are two very marked inconsistencies here. In the first place, the hearty and reverential tone in which the all-embracing authority of Holy Scripture is spoken of in the passage from the second edition, contrasts favourably with the somewhat irreverent expression, 'individuals whose zeal so inclined them read,' &c. It is not the way in which an Augustine, a Bede, or a Bernard speaks of the oracles of God. But the spirit of the whole context displays that neglectfulness of Holy Scripture save as a witness upon some controverted point, which is one of the evils of our own day, as it has been before now. Divine study of Holy Writ, for the development of the regenerated intellect, and the feeding of the Christ-mind within us, is, we fear, becoming more rare every day. But Dr. Döllinger in these extracts needs to be reconciled not only with himself—as we think—but also with his Church. We accept most gratefully the passage from the second edition. It represents nearly enough the statements of Du Pin in his 'Commonitorium,' which Dr. Pusey has lately brought before the minds of Churchmen ('Eirenicon,' p. 213). Du Pin, on the Sixth Article, agrees as to the principle, that 'Scripture contains all things necessary to salvation,' and affirms no more as to tradition than many of our divines have done. 'This' (viz. that Scripture contains all things necessary to salvation) 'we will gladly admit, provided that tradition be not excluded, which does not exhibit mere articles of faith, but confirms and explains those things which are contained in Holy Scripture, and fences them by new safeguards against those who are otherwise minded, so that nothing new is said, but only the old in a new

'way.' That one trained in the enjoyment of the Gallican liberties should write thus, can hardly be a matter of surprise; but that, after the promulgation of the new doctrine touching the mother of God, one like our author should express himself as he does in the last extract does surprise us. According to the Tridentine Canons, tradition is a distinct rule of faith from Holy Scripture. The Holy Ecumenical Synod receives these two rules, '*pari pietatis affectu ac reverentiâ suscipit, et veneratur.*' In the same fourth session tradition is declared to be, as well as Scripture, a '*fontem omnis et salutaris, veritatis et morum disciplinæ.*' And accordingly the Holy Ecumenical Council of Trent, while referring to Scripture in the decree about purgatory, in the conclusion speak of it as '*à sanctis patribus et sacris conciliis traditam,*' while, in the decree touching indulgences, and the decree '*De invocatione, veneratione, et reliquis sanctorum, et sacris imaginibus,*' there is not any allusion at all to Scripture; the former is grounded on the divinely-transmitted *power*, the latter on the *practice*, of the Apostolical Church. If, more clear-sighted than the Tridentine Fathers, our author undertakes to show us any Scriptural authority for any of these things, we feel assured he will only do so after the well-known manner in which authority for shoulder-knots was found in the well-known will. On other points our author has omitted to notice, or has purposely passed by, the distinguishing doctrine of the Roman Church. In this case he has been carried on to a bolder position. In defiance of the Council of Trent, its definition of tradition, and the use it puts tradition to, Dr. Döllinger declares that not only is tradition not an independent authority of faith and practice, but it is embodied in Scripture, and so Scripture is the sole original authority for faith; so that nothing is to be believed as '*necessary to salvation, which is not read therein, or may be proved thereby.*' This in substance Dr. Döllinger declares; this Mr. Oxenham approves; this Mr. Newman accepts. We register the fact with unfeigned thankfulness, but also with exceeding surprise.

But a truce to controversy. We shall proceed to lay before our readers some of the more striking and instructive portions of the book. The chapter on Ecclesiastical Institutions and Customs is very interesting. The sketch of woman's position, and the elevation she acquires in Christ, is well put. In connexion with this part of the work is the appendix on Adultery. The inquiry pursued there leads the author to the definite conclusion that *πορνεία* expressly excludes adultery; and that it is only used of the unmarried. Christ only sanctions divorce where the woman has been discovered to have been prenuptially incontinent:—

'According to the teaching of Christ and the Apostle Paul, there are three factors of marriage—God, the husband, and the wife; to separate from a husband is to separate from God; a divine bond implies a divine right, and this can the less be annulled by the act of one party, since even the desire to annul it cannot always be assumed. No human act can annul a divine right, nor human sin annul a divine bond. From the moment when Christ declared that God ratifies and seals the marriage-bond, and that what He has bound man may not sever, it is a law for the Church that marriage cannot be dissolved. It is a contradiction to make a generally transient error able to dissolve a bond embracing the whole life and all its relations, a sin against the lower and physical side of marriage destroy what is a spiritual fellowship and institution for the common bringing up of Christian children. Such a sin makes no chief end of marriage impossible.'—Vol. ii. p. 315.

The following throws light on the difficult passage with which 2 Cor. v. begins:—

'Between death and the resurrection the soul is in a disembodied or naked state, as compared with its present existence, whereof the Apostle feels a horror, though he elsewhere speaks of the believer longing for redemption from this "body of death," in which the law of sin rules, and which is so often felt as a weight pressing down the spirit. But "we know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle be dissolved, we have a building of God, a house not made with hands eternal, in the heavens;" and we long, instead of the unclothing of our soul by death, to partake of that over-clothing when the mortal is swallowed up by life. But that will only be their lot who live to see the Second Coming of Christ, who then suddenly will have their bodies changed, and be clothed upon, as it were, or transfigured; they will put on their new and heavenly dress without the former being destroyed by death, which implies their having then a corresponding place to dwell in. But that nakedness of the soul, when separated by death from its earthly body, is not to be conceived of as a purely spiritual existence without any corporeal substratum or organ. The twofold personality wherein man is created, the continuity of his consciousness, and the bodily or organic power which substantially inhabits the soul, all this necessarily leads to the notion that the soul, though it has no body of its own, has some covering in place of one; that it does not lack that bodily organ, without which no receptivity of influences, or manifestation, or energy, can be conceived, even in the intermediate state before the resurrection. And from this organ as its germ, the new and immortal body will be developed at the resurrection. For Paul uses, to illustrate the doctrine of the resurrection, the figure of a seed-corn putrifying in the earth, and thereby ripening to living fruit, where there is the same continuity as in man's body. While, then, we must believe that the soul remains in continual relation with its body, which is undergoing constant change, and is nourished and interpenetrated by Christ's body, and that this relation supplies a continual bodily power, yet, in this middle state before the resurrection, the psychical side of existence predominates, and thus in the Apocalypse only the souls of the risen are spoken of.'—Vol. ii. p. 62.

The chapter on the Future of the World and the Church will be read with all the more interest as the subject is daily becoming more and more attractive to Christian hearts. We are gradually, albeit slowly, rising out of the fallacies which

hitherto made the study of prophecy a useless, a dangerous pursuit. Eschatology, in the old Catholic view of it, is no longer left to the disposal of Dissent. Speaking of heaven, our author adverts to the method in which S. Paul speaks of it, as a different manner of existence, rather than a different place. 'Heaven and earth,' in the theological sense of the terms, 'are not so removed from each other that heaven is to be looked for somewhere in universal space, but rather do heavenly powers surround and penetrate the earthly domain; and Christ, even when on earth, could be living in heaven.'

Of His return the Lord has said that He would come suddenly and unexpectedly, at a time of carnal security and thoughtless levity. After the fulfilment of a series of events, foretold by Him in connexion with the destruction of the world, He said that the 'times of the Gentiles' would follow, and that not until these were consummated would the Second Advent take place. The Lord had specially foretold the physical horrors and moral abominations attending the destruction of Jerusalem, with the view of warning His disciples against the false Christs who would then appear. The fall of Jerusalem was to be a type of the final judgment of the world:—

'It was then a day of the Lord—a first appearing of Christ, when Jerusalem, the Temple, and the whole hitherto indestructible constitution of Judaism in Church and State fell, while the Christian Church, previously entangled by its bonds, attains full freedom. Herein are revealed, as in burning and shining lightning, the majesty of the glorified Son of Man. But when the last decisive advent would follow, and after what interval, that the Apostles knew not. "We who are alive"—Paul says of those who shall survive to the end, which implies the possibility—but only the possibility—that he and other of his contemporaries might witness the catastrophe. He says, "we," by reason of that fellowship or faith which bound together all believers, the future, and the yet unborn. Paul expected, after the heathen had been evangelized, the conversion of the unbelieving Jews. At the end of the Apostolic age, in the Apocalypse, Christians had, for the first time, a closer sight given them into the details of the future and the divine councils. Christ gave us a principal sign of the approaching judgment in Jerusalem; the appearances of pretended prophets and false Messiahs; they were to exercise, by their magical signs and wonders, a power of delusion which only the elect could withstand. Believers had only been told in general to expect the appearance of an opponent or rival of Christ; the Apostle gives concrete shape to that notion or expectation, by repeatedly declaring that the new heretics who denied the God-man, and thus laid their hands on the very foundation of faith, were not merely forerunners of a future Antichrist, but the incarnation of the anti-Christian spirit already in the world, the impersonation of the principle; every one of them was, in the proper sense of the term, an Antichrist. The designation is not used by the other Apostles; John is the only one who employs it, and that four times, to characterise a heresy that denies the person and dignity of Christ as God and Man. John distinguishes the one Antichrist, of whose coming believers had heard, from the many already come; but the latter are closely related to

the former,—it is his spirit that works in them, and is manifested by them. But it is quite conceivable that John expected a chief Antichrist to go before the personal coming of the Lord, who should disseminate free and wide a false teaching; denying and removing the cardinal doctrines of Christianity. In the Apocalypse is found neither name nor thing.'—Vol. ii. p. 77.

Here Dr. Döllinger understands the beast from the sea to be the Roman Empire in its heathen hostility to Christianity. The other beast that came up from the earth he holds to be 'the false prophetic system of heathendom' as then represented by philosophers and by the soothsaying and magic of conjurers and miracle-mongers. Again, the beast and the harlot sitting on it represent, under the two forms, the anti-Christian Roman power. After Rome, the harlot, is fallen, then judgment will be executed on the beast or empire. The period of the Church's freedom is indicated by the term of a thousand years, during which time Satan is bound, and so has no power to persecute. Thereafter set free, he deceives the nations, who are not the heathen, upon whom he will need to practise no deception. Neither the beast nor the false prophets are here the deceivers, for the old Roman heathenism is long ago extinguished, beast and prophet alike made harmless.

'It is another kind of deceivers, an error quite distinct from idolatry, that is alluded to. What instrument Satan could make use of is not stated; and immediately after the last deceiving and attack on the Holy City, follows the judgment of Satan and the world, and the end.'—Vol. ii. p. 79.

In the 'Man of Sin' late ages have seen an opponent and rival of Christ. What S. Paul says on the subject, he drew from the announcement of Christ, the prophecy of Daniel, and from observation of certain contemporaneous events. Fourteen years before his writing to the Thessalonians S. Paul had witnessed the order of Caligula that his colossal image should be set up at the sanctuary of the Temple at Jerusalem. In vain deputations had come to Rome to avert the purpose of the Emperor. But the Emperor was resolved to put an end to the 'solitary anomaly of a temple without god or image;' and when the deputation from Alexandria came before him to implore protection, he replied, 'You are those men hated of God, who will not call me God, as all other acknowledge me to be, and give the preference to a nameless one.' And he then burst out, with hand raised in threatening gesture to heaven, with words of blasphemy, which even to listen to, Philo says, was sin. The deification of the Emperor was known to S. Paul. The description of the 'Man of Sin,' borrowed from Daniel's account of Antiochus, cannot apply to any Jew or Christian. 'Kill

me, or I thee!' are the words of Caligula to Jupiter when exalting himself above all that was called god; an act possible only during the dominancy of heathenism. The then existing temple of the Most High, at Jerusalem, could alone be the Temple named by S. Paul. From what he knew Caligula had attempted he anticipated a worse actual profanation again from Rome. 'He thought of Nero.' Now, when the Epistle to the Thessalonians was written, the Emperor Claudius was on the throne. His stepson Nero, hitherto the pupil of a barber and a dancer, was already married to the Emperor's daughter, adopted into the Claudian family, and proclaimed by the Senate 'Prince of the Youth,' a title then officially designating the heir of the throne. In the immediate prospect of the succession Nero more and more took Caligula, his uncle, for a model, of whom Josephus says that his sudden death alone saved the Jews from extermination. On account of his shameless and outrageous enormities, the Fathers, with one consent, held Nero to be either the Man of Sin, or the type of Antichrist. At the same time he was publicly acknowledged—as by the Armenian King Tiridates to the Senate—as God. On his entrance into Rome, as he returned from Greece, sacrifices were offered to him all along the road. He owned no deity. For a short time he served the Syrian goddess; he then dishonoured her, and disinherited Apollo and the Delphian Oracle both of land and temple. Although he himself personally attempted nothing against the Temple, he appointed Vespasian to be general in the war, through whom the abomination of desolation would be introduced to desecrate the Holy Place: that is, the Holy City would be profaned by the worship of the Emperor. To expect to find a literal fulfilment in the Apostolic sentiment here referred to, is to forget that S. Paul is not here speaking from 'any special prophetic inspiration of his own, but merely 'applying to the instruction of the Thessalonians the knowledge and expectation of approaching events which the Church 'had derived from Christ.' The main facts, in all that is essential, are fulfilled in Nero. 'This, of course, no more excludes 'the belief, afterwards prevalent in the Church, of a partial 'fulfilment at the end of the world, than the first fulfilment of 'Daniel's prophecy by Antiochus Epiphanes excluded a second 'by the Romans, as Christ announced.' What the Apostle had already told them he now reminds them of. There is a person who as yet stands in the way of the manifestation of the 'Man of Sin.' Döllinger understands *ὁ κατέχων* to imply, according to the strict import and the use in Rom. i. 18, the *person in possession*. The Evil One would surely appear in *his own time*; the apparent delay was owing to the person in possession. That

is *Claudius*, who, so far contrasting favourably with his predecessor and successor, had forbidden divine honours to be paid to himself, or to be *continued* to his predecessor. He 'was taken out of the way' by the poison of *Locusta*, and then the 'new emperor-god was able to appear.' S. Paul, consistently with the revelations given him of the antagonism and counterworking of the Devil, connects the appearance of Nero with the agency of Satan. So ambitious was Nero of being able to command the gods that he even offered human sacrifice to them: but it is not said by the Apostle that the Lawless One himself would work signs, but that men would be then deceived by signs to their own destruction. Magical and theurgic arts were then inseparable from heathenism. Respecting the falling away, our author understands that it was not to be brought about by the Man of Sin; and he regards the prophecy as fulfilled in the rise and spread of the Gnostic heresies.

Such is, in brief, the Eschatological theory of Dr. Döllinger. Of course we cannot venture—space forbids us—to discuss it. It is very consistent in itself, and we are the less tempted to scrutinize it, as it acknowledges the probability of a fuller fulfilment hereafter. In the Appendix our author gives an admirable recapitulation of all the theories proposed on the subject of the Man of Sin, which will repay the reader, and which alone will make the book itself a valuable possession.

Our concluding extract will give completeness to our review of these two works:—

'Concerning retribution, it is intimated that punishments will be unequal, that each will be judged according to his power and his knowledge, so far as his want of them was not wilful, and that from those who have received little, will little be required. Paul everywhere refers to a great reconciliation of the universe, at the final appearance of the Lord, when, Death being overcome, and creation regenerated, God shall no more be as a stranger or an enemy in the world, but be all in all. He speaks of all being made alive in Christ; all things comprehended under one Head: and S. John says that Christ is a Propitiation for the whole world. But this does not point to any universal restitution (*ἀποκατάστασις*); but only, on the one hand, to the universality of redemption, from which they alone are excluded who excluded themselves; on the other hand, to the harmony and perfection of God's kingdom. And when it is said in the Revelation, "There shall be no more curse," nothing which the curse of God rests upon, they only mean that all evil shall be excluded from the company of the saints in the heavenly Jerusalem, and the primitive justice of God have no object there. For the utterances of the Lord are clear enough about the eternal fire, prepared for Satan and his angels, the worm that dieth not, and the sin that shall not be forgiven in this world or in the next; as well as what John says about the sin unto death, which may not be prayed for. In the Revelation of John, God predicts of the perfection of the latter days, "Behold, I make all things new." The whole visible world, or heaven and earth, shall be consumed and purified by fire. As unconscious Nature sympathised with the fall of man, and through his sin,

who was her keeper and preserver, was made subject unwillingly to "vanity," and "the bondage of corruption," and became a "groaning creature," so shall she undergo a process of cleansing through the element of fire, and partaking in the glorification of men shall be renewed and exalted to a higher state. The Heavenly and Earthly Church will melt into one, the earthly become heavenly, and the heavenly earthly. The outward and the inward, the spiritual and the bodily, shall exist in pure untroubled harmony; the body, in its spiritual qualities and its freedom from earthly desires, shall be a perfect organ of the spirit. The whole of nature is bound up in solidarity with man, and therefore the royal priesthood of Christians, which embraces all nature, shall then appear in all its brightness. Of the fire which will encompass the Redeemer when He comes from heaven, and burn up the present fashion of the world, Paul says, with immediate reference to the contemporary teaching of the Gospel, but clearly also in a sense applying to all believers, that the true character of every man's work or building shall be manifested on the day of judgment, by the trying and consuming fire. What any man has built (indeed or teaching) on the good foundation (faith in Christ) will either be recognised as suitable to the foundation, and will endure the cleansing fire, or will appear to be foreign matter, and be consumed by the fire as wood or stubble. The author will receive a reward if his work endure; if not, he will forfeit it, but will himself be saved, yet so as by fire (like a man who escapes out of the fire alive, but with the loss of all his property, and not unscathed by the flames). Thus the Apostle represents the last burning of the world as a means for accomplishing, in the shortest time, the trial and cleansing of those found alive when the Lord appears, and closing the trial of those already dead. When all is now fulfilled, the earthly and heavenly Church are become completely one; when every strife is extinguished by the perfect victory over all hostile powers of the world, and Death, the last enemy, is overcome by the general resurrection, then the royalty of Christ ceases; for there is no longer any Church that needs a mediator, protector, and champion. The Son will give up to the Father the kingdom He has hitherto ruled for the Father's glory, and according to His will, "that God may be all in all." As man, of common nature with those whose Head He is, and who are members of His body, He will be subjected to the Father; but as the Divine Word, He will be consubstantial with Him. Thus the glory of the blessed will be that of their Head, and the glory of Christ will be His Father's. It will dwell in Him by virtue of His eternal generation from the Father, and communicate itself to His human nature, and through that to His members, and then will God be—All in every being, without extinction or limitation of individuality—All, through the two radical powers of men, the intellect and will, being fixed on Him alone, and satisfied by Him—All, through the divine glory shining through their very bodies.'—Vol. ii. p. 69.

And so all the weary travail of heathendom will have an end. The Godhead known in the divine fulness of its Personalities; humanity restored; humanity restored through the interposition of Almighty Power undoing death; and God and man united and blessed in the eternal intercommunications of their for ever-reconciled natures—

'Eternal Glory to the Three,
Eternal Glory to the Lamb.'

We close with reverence these two valuable contributions to

the knowledge of Christians, and to the work of the Church. May the illustrious author be enabled, in repose of heart, and with undaunted purpose—he has much, doubtless, to encounter which would daunt one less rooted and grounded in love—to pursue the great work he has in hand; may he be permitted to see the progress of that truly Catholic theology of which he has so admirably assisted in laying the foundation!

NOTICES.

IN Mr. B. Harris Cowper's 'Apocryphal Gospels,' &c. (Williams and Norgate) we have in one sense the first, certainly the most complete, collection which has appeared in this country, of a set of strange documents, which have always had an interest and some sort of influence in the Christian Church. Since the mythical school has traced the origin of Christianity to the False Gospels as well as to the Canonical ones, few services are more important than the production of a translation which will give ordinary readers the means of contrasting the genuine with the fictitious documents. One of the results which may be gained by a study of these various compositions is that they were not in all cases intended to mislead, or planned as deliberate forgeries. The laws of historical evidence are a gradual growth, and fidelity to fact was often in an uncritical age sacrificed to a supposed gain in edification. Very likely the false Gospels meant no more mischief in some cases than the paraphrastic and picturesque inditers of Bible Stories and Sacred Dramas among ourselves. And this is their real value—chiefly a literary and antiquarian one. Much of mediæval art and something of mediæval feeling cannot be understood without some knowledge of the traditions and myths with which the Apocryphists surrounded the Gospel narrative; and if we want a justification, or rather an account, of the prodigious superstructure of traditions and fables which go towards making the Christian Hagiology, we must remember that the violence which in later days has happened to the saints was very early committed on the King of Saints Himself.

'The Ritual Reason Why' (J. T. Hayes) is a manual of the *rationale* of symbolism, and ceremonialism, and liturgicism, got together by Mr. Walker with very great pains and assiduity. It is thrown into that most irritating form of composition, Question and Answer, and, we are obliged to add, this is not the only irritating thing about it.

Another writer on what he calls 'Ritualism? or True Church Views?' (Dalton), Mr. C. Hebert, Rector of Lowestoft, publishes in this form his letters to the *Daily News*. Referring (p. 118) to the 'History of Latin Christianity,' Mr. Hebert speaks of the author 'as a certain Diaconal

historian,' from which we are led to the suspicion that in Lowestoft Latin *Dean* is an abbreviated form of *Deacon*.

We are not prepared, or concerned, to say that the author of 'Liber Librorum' (Longmans) is not an honest and sincere writer. In his refutation of the extreme doctrines of the extremest school of the advocates of plenary and literal inspiration, he has here and there done service. Following, as he does, Mr. Frederick Maurice in his general estimate of Scripture, we fail to catch the exact test, which was, of course, present in the writer's mind, by which he separates the historical and non-historical elements of the Bible. Throughout the discussion there is an air of vagueness and uncertainty, unintentional perhaps, which is very perplexing. For example: the author is not prepared to accept the simple and intelligible view that God did tempt Abraham, and did command the patriarch to offer, in plain words, a human sacrifice. So he gets over, or gets round, the Scriptural narrative thus: 'No command is given to Abraham to slay his son, or to take with him wood, or fire, or knife.' 'The word *offering* does not necessarily imply a *burnt offering*.' 'Abraham *inferred* that God intended that Abraham should kill his son; but this does not prove that the inference was a right one. It seems incredible that God should, under any circumstances or for any purpose, command Abraham to imitate the heathen,' &c. 'Even this suggestion has been thrown out by Dean Stanley, viz. that the impression received by Abraham that God wished him to slay his son came from Satan rather than the Lord.' This, then, is the result, for we say nothing about the sort of sacrifice which really was intended to be offered in 'Moriah, upon one of the mountains,' and which was to be only an unbloody sacrifice: Either that Almighty God expressed Himself so very unintelligibly that Abraham drew the exactly opposite conclusion from that which was intended, or, which is the new Westminster Confession of Faith, that Abraham, because he listened to the counsel of Satan, received the blessing of blessings for obedience. Again, when the present writer says that 'to apply to Christ such terms as "Very God of very God, begotten not made" . . . however needful in a scholastic controversy . . . cannot be justified by Apostolic habits of thought and expression,' does he remember that this is precisely the reason why St. John's Gospel has been rejected?

Mr. James S. Powell has printed a lively and telling lecture, 'Romanizing,' delivered at Birmingham (Masters), which is equal, or indeed superior, to the occasion. It is hastily written, and has hardly been corrected. It was Peter Smart, not the layman Prynne, who was the Canon of Durham, who preached against Cosin.

'The Morality of the Old Testament' (Rivingtons), by Mr. W. Milton, of Newbury, is a paper read at a Clerical Meeting, and entirely fulfils the purpose for which it was written; but it is too slight and sketchy for the press. Inspiration is a subject for something deeper than occasional papers. By the way, does Mr. Milton really think that *excelsiora* is the Latin for *higher things*? No doubt Mr. Longfellow, and young ladies who sing his song, are not aware that *Excelsior* means a 'taller man,' but from a M.A. we ask for some classical accuracy.

'Oriental Mysticism,' by E. H. Palmer (Cambridge: Deighton), is an essay highly creditable to a young scholar; but its ambitious title promises too much. It is a meagre sketch of a single aspect of Eastern supra-sensual metaphysics, the Suffeeism of Persia.

'The Coronation of William the Conqueror,' a sermon preached in Westminster Abbey, on Christmas Day, by the Dean (J. H. Parker), is what the ladies would call a fly-by-sky sermon. It is very graphic, very picturesque, and as nearly as possible very silly. From Isaiah ix. 5, 6, the eloquent preacher takes occasion to speak of the acts of Gideon as 'the carnage of the Raven's Rock and the Wolf's Wine Press,' which is, we must say, a very neat thing in sentimental scripturalism. But from 'the confused noise and the garments rolled in blood' of the early Jewish history, the figure is easy which transfers this sacred language to the riot between the Normans and English, which took place in the Abbey at the Conqueror's coronation; and then, by another step, to the respective elements of Norman and English speech, and culture, and language, which have existed in the British nation and character; and, lastly, to the Ritualist and anti-Ritualist tendencies of the present day. The moral is that the only way to agree substantially is to disagree formally; and that agreement or disagreement is much the same thing, so long as everybody agrees, as everybody ought to agree, that everything, human and divine, is six of one and half-a-dozen of the other. Unity is unpicturesque and monotonous; but diversity, so long as it means nothing, is an agreeable opportunity of showing off light and shade: and yet this landscape school of theology is, we are told, distinguished by its masculine and practical mind.

Mr. F. W. Farrar, in his lecture, 'Some Defects in Public School Education' (Macmillan), certainly proves the existence of one defect. It is that great experience in schools, unquestionable honesty, and a sincere desire to promote education may exist in the master of a public school, coupled with a very illogical mind, and a careless habit of exaggeration. There are many defects in English public schools, and many excellences. Mr. Farrar admits the presence of both: but he so puts his argument that he overstates the one, and absolutely ignores the other. But then he was addressing 'Ladies and Gentlemen.'

The Principal of S. Edmund Hall, Mr. Moore, has printed a 'Lecture on Frugal Education at Oxford' (J. H. Parker), in which he shows that there is no occasion to establish a new college or hall at Oxford merely on pecuniary grounds. The proof of this is a detailed balance-sheet of the cost of an undergraduate's residence at a hall at the present moment. We learn with some satisfaction that the plan is now actually at work which gives an intercommunion in lectures to the undergraduates of different societies: in this case of Queen's College and S. Edmund Hall.

Here are two ladies' books—that is, two books written by two ladies,—'The Six Cushions,' by the author of the 'Heir of Redclyffe' (Moxley), and 'The Journal of a Home Life,' by Miss Sewell (Longman). We are not going to pit these two admirable writers against each other, or to bring them up for a competitive examination. They have both won and have deserved to win their laurels, and in these volumes there is much that is charac-

teristic. Miss Sewell's tale—which is no tale—is in a diary form, and contains just a slice cut down vertically out of the experiences of a set of young people, living in a decidedly comfortable sea-side style, and ending with a confirmation. The moral is how the sense of preparation for that holy rite tends to subdue and chasten the character. Miss Yonge's, again, is only a narrative of the few weeks of a life of another set of young folks, who are brought, by an ingenious arrangement of circumstances, to a good deal of improvement by the agency of six strips of Berlin work, which they were entreated to work for a new church. In either little volume the substance is of the thinnest; but either is an advanced and, we may say, typical specimen of the writer. Miss Sewell's faults—say rather peculiarities—of ethical theory are exaggerated. The ideal good woman happens to be the narrator, or rather diarist; and though Mrs. Anstruther does not say—'Here, you see, I was influenced by such and such good motives. 'I saw how much there was to be said on both sides, but on the whole, by 'a nice balance of judgment and unerring casuistry, I took the right view,' yet an impression of egotism follows, and is not always pleasant. As somebody else in the book says, Solomon might have taken a good many hints from Mrs. Anstruther. Besides this, there is the minute anatomy of motive, the infinitesimal scrupulousness as to consequences, the probing, and searching, and weighing, and scanning as to the right and wrong of two possible ways of crossing a room, which, though it has its value in a careless age, certainly may be overdone, and in this particular work we think it is nearly overdone. In Miss Yonge's book we are not so provokingly lectured and sermoned at. The lesson is there, the lesson of life, but it consists of small things, daily duties, home tasks, 'gaining the will by the way;' and this is told not by casuistical self-anatomy, but by doing one's duty in the common-place incidents of a very ordinary life. Merely as an artistic blemish we object in the 'Six Cushions' to the somewhat violent and extravagant incident of the lime-throwing as out of keeping with the realism, as they say, of the incident. And it would be well if some of our sensational novel writers would study the manner of these two ladies. They are both humorists of considerable powers, and Miss Sewell's Mrs. Bradshaw is a delightful character, and of course, we are ashamed to say, infinitely preferable to the dignified austerity of Mrs. Anstruther; and Miss Yonge's Mrs. and Miss Mary Rose are—we write with all the terrors of the literary gents who do reviews in the *Telegraph* and *Star* before us—in much better style, merely as a style, than Dickens.

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Saturday Review	2,827	3,269	3,596	3,750	3,615	3,750	3,750
Record	2,968	2,946	2,814	2,715	2,743	2,653	2,644
Evening Mail	2,692	2,468	2,115	2,211	2,250	1,730	1,634
Law Times	1,875	1,971	2,115	2,067	2,038	2,028	2,134
Athenæum	2,077	1,846	1,846	1,846	1,846	1,038	1,038
Clerical Journal	2,442	2,396	1,975	1,558	1,144	1,035	834
Nonconformist	1,587	1,481	1,375	1,461	1,307	1,384	1,442
Tablet	1,363	1,454	1,395	1,383	1,368	1,321	1,296
Lancet	1,393	1,389	1,420	1,361	1,413	1,510	1,568
Observer	1,750	1,500	1,250	1,134	884	730	634
Examiner	1,726	1,474	1,269	1,082	990	884	776
Watchman	1,106	1,154	1,231	1,019	1,807	1,500	1,269
Weekly Register	1,327	1,342	1,062	1,000	1,017	1,061	1,108
Medical Times	1,075	1,103	1,385	983	1,221	870	782
Patriot	937	906	918	923	942	973	1,009
Medical Circular	1,630	1,354	1,225	874	1,040	601	524
Economist	1,048	976	907	827	770	815	775
Reader	...	...	...	769	788	622	371
Press	611	1,000	1,010	721	600	525	451
English Churchman ...	650	650	650	663	587	702	701
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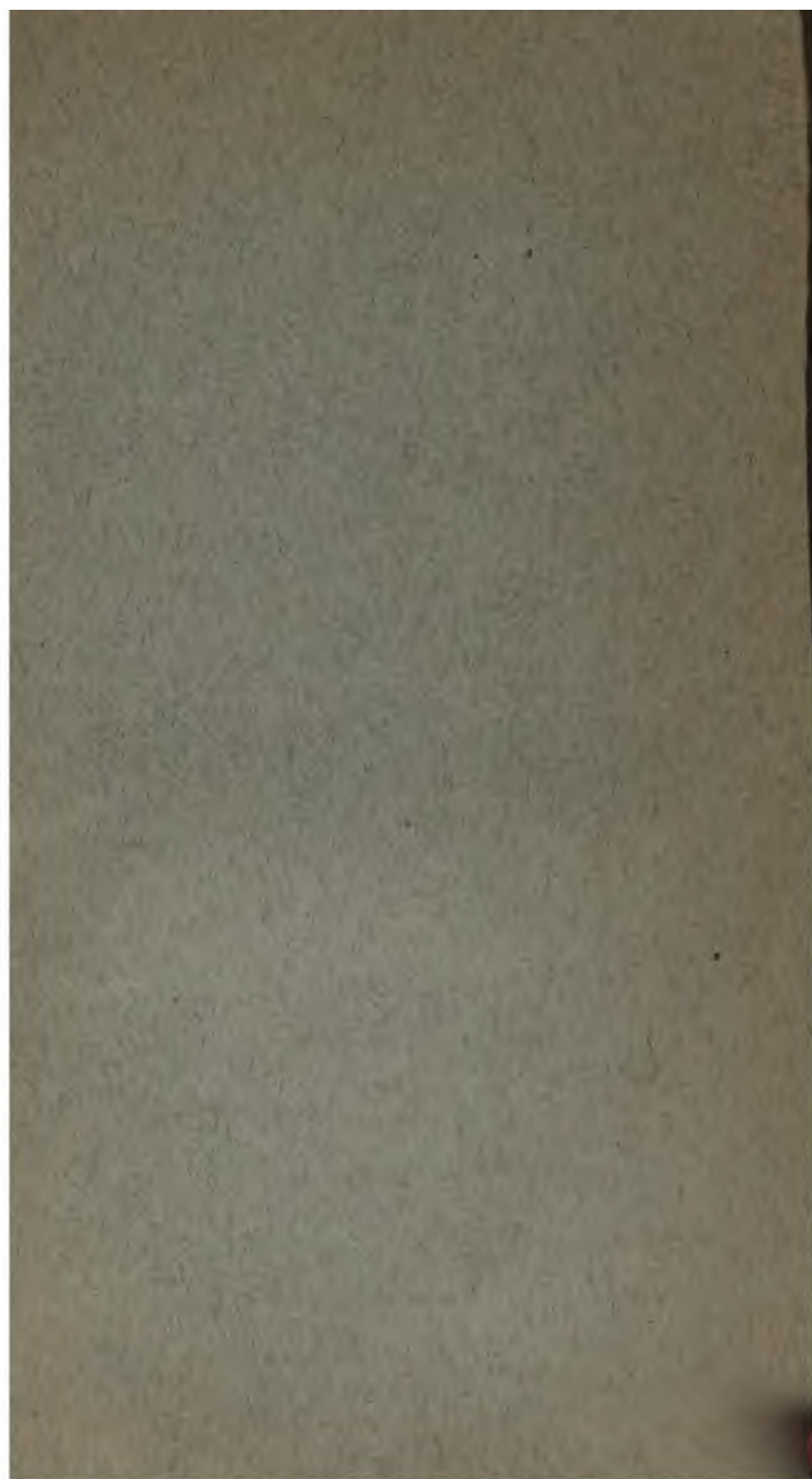
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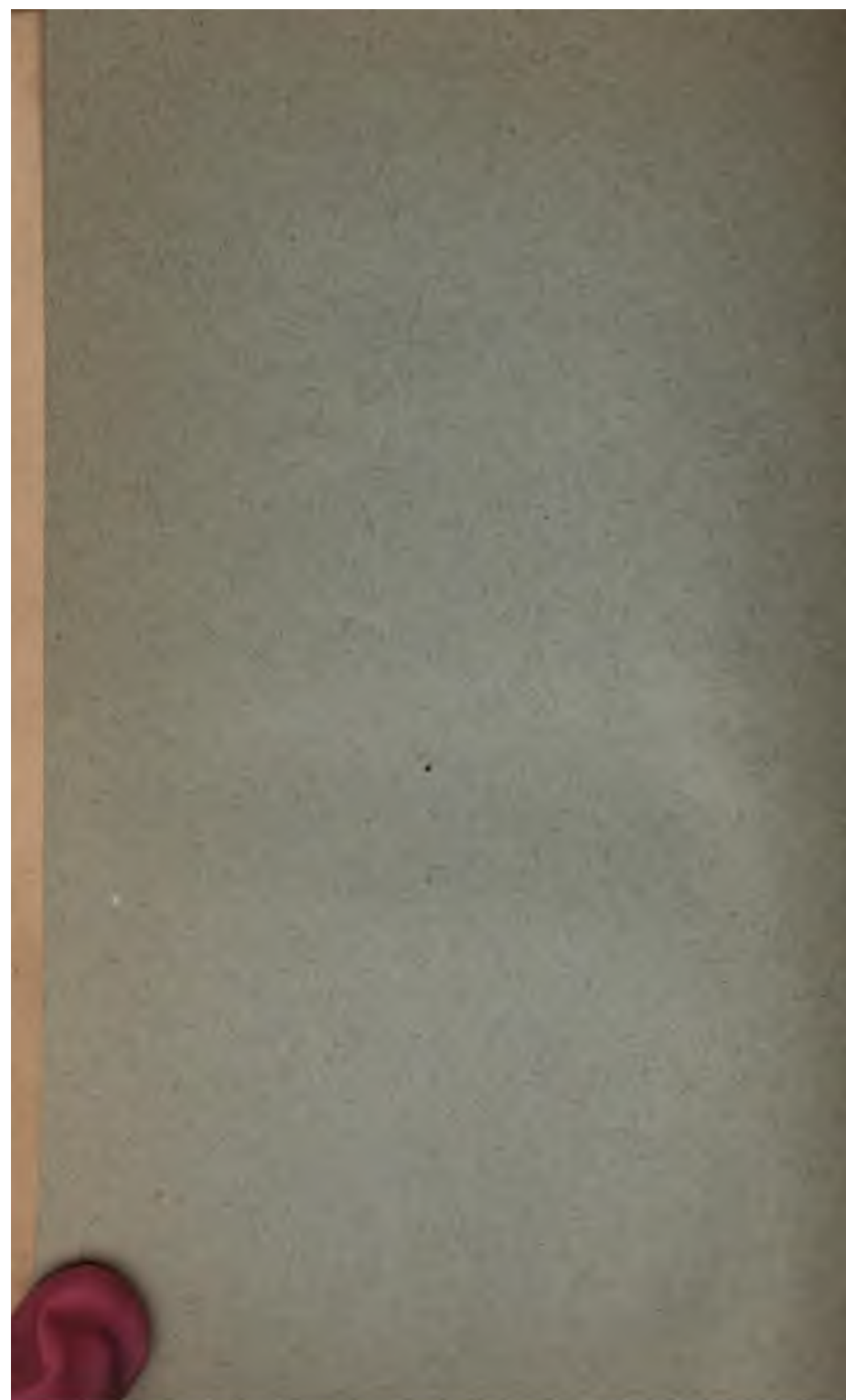
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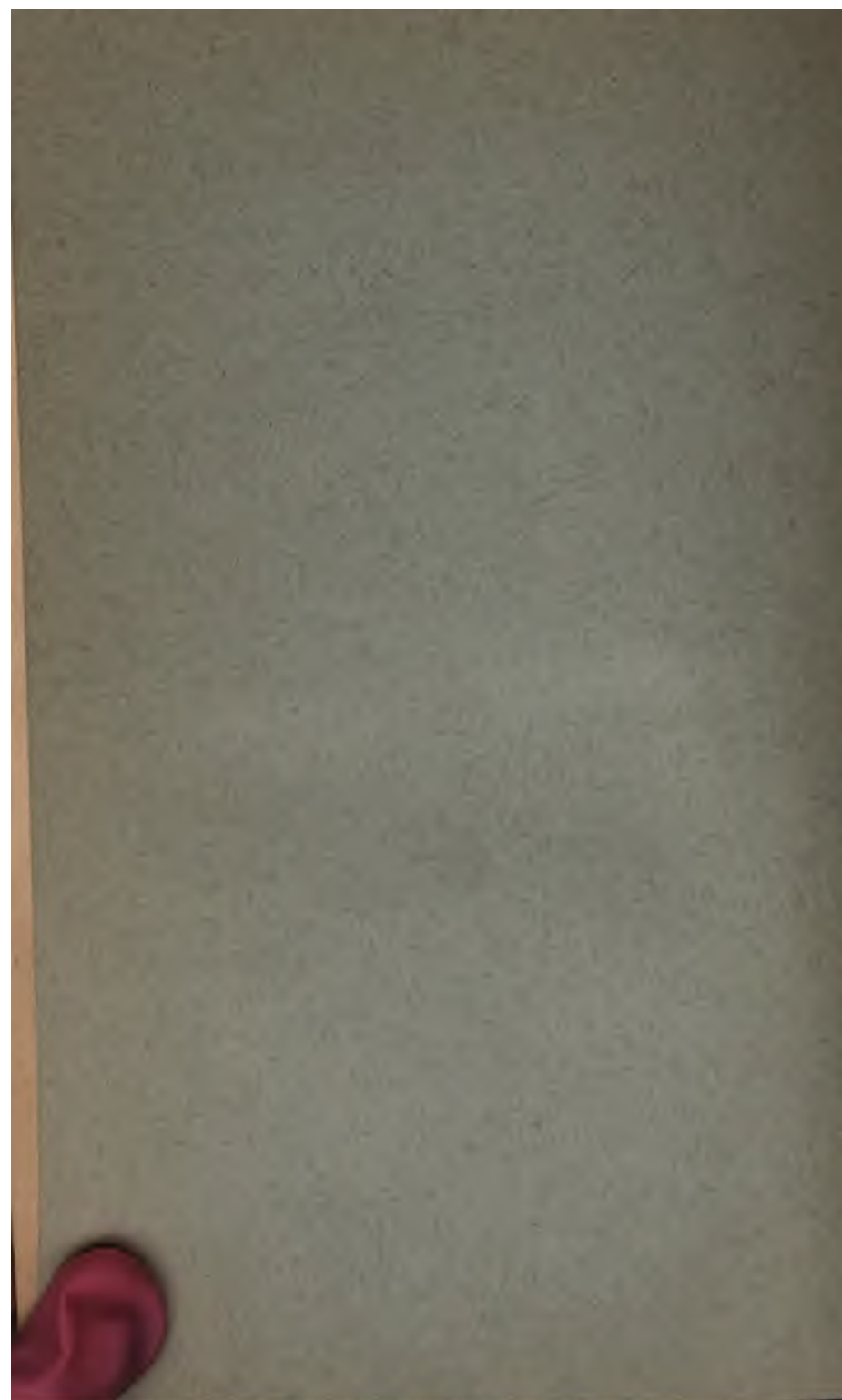
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